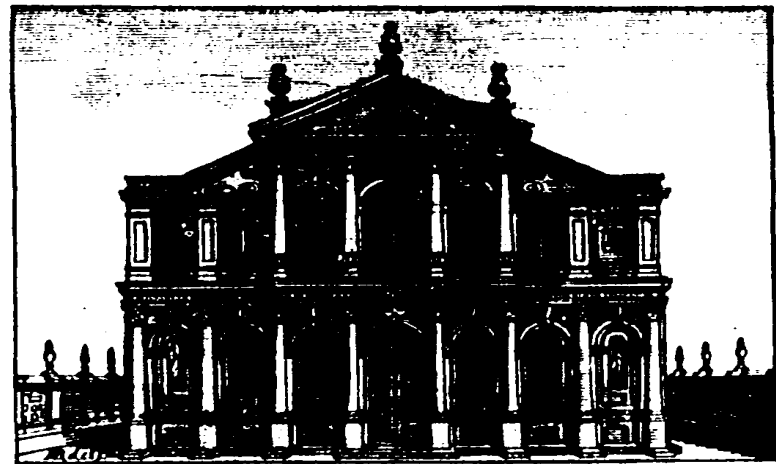


*Archæologia Græcæ :*  
OR, THE  
ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
GREECE.

By JOHN POTTER, M. A. and Fellow  
of Lincoln College, Oxon.

Volume the First.



OXFORD,

Printed at the Theatre, for Abel Swall; and to be Sold by  
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*Archæologiæ Græcæ:*  
OR, THE  
ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
GREECE.

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*VOLUME THE FIRST:*

CONTAINING

- I. The Civil Government of ATHENS.  
II. The Religion of GREECE.
- 

——— *Antiquam exquirite matrem.* Ovid.

——— *Vos exemplaria Græca*  
*Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.* Horat.

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OXFORD,  
Printed at the THEATER, for ABEL SWALL,  
at the Unicorn, in St. Paul's Church-yard,  
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# *Archæologia Græca,*

## OR, THE

# ANTIQUITIES

## OF

# G R E E C E.

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## B O O K I.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### *Of the State of Athens till Cæcrops.*

**A**LL Ages have had a great esteem and veneration for *Antiquity*; and not only of Men, but of Families, Cities, and Countries, the most Ancient have always been accounted the most Honourable. Hence arose one of the first and most Universal Disputes that ever troubled Mankind; almost every Nation, whose first Original was not very Manifest, pretending to have been of an equal Duration with the Earth it self. Thus the *Egyptians*, *Scythians*, and *Phrygians* phansied themselves to be the first race of Mankind, and the *Arcadians* boasted that they were *αἰετῶνες*, or before the Moon. The want of Letters did not a little contribute to these Opinions, for almost every Colony and Plantation, wanting means whereby to preserve the memory of their Ancestors, and deliver them down to Posterity, in a few Generations forgot their Mother-Nation, and thought they had inhabited their own Countrey from the beginning of the World.

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Our *Athenians* too had their share in this Vanity, and made as great and loud pretensions to Antiquity, as the best of their Neighbours; they gave out that they were produc'd at the same time with the *Sim* (a), and assumed to themselves the Honourable Name (for so they thought it) of *Αὐτοχθόνες*, which word signifies Persons produc'd out of the same soil, that they inhabit: For it was an old Opinion, and almost every where receiv'd among the Vulgar, that in the beginning of the World, Men, like Plants, were by some strange Prolifick Virtue produc'd out of the Fertile Womb of one common Mother, Earth; and therefore the Ancients generally called themselves *Παῖδες*, Sons of the Earth, as *Hesychius* informs us (b). Alluding to the same Original, the *Athenians* would sometimes stile themselves *τρίχες*, *Grashoppers*; and some of them wore *Grashoppers* of Gold, binding them in their Hair as Badges of Honour, and marks to distinguish them from others of later Duration, and less Noble extraction, because those Insects were believ'd to be generated out of the Ground (c): *Virgil* has mention'd this custom in his Poem entitul'd *Ciris*,

*Ergo omnis caro residebat cura capillo,  
Aurea solenni comptum quem fibula ritis  
Cecropiæ tereti nectebat dente cicada.*

Wherefore she did, as was her constant Care,  
With *Grashoppers* adorn her comely Hair,  
Brac'd with a Golden Buckle *Atick*-wise.

Mr. Jo. Abell of *Lincol.* Coll.

Without doubt the *Athenians* were a very ancient Nation, and it may be the first and only one that ever inhabited that Countrey; for when *Thessaly*, and *Peloponnesus*, and almost all the fertile Regions of *Greece* chang'd their old Masters every Year, the barrenness of their Soil secur'd them from Foreign Invasions. *Greece* at that time had no constant and fix'd Inhabitants, but there were continual Removes, the stronger always dispossessioning the weaker; and therefore they liv'd, as we say, from Hand to Mouth, and provided no more than what was necessary for present Sustenance, expecting every Day when some more powerfull Nation should come and displace them, as they had lately done their Predecessors (d). Amidst all these troubles and tumults, *Attica* lay secure and unmolested, being protected from Foreign Enemies by means of a craggy and unfruitful Soil, that could not afford Fuel for contention; and secur'd from intestine and civil Broils, by the quiet and peaceable Dispositions of it's Inhabitants; for in those *Golden-Days* no affectation of Supremacy, nor any Sparks of Ambition had fired Men's minds, but every one liv'd full of content and satisfaction in the enjoyment of an equal share of Land, and other Necessaries with the rest of his Neighbours.

(a) *Alexander* rhetor. (b) In voce *Εὐρυπία*. (c) *Thucydides* lib. 1. *Englatinus* ad lib. 3. (d) *Thucyd.* ibid.

The

The usual Attendants of a long and uninterrupted Peace are Riches and Plenty, but in those Days when Men liv'd upon the products of their own Soil, and had not found out the way of supplying their wants by Traffick, the case was quite contrary, and Peace was only the Mother of Poverty and Scarceness, producing a great many new Mouths to consume, but affording no new Supplies to satisfy them. This was soon experienc'd by the *Athenians*, for in a few Ages they were increas'd to such a number, that their Countrey being not only unfruitfull, but confin'd within very narrow bounds, was no longer able to furnish them with necessary Provisions. This forced them to contrive some means to disburthen it, and therefore they sent out Colonies to provide new Habitations, which spread themselves in the several parts of *Greece*.

This sending forth of Colonies was very frequent in the first Ages of the World, and several instances there are of it in later Times, especially amongst the *Gauls*, and *Scythians*, who often left their Native-Countries in vast Bodies, and, like general inundations, overturn'd all before them. *Mewsius* reckons to the number of forty Plantations peopl'd by *Athenians*; but amongst them all, there was none so remarkable as that in *Asia* the Lesse, which they call'd by the Name of their Native-Countrey, *Ionis*. For the primitive *Athenians* were nam'd *Iones*, and *Iaones* (a); and hence it came to pass, that there was a very near Affinity between the *Atick*, and old *Ionick* Dialect, as *Eustathius* observes (b). And tho' the *Athenians* thought fit to lay aside their Ancient Name, yet it was not altogether out of use in *Thesew's* Reign, as appears from the Pillar erected by him in the *Isthmus*, to shew the Bounds of the *Athenians* on the one side, and the *Peloponnesians* on the other; on the East-side of which was this Inscription (c),

*This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionis.*

And on the South-side this,

*This is not Ionis, but Peloponnesus.*

This Name is thought to have been given them by *Iavan*, which bears a near resemblance to *Iaon*, and much the nearer, if (as Grammarians tell us) the Ancient *Greeks* pronounc'd the letter *α* broad, like the Dipthong *ω*, as in our *English* word *All*, and so *St. George Wheeler* reports the Modern *Greeks* do at this Day. This *Iavan* was the fourth Son of *Iapheth*, and is said to have come into *Greece* after the confusion of *Babel*, and seated himself in *Attica*. And this Report receiveth no small confirmation from the Divine Writings, where the Name of *Iavan* is in several places put for *Greece*. Two instances we have in *Daniel* (d); And when *I am gone forth*, behold the Prince of *Græcia* shall come. And again (e); *He shall stir up all against the Realm of Græcia*. Where tho' the Vulgar Translations render it not *Iavan*, yet (as *Mr. Rou* hath observ'd) that is the Word in the Original. And

(a) *Herodot.* lib. 1. *Strabo* Geogr. lib. IX. *Æschylus* Persis. (b) *Iliad.* 2. (c) *Plutarch.* *Thesew.* (d) Cap. X v. XX. (e) Cap. XI v. II.

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again in *Isaiah*; And I will send those that escape of them to the Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece. Where *St. Walter Raleigh* hath taken notice, that the *Tigridine* Version, with that of *Geneva*, retains the *Hebrew* words, and useth the Names of *Tubal* and *Javan*, instead of *Italy* and *Greece*. But the *Grecians* themselves having no knowledge of their true Ancestor, make this Name to be of much later date, and derive it from *Ion*, the Son of *Xuthus*. This *Xuthus* (as *Pausanias* reports) having robb'd his Father *Deucalion* of his Treasure, convey'd himself together with his ill-gotten Wealth into *Attica*, which was at that time govern'd by *Erechtheus*, who Courteously entertain'd him, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage, by whom he had two Sons, *Ion* and *Atheus*, the former of which gave his Name to the *Ionians*, the latter to the *Atheans*. It is not improbable that *Ion* himself might receive his Name from *Javan*; it being a Custom observable in the Histories of all Times, to keep up the Ancient Name of a Fore-Father, especially such as had been eminent in the Times he liv'd in, by reviving it in some of the Principal of his Posterity.

From the first Peopling of *Attica* till the time of King *Ogyges*, we have no Account of any thing that pass'd there; only *Plato* (a) reports, they had a Tradition, that the *Athenian* Power and Glory were very great in those Days; that they were excellently skill'd both in Civil and Military Affairs, were govern'd by the Justest and most Equitable Laws, and liv'd in far greater Splendor, than they had arriv'd to in his Time. But of the Transactions of these, and the following Ages, till *Theseus*, or the *Trojan War*, little or nothing of Certainty must be expected; partly, because of the want of Records, in rude and illiterate Ages; partly, by reason of the vast distance of Time, wherein those Records they had (if they had any) were lost and destroy'd; and partly, thro' the Pride and Vain-glory of the Ancient *Greeks*, that out of an affectation of being thought to have been descended from some Divine Original, industriously conceal'd their Pedigrees, and obscur'd their Ancient Histories with idle Tales, and Poetical Fictions. And to use the words of *Phucarch* (b); As Historians in their Geographical Descriptions of Countreys, crowd into the farthest part of their Maps those things they have no knowledge of, with some such remarks in the Margin, as these; All beyond is nothing but dry and desert Sands, or *Sybian Cold*, or a Frozen Sea; so it may very well be said of those things that are so far remov'd from our Age; All beyond is nothing but monstrous and Tragical Fictions, there the Poets, and there the Inventors of Fables dwell; nor is there to be expected any thing that deserves credit, or that carries in it any appearance of Truth.

However I must not omit what is reported concerning *Ogyges*, or *Ogyzus*, whom some will have, to have been King of *Thebes*, some of *Egypt*, some of *Acadia*, but others of *Attica*, which is said to have been call'd after his Name, *Ogygia* (c). He is reported to have been a very Potent Prince, and the Founder of several Cities, particularly

(a) *Timæus*. (b) *Isidore*. (c) *Strabo* lib. 9, *Justin* de Urb. & Pop.

of *Eleusis*, and *Pausanias* tells us farther, that he was Father to the *Heroe Eleusis*, from whom that City receiv'd it's Name. He is said to have been Contemporary with the Patriarch *Jacob*; about the Sixty-seventh Year of whose Age he is suppos'd to have been Born (a), others bring him as low as *Moses* (b). His Reign is the utmost Period that the *Grecian* Stories, or Traditions ever pretended to reach to, and therefore when they would express the great Antiquity of any thing, they call it *Ωργιστος*, of which we have a great many instances in several of the Ancient Writers, but I shall only give you one out of *Nicander's Theriaca*,

Ωργιστος δ' ἀρ' ἔμθο; ἐν αἰχμαῖσι φερέται.

And in allusion to the great Power, he is suppos'd to have been possess'd of, they call any thing Great or Potent, *Ωργιστος*, as two Learned Grammarians inform us. *Hesychius*, Ωργιστος, παλαιὸν, ἀρχαῖον, μέγαλον πᾶν. *Stidas*, Ωργιστος, παλαιόν, ἢ παλαιότερον. And therefore *Ωργιστος* are great and insupportable Evils; and *Ωργιστος* *δολοὶ* in *Philo*, extreme Folly and Stupidity. He reign'd two and thirty Years (for so *Cedrenus* computes them) in full Power and Prosperity, and Bless'd with the Affluence of all Things, that Fortune can bestow upon her greatest Favourites; but the conclusion of his Life was no less deplorable, than the former part of it had been prosperous, for in the midst of all his Enjoyments he was surpriz'd with a sudden and terrible Inundation, that overwhelm'd not *Attica* only, but all *Achaia* too, in one Common Destruction.

There is frequent mention made in Ancient Authors of several Kings, that Reign'd in *Attica*, between the *Ogygian Flood* and *Cecrops* the first. As of *Porphyron*, concerning whom the *Athmonians*, a People in *Attica*, have a Tradition, that he Erected a Temple to *Venus Ougouza* in their Burrough (c). Also of *Colemus* (d); and of *Periphas*, who is describ'd by *Antoninus Liberalis*, (e) to have been a very Vertuous Prince, and at last Metamorphos'd into an *Eagle*. *Isaac Tzetzes* in his Comment upon *Lycophron* speaks of one *Draco*, out of whose Teeth he tells us, it was reported that *Cecrops* sprung, and this reason some give for his being call'd *Δρακόν*. Lastly, to mention no more, *Pausanias* and *Stephanus* speak of *Acleus*, or *Acleon*, from whom some will have *Attica* to have been call'd *Atte*; and this Name frequently occurs in the Poets, particularly in *Lycophron*, a Studious affecter of Antiquated Names, and Obsolete Words,

Ακτὴς διμύρεται γηραιὸς σκαπτοχέχνης.

But small Credit is to be given to these reports, for we are assured by *Philochorus*, an Author of no less Credit, than Antiquity, as he is quoted by *Africanus*, that *Attica* was so much wasted by the *Ogygian Deluge*, and it's Inhabitants reduc'd to so small a Number, that they liv'd an Hundred and Ninety Years from the Time of *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*,

(a) *Eusebium* Chronic. Eccl. (b) *Justin Mart* Orat. ad Gent. (c) *Timæus*. (d) *Idem*. (e) *Metamorphos.* VI.

without any King at all; and *Eusebius* concurs with him in this Opinion (f).

## CHAPTER II.

### Of the State of Athens from Cecrops to Theseus.

IT is agree'd almost on all Hands, that *Cecrops* was the first that gather'd together the Poor Peasants, that lay dispers'd here and there in *Attica*, and having United them into one Body, (tho' not into one City, for that was not effected till many Ages after) constituted among them one form of Government, and took upon himself the title of *King*.

Most Nations at the first were Govern'd by *Kings*, who were usually Persons of great Worth, and Renown, and for their Courage, Prudence, and other Virtues promoted to that Dignity by the general Consent and Election of the People; who yielded them Obedience out of Willingness, rather than Necessity, out of Advice rather than by Compulsion: and *Kings* rather chose to be obey'd out of Love, and Esteem of their Virtues, and Fitness to govern, than by the Force of their Arms, and out of a Slavish Fear of their Power. They affected no uncontrollable Dominion, or absolute Sway, but prefer'd the good of their People, for whose Protection they knew, and acknowledg'd themselves to have been advanc'd, before any Covetous or Ambitious Designs of their own. They expected no bended Knees, no prostrate Faces, but would condescend to converse familiarly, even with the meaner sort of their Subjects, as oft as they stood in need of their Assistance. In short, they endeavour'd to observe such a just Medium in their Behaviour, and all their Actions, as might neither expose their Authority to contempt, nor render them formidable to those, whom they chose rather to win by Kindness into a voluntary Compliance, than to awe by severity into a forc'd Subjection. They propos'd to themselves no other Advantage, than the good and welfare of their People, and made use of their Authority no farther, than as it was conducive and necessary to that End. Their Dignity and Office consisted chiefly in three Things.

First, in doing Justice, in hearing Causes, in composing the Divisions, and deciding the Differences, that happen'd among their Subjects, in constituting new Laws, and regulating the Old (b), where they had any; But the People generally repos'd such trust and confidence in the Justice and Equity of their *Prince*, that his sole Will and Pleasure pass for Law amongst them (c).

Secondly, in leading them to the Wars; where they did not only assist them by their good Conduct and management of Affairs, but expos'd their own Persons for the Safety and Honour of their Coun-

(a) *Chronico.* (b) *Talpi de Ofic. lib. II. Cap. XII.* (c) *Justin. Hist. lib. I.*

trey,

trey, pressing forward into the thickest of their Enemies, and often encountering the most Valiant of them in single Combat. And this they thought a principal Part of their Duty, judging it but reasonable, that they who excell'd others in Honour, should surpass them too in Valour; and they that had the first places at all Feasts, and Publick Assemblies, should be the first also in undertaking Dangers, and exposing themselves in the Defence of their Country; and thus the *Heroes* in *Homer* argues the Case with one of his Fellow-Princes,

Γλαῦκε, πῶς δὴ τοῖσι τελευτήματα μέγιστα  
 ἔδρα τε, κλέουσιν τε, ἰδὲ πάσις διατάσσων  
 ἔν Λακίῳ, πάντες δέ, θεὸς ὧς, ἰσοχρόσι,  
 καὶ τέραθ' ὑμῶν μετὰ ξυνοῖο παρ' ὀχλοῖς  
 Κόλιν φοιτῶντις ὅς ὄρεος περὶ σέθεν;  
 Τὸ γὰρ γὰρ Λακίῳ μετὰ σέθεν ἔστιν  
 ἔσθλ' ἄν, ἢ δὲ μέγας κούρην ἀντιβλήσται (b).

*Glaucus*, since us the *Lycian* Realm's obey  
 Like Gods, and all united Homage pay,  
 Since we first seated have our Goblets Crown'd,  
 Enjoy large Fairs, near *Xanthus* streams, whose Ground }  
 Is fertile, and beset with shady Trees around;  
 Ought we not in the Battel's Front t'engage,  
 And quell our furious Foes with doubled Rage?

Mr. *Abell*.

Thirdly, the Performance of the Solemn Sacrifices, and the care of Divine Worship was part of the *King's* Business. The *Lacedemonian Kings* at their Coronation were consecrated *Priests* of *Jupiter Organeus*, and executed that Office in their own Persons. No man can be ignorant of *Virgil's Anius*, who was both *King* and *Priest*,

*Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos.*

We seldom meet with a Sacrifice in *Homer*, but some of the *Heroes*, and those the Chief of all then present, are concern'd in the performance of the Holy Ceremonies; and so far was it from being thought a Piece of Condescension, or any way below their Dignity and Grandeur, that they thought it an Accession to the rest of their Honours, and the Inferiour Worshippers were no less carefull to reserve this piece of Service for them, than they were to give them the most Honourable Places in the Banquets, which they refresh'd themselves with, after the Sacrifices were ended.

Let us now return to *Cecrops*, whom, as soon as he had establish'd himself in his new rais'd Kingdom, we shall find employ'd in laying the Model of a City, which he design'd for the Seat of his Government, and place of his constant Residence. And as the most commodious

(a) *Iliad. μ.*

place

place in his Dominions for this purpose, he pitch'd upon a Rock, strongly fortified by Nature against any Assaults, and situated in a large Plain near the middle of *Attica*, calling both the City, and the Territorie round it after his own Name, *Cecropia*. Afterwards, when the *Athenians* increas'd in Power and Number, and fill'd the adjacent Plains with Buildings, this was the *Acropolis*, or *Citadel*.

Then for the better Administration of Justice, and the promotion of mutual Entercourse among his Subjects, he divided them into four Tribes, the Names of which were

1. Κεκροπίς.
2. Αιχελύων.
3. Ακτσία.
4. Περικλίας.

And finding his Countrey pretty well stock'd with Inhabitants, partly by the coming in of Forreigners, partly by the Concourse of People from every Corner and lurking-hole in *Attica*, where they had before lain, as it were, buried in Privacy, he instituted a Poll, causing every one of the Men to cast a Stone into a Place appointed by him for that purpose, and upon Computation he found them to be in number Twenty-Thousand, as the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* reports out of *Philochorus* (a).

But the Soil being in its own Nature unfruitfull, and the People unskill'd in tilling and improving it to the best advantage, such multitudes could not have fail'd of being reduc'd in a short Time to the greatest Extremities, had not *Cecrops* taught them the Art of Navigation, and thereby supply'd them with Corn from *Sicily*, and *Africk* (b).

Besides this, he was the Author of many excellent Laws and Constitutions, especially touching Marriage, which according to his appointment was only to be celebrated betwixt one Man, and one Woman, whereas before promiscuous Mixtures had been allow'd of amongst them, as the Poet intimates,

Κάδμος ἐγγλάσσειο διδάσκειται ὄργανα φωνῆς,  
Θισμὰ Σόλων ἄχραντα, καὶ ἐννομον Ἀττίδι πεύκη  
Συζυγίης ἀλύπει σωφρίδα διζύου Κέρφοι (c).

With curious Art *Cadmus* did Letters frame,  
The Law's Invention from Wife *Solon* came,  
But *Cecrops* glories in the Marriage tie  
Of the united Pair.

Mr. *Abell*.

Nor did he only prescribe Rules for the Conduct of their Lives, with respect to one another, but was the first that introduc'd a Form of Religion, erected Altars in Honour of the Gods, and instructed his People in what manner they were to Worship them.

(a) Olympionic. Od. IX. (b) *Johannes Tzetzes* in *Hesiodi Epy. d.* (c) *Nonnus Dionysiac. lib. XLI.*

In

In the Reign of *Pandion*, the Fifth King of *Athens*, *Triptolemus* is said to have taught the *Athenians* how to sow, and manure the Ground; and to have enacted several useful and necessary Laws, three of which we find quoted by *Porphyrus* out of *Xenocrates* (a);

1. Honour your Parents.
2. Make Oblations of your Fruits to the Gods.
3. Hurt not Living Creatures.

*Cecrops* the Second of that Name, and the Seventh King of *Athens*, divided his Dominions into twelve Cities, or large Burroughs, compelling his Subjects to leave their separate Habitations, and Unite together for the replenishing of them (b). Their Names were these, as they are deliver'd by *Strabo* in his Description of *Attica* (c): *Cecropia*, *Tetrapolis*, *Exacria*, *Decetea*, *Eleusis*, *Aphidnae*, *Thoriceus*, *Brauron*, *Cytheris*, *Sphettus*, *Cepheisia*, and *Phalerus*. But *Cecropia* still continu'd the chief Seat of the Empire, tho' each of these Cities (they are the words of *Sr. George Wheeler*, who refers this Division to *Cecrops* the First, led thereunto by the Authority of *Eusebius*, and some others) had distinct Courts of Judicature, and Magistrates of their own; and were so little subject to their Princes, the Successours of *Cecrops*, that they seldom, or never, had recourse to them, save only in Cases of imminent and publick Danger; and did so absolutely order their own Concerns, that sometimes they wag'd War against each other, without the advice or consent of their Kings.

In this state continu'd *Attica*, till the Reign of *Pandion* the second of that Name, and eighth King of the *Athenians*, who was depriv'd of his Kingdom by his Cousins, the Sons of his Uncle *Metion*; who themselves did not long possess what they had thus unjustly gotten, being driven out of it by the more powerful Arms of *Pandion's* four Sons, viz. *Aegeus*, *Lycus*, *Pallas*, and *Nisus*. These having expell'd the *Metionides*, divided the Kingdom amongst themselves, as *Apollodorus* reports. But others are of Opinion, that *Pandion* himself being restor'd to the quiet possession of his Kingdom by the joynt Assistance of them all, by his last Will and Testament divided it into four Parts, bequeathing to each of them his Proportion. And tho' it is not agree'd amongst Ancient Writers, which Part fell to every Man's Lot; yet thus much is consented to on all Hands, that the Sovereignty of *Athens* was assign'd to *Aegeus*, for which he was extremeley envid'd by his Brethren; and so much the more, for that, as most think, he was not the begotten, but only adopted Son of *Pandion*; and for this reason it was (saith *Plutarch*) that *Aegeus* commanded *Aethra*, the Mother of *Theseus*, to send her Son, when arriv'd at Man's estate, from *Træzen*, the place where he was born, to *Athens* with all Secrecy, and to enjoyn him to conceal, as much as possible, his Journey from all Men, because he fear'd extremely the *Pallantide*, who did continually mutiny against him, and despis'd him for his want of Children, they themselves being Fifty Brothers, all the Sons of *Pallas*. However,

(a) De abstinent. ab Animal lib. IV. (b) *Etymolog.* (c) *Geograph. lib. IX.*

B

as the same Author tells us, they were withheld from breaking out into open Rebellion, by the hopes and expectation of recovering the Kingdom, at least after *Ægeus's* Death, because he was without Issue; but as soon as *Theseus* appear'd, and was acknowledg'd rightfull Successour to the Crown, highly resenting, that first *Ægeus*, *Pandion's* Son only by Adoption, and not at all related to the Family of *Erechtheus*, and then *Theseus*, one of another Country, and a perfect stranger to their Nation, should obtain the Kingdom of their Ancestors, they broke out into open Acts of Hostility; but were soon overcome and dispers'd by the Courage and Conduct of *Theseus*.

*Theseus* having deliver'd the Countrey from intestine Seditions, proceeded in the next place to free it from Foreign Slavery. The *Athenians* having Barbarously Murder'd *Androgeus*, the Son of *Minos*, King of *Crete*, were oblig'd by his Father to send a Novennial, or Septennial, or, as others, an Annual Tribute of seven young Men, and as many Virgins into *Crete*, where they were shut up within the *Labyrinth*, and there wandred about, till, finding no possible means of making their Escape, they perish'd with Hunger, or else were devour'd by the *Minotaur*, a terrible Monster, compounded of the different shapes of Man, and Bull. The time of sending this Tribute being come, *Theseus* put himself amongst the Youths that were doom'd to go to *Crete*, where having arriv'd, he receiv'd of *Ariadne*, the Daughter of King *Minos*, who had fallen in Love with him, a Clew of thred, and being instructed by her in the use of it, which was to conduct him thro' all the Windings of the *Labyrinth*, escap'd out of it, having first slain the *Minotaur*, and so return'd with his Fellow-Captives in Triumph to *Athens*.

In his return through an excess of Joy for the happy success of his Voyage, he forgot to hang out the white Sail, which should have been the token of their Safety to *Ægeus*, who sat expecting them upon the Top of a Rock, and as soon as their Ship came in View with a Black, and as it were, Mourning Sail, knowing nothing of their Success, threw himself headlong into the Sea, and so made way to *Theseus's* more early Succession to the Crown, than could otherwise have been expected. And to this time from the Reign of *Cecrops* the First, the Government and State of *Athens* continu'd with little alteration.

### CHAPTER III.

#### Of the State of Athens, from Theseus to the Decennial Archons.

*Theseus* being by the fore-mention'd Accident advanc'd to the Regal Scepter, soon found the inconvenience of having his People dispers'd in Villages, and canton'd up and down the Countrey. Therefore for the remedy of this Evil, he fram'd in Mind

Mind (saith *Phuarch*) a vast and wonderful Design of gathering together all the Inhabitants of *Attica* into one Town, and making them one People of one City, that were before dispers'd, and very difficult to be assembl'd upon any Affair, tho' relating to the Common benefit of them all. Nay, often such Differences and Quarrels happen'd among them, as occasion'd Blood-shed and War; these he by his Perswasions appeas'd, and going from People to People, and from Tribe to Tribe, propos'd his Design of a Common agreement between them. Those of a more private and mean condition readily embracing so good advice, to those of greater Power, and Interest he promis'd a Common-wealth, wherein Monarchy being laid aside, the power should be in the People; and that, reserving to himself only to be continu'd the Commander of their Arms, and the Preserver of their Laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else among them, and by this means brought most of them over to his Proposul. The rest fearing his Power which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his Courage and Resolution, chose rather to be perswaded, than forc'd into a Compliance.

He then dissolv'd all the distinct Courts of Justice, and Council-Halls, and Corporations, and built one common *Pnyteum* and Council-Hall, where it stands to this Day. And out of the old and new City he made one, which he nam'd *Athens*, ordaining a common Feast and Sacrifice to be for ever observ'd, which he call'd *Panatheneæ*, or the Sacrifice of all the *United Athenians*. He instituted also another Sacrifice, for the sake of Strangers that would come to fix at *Athens*, call'd *Μυσταία*, which is yet celebrated on the 16th day of *Heecatombæon*. Then, as he had promis'd, he laid down his Kingly Power, and settled a Common-wealth, having entred upon this great Change, not without advice from the Gods. For sending to consult the *Delphian Oracle*, concerning the Fortune of his new Government and City, he receiv'd this Answer,

Αἰγείδῃ Θυστῶ, Πιθηίδῃ ἐκγονε κέρης,  
Πολλαῖς τοι πόλινσι Πατὴρ ἐμὸς ἐγκυτέθηκε  
Τέρματα δὲ κλωστήρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πολιέειρεν,  
Ἀλλὰ σὺ μήτε λίλυ πειποννηιδίῃ ἐνδοθὶ θυμὸν  
Βελέειν, Ἀσπὺς γὰρ ἐν οἰδέματι ποῖο πορεύεσθαι.

Hear, *Theseus*, *Pittheus* Daughter's Son,  
Hear what Jove for thee has done.  
In the great City thou hast made,  
He has, as in a Store-house, laid  
The settl'd Periods and fix'd Fates,  
Of many Cities, mighty States.  
But know thou neither Fear nor Pain,  
Sollicit not thy self in Vain.  
For like a Bladder that does bide  
The Fury of the angry Tide,  
Thou from high Waves unhurt shalt bound,  
Always tost, but never drown'd.

(Mr. Duke.)  
Which

Which Oracle, they say, one of the *Sibyls* a long time after, did in a manner repeat to the *Athenians* in this Verse,

Ασθὲς ὡς τὸν ὄντι, δυνάμει δὲ τοι ἰσχυρὸς ἔσθι.

Thou, like a Bladder, may'st be wet, but never drown'd.

Farther yet desiring to enlarge his City, he invited all Strangers to come and enjoy equal Privileges with the Natives, and some are of opinion, that the Common form of Proclamation in *Athen*, *Δεῖν* *τοῖς πάντεσσι καὶ*, Come hither all ye People, were the words that *Theseus* caus'd to be proclaim'd, when he thus set up a Common-wealth, consisting in a manner of all Nations.

For all this, he suffer'd not his State by the promiscuous multitude that flow'd in, to be turn'd into Confusion and Anarchy, and left without any Order or Degrees, but was the first that divided the Common-wealth into three distinct Ranks, *Εὐπατρίδαι*, *Γεωργοί*, *Δημῖοι*, i. e. Noblemen, Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the Nobility he committed the choice of Magistrates, the teaching and dispensing of the Laws, and the interpretation of all Holy and Religious things; the whole City, as to all other matters, being as it were reduc'd to an Equality, the Nobles excelling the rest in Honour, the Husbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number. And *Theseus* was the first, who, as *Aristotle* says, out of an inclination to Popular Government, parted with the Regal Power, and which *Homer* also seems to intimate in his Catalogue of the Ships, where he gives the Name of *Δῆμος* or People, to the *Athenians* only.

In this manner *Theseus* settl'd the *Athenian* Government, and it continu'd in the same State till the Death of *Codrus* the seventeenth, and last King, a Prince more renown'd for his Bravery, than Fortune. For *Atica* (a) being invaded by the *Dorians*, or *Spartans*, or *Peloponnesians*, or, as some will have it, by the *Thracians*, the Oracle was consult'd about it, and answer made, that the Invaders should have Success, if they did not kill the *Athenian* King; *Codrus* having heard this, and preferring his Countrey's Safety before his own Life, disguis'd himself in the Habit of a Peasant, and went to a place not far from the Enemies Camp, where picking a quarrel with some of them, he obtain'd the Death which he so much desir'd. The *Athenians* being advertis'd of what had happen'd, sent an Herald to the Enemy to demand the Body of their King, whereupon they were so much dishearten'd, that they immediately broke up their Camp, and left off their Enterprize without striking another blow.

The *Athenians*, out of reverence to *Codrus's* memory, would never more live any Governour by the Name or Title of King, but were Govern'd by *Archons*, whom they allow'd indeed to continue in their Dignity as long as they liv'd, and when they di'd, to leave it to their Children, and therefore most Writers reckon them rather amongst the Kings, than the *Archons* that succeeded them, who were permitted to

(a) See Tufcul Oued John. II. Vol. I. sec. 10. II. pag. 10.

Rule only for a certain time; yet they differ'd from the Kings in this, that they were in a manner subject to the People, being oblig'd to render an account of their management, when it should be demanded. The first of these was *Medon*, the Eldest Son of *Codrus*, from whom the thirteen following *Archons* were Sirnam'd *Medonidae*, as being descended from him; During their Government the *Athenian* State suffer'd no considerable alteration, but was carried on with so great ease, and quietness, that scarce any mention is made of any memorable Action done by any of them, and the very Names of some of them are almost quite forgotten.

Thus have I endeavour'd to give you a short Account of the *Athenian* State, whilst it was Govern'd by Kings, who were in all thirty, and Rul'd *Athen* by the space of seven-hundred-ninety-four Years, as the Learned *Ateusius* has computed them, to which if you add the two and thirty Years of *Ogyges*, and the intervall of an hundred and ninety Years, in which no Foot-steps of any Government are to be found, the number will amount to one thousand and twelve Years.

### A Catalogue of the *Athenian* Kings.

|                    | Years.  |                   | Years.  |
|--------------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
| <i>Ogyges</i>      | XXXII.  | <i>Thymates</i>   | VIII.   |
| Interregnum        | CXC.    | <i>Melanthis</i>  | XXXVII. |
| <i>Cecrops I.</i>  | I.      | <i>Codrus</i>     | XXI.    |
| <i>Cranus</i>      | IX.     | <i>Medon</i>      | XX.     |
| <i>Amphietyon</i>  | X.      | <i>Atastus</i>    | XXXVI.  |
| <i>Erichonius</i>  | I.      | <i>Archippus</i>  | XIX.    |
| <i>Pandion I.</i>  | XL.     | <i>Thersippus</i> | XLI.    |
| <i>Erechtheus</i>  | I.      | <i>Phorbas</i>    | XXX.    |
| <i>Cecrops II.</i> | XL.     | <i>Megacles</i>   | XXVIII. |
| <i>Pandion II.</i> | XXV.    | <i>Diognetus</i>  | XXV.    |
| <i>Egeus</i>       | XLVIII. | <i>Pherecles</i>  | XIX.    |
| <i>Theseus</i>     | XXX.    | <i>Ariphron</i>   | XX.     |
| <i>Menestheus</i>  | XXIII.  | <i>Thespius</i>   | XXVII.  |
| <i>Demophoon</i>   | XXXIII. | <i>Agamestor</i>  | XVII.   |
| <i>Oxyntes</i>     | XII.    | <i>Aeschylus</i>  | XXIII.  |
| <i>Aphidas</i>     | I.      | <i>Alcæon</i>     | II.     |

## CHAPTER IV.

### Of the State of Athens, from the Decennial Archons to Philip of Macedon.

THE People of *Athen* continually got Ground of their Superiors, gaining something by every alteration that was made in the State, till at length by little and little the whole Government



ment came into the hands of the Commonalty. *Theseus* and *Medon* made considerable abatements in their Power, but what remain'd of it, they kept in their own hands as long as they liv'd, and preserv'd the Succession entire to their Posterity. But in the first Year of the seventh *Olympiad*, both the Power, and Succession was devolv'd upon the People, who the better to curb the Pride, and restrain the Power of their *Archons*, continu'd them in their Government only for ten Years, and the first that was Created in this manner, was *Charops*, the Son of *Æschylus*. But they would not rest contented here, for about seventy Years after, that the *Archons* might be wholly dependent on the Citizen's favour; it was agreed that their Authority should but last for one Year, at the End of which they were to give an Account of their Administration, and the first of these was *Cleon*, who entred upon his Charge in the third Year of the twenty-fourth *Olympiad* (a).

In the thirty-ninth *Olympiad* *Draco* was *Archon*, and was the Author of many new Laws, in which there is very little worth our Notice, only that they were very Cruel and Inhumane, punishing almost every Trivial Offence with Death. Infomuch that those that were convicted of Idleness were to Die, and those that Stole a Cabbage, or an Apple, to suffer as the Villains that committed Sacrilege, or Murder; and therefore *Demades* is remark'd for saying that *Draco's* Laws were not written with Ink, but Blood: and he himself being ask'd, Why he made Death the punishment of most Offences, reply'd, Small Crimes deserve that, and I have no higher for the greatest.

But all these, that only excepted which concern'd Murder, were repeal'd in the third Year of the forty-sixth *Olympiad*, in which *Solon* being *Archon*, was intrusted with the Power of new Modelling the Common-wealth, and making Laws for it. They gave him Power over all their Magistrates, (says *Plutarch*), their Assemblies, Courts, Senates; that he should appoint the Number, Times of meeting, and what Estate they should have that could be capable of being admitted to them, and to dissolve or continue any of the present Constitutions, according to his Judgment and Discretion (b).

*Solon* finding the People variously affected, some inclin'd to a Monarchy, others to an Oligarchy, others to a Democracy, the Rich men Powerful and Haughty, the Poor Groaning under the burden of their Oppression, endeavour'd as far as was possible to compose all their Differences, to ease their Grievances, and give all reasonable Persons satisfaction. In the Prosecution of this design he divided the *Athenians* into four Ranks, according to every Man's Estate; Those who were worth five hundred *Medimni* of liquid and dry Commodities he plac'd in the first Rank, calling them *πεντακοσαιοιδμοι*. The next were the Horsemen, call'd *τετρακοσαιοιδμοι*, being such as were of Ability to furnish out a Horse, or were worth three hundred *Medimni*. The third Class consisted of those that had two hundred *Medimni*, which were call'd *δωδεκακτοιοιδμοι*. In the last he plac'd all the rest, calling them *οιητις*,

(a) See *Plutarch* in *Solon*.

and

and allow'd them not to be capable of bearing any Office in the Government, only gave them Liberty to give their Votes in all publick Assemblies, which, tho' at the first it appear'd inconsiderable, was afterwards found to be a very important Privilege, for it being permitted any Man after the determination of the Magistrates to make an appeal to the People assembl'd in Convocation, hereby it came to pass, that Causes of the greatest weight and moment were brought before them. And thus he continu'd the Power and Magistracy in the hands of the Rich Men, and yet neither expos'd the inferiour People to their Cruelty and Oppression, nor wholly depriv'd them of having a share in the Government. And of this Equality he himself makes mention in this manner,

Δήμω γὰρ ὃ ἐδωκα, πῶσον κράτος ὅσον ἐπαχύν,

Τίμης ἔτ' ἀρελὼν, ἔτ' ἐπορεξάμεν.

Οἱ δ' εἶχον δυνάμιν καὶ χόρημασιν ἦσαν ἀγῆστοι,

Καὶ πῶς ἐργασάμεν μηδὲν ἀεικὲς εἶναι.

Ἐβου δ' ἀμυδρὰν κρατὶν σάκος ἀμφοτέρωσιν,

Νικῶν δ' ἐκείν' ἀμυδρὸς ἀδίκων.

What Power was fit I did on all bestow,  
Nor rais'd the Poor too high, nor Press'd too low;  
The Rich that Rul'd, and every Office bore  
Confin'd by Laws they could not Press the Poor:  
Both Parties I secur'd from Lawless might,  
So none prevail'd upon another's Right.

(Mr. Creech.)

Not many Years after, the City being divided into Factions, *Pisistratus* by a Stratagem seiz'd upon the Government: for having on set purpose Wounded himself, he was brought into the Market-Place in a Chair, where he expos'd his Wounds to the People, assuring them that he had been so dealt with by the adverse Party for his affection to their Government. The unthinking Multitude were easily drawn by so specious a pretence into a compassion of his Misfortunes, and rage against his Enemies; and upon the motion of one *Ariston*, granted him fifty Men arm'd with Clubs to Guard his Person. The decree being pass'd, *Pisistratus* list'd the number of Men that were allow'd him, and besides them as many more as he pleas'd, no Man observing what he was a doing, till at length in requital of the City's kindness and Care of him, he seiz'd the Citadel, and depriv'd them of their Liberty. After this *Pisistratus* liv'd thirty Years, seventeen of which he was in possession of the Government of *Athens*; but the State continu'd all that time unsettled, and in continual motions, the City-Party sometimes prevailing against him and expelling him, sometimes again being worsted by him, and forc'd to let him return in Triumph.

He was succeeded by his Sons *Hipparchus* and *Hippias*, whom *Heracles* calls *Thespius*; the former of which was Slain by *Aristogiton*, and the latter about three or four Years after compell'd by *Clisthenes*, who call'd to his assistance the banish'd *Alcæonides*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, to relinquish his Government, and secure himself by a dishonourable Flight.



Flight. Being thus banish'd his Countrey, he fled into *Persia*, where he liv'd many Years, perfwading *Darius* to the Enterprize upon *Athen*, which at length to his eternal Shame and Dishonour he undertook. For levying a numerous Host of Men he entred the *Athenian* Territories, where both he, and his whole Army were totally Defeated, by an inconceivable number of Men, under the Conduct of *Miltiades* in that Famous Battel of *Marathon*. This Victory was obtain'd twenty Years after *Hippias's* Expulsion. And thus the *Athenians* recover'd their Laws and Liberties, about sixty-eight Years after they had been depriv'd of them by *Pisistratus*.

After this Success, they continued in a Flourishing condition, for three and thirty Years, but then the Scene chang'd, and reduc'd them almost to the lowest Ebb of Fortune. *Xerxes* in revenge of his Predecessor's Defeat, invaded their Territories with an Army, (as some say,) of seventeen-hundred-thousand Men, and forc'd them to quit their City, and leave it a prey to the insulting *Barbarians*, who took it without any considerable resistance, and laid it in Ashes; and in the Year following his Lieutenant *Mardonius* in imitation of his Master's example, burn'd it a second Time. But these Storms were soon blown over by the Wisdom and Courage of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, who totally Defeated the *Persian* Fleet at *Salamis*, and seconded that Victory by another of no less importance over *Mardonius* at *Platææ*, whereby the *Barbarians* were quite driven out of *Greece*, and *Athen* restor'd to her Ancient Government, arising out of her Ruins, more Bright and Glorious then ever she had been before.

But the State suffer'd some alterations, for first, *Aristides*, a Person (as *Plutarch* assures us) of a mean Extraction, and meaner Fortune, being in consideration of his eminent Virtues, and signal Services to the Common-wealth, preferr'd to the Dignity of an *Archon*, repeal'd *Solon's* Law, by which the *Genæ*, or lowest Order of People, were made incapable of bearing any Office in the Government. And after him *Pericles* having lessen'd the Power of the *Areopagites*, brought in a confus'd *Ochlocratic*, whereby the Populace, and basest of the Rabble obtain'd as great a share in the Government, as Persons of the Highest Birth and Quality.

Notwithstanding these Alterations at Home, all things were carri'd on with great Success abroad: the *Athenians* by the help of their Fleet, on which they laid out their whole strength, when *Xerxes* forc'd them to quit their City, became sole Lords of the Sea, and made themselves Masters of the greatest Part of the *Ægean* Ilands; And having either forc'd the rest of the *Grecians* into Subjection, or aw'd them into a Confederacy, went on Conquerors to the Borders of *Ægypt*, and had (as *Aristophanes* reports) a thousand Cities under their Dominions.

But afterwards things Succeeding ill in *Sicily*, under the Command of *Nicias*, and some other troubles arising in the Common-wealth, the Principal Men of *Athen* (says *Sr. Walter Raleigh*) being wearied with the Peoples insolency, took this opportunity to change the form of Government, and bring the Sovereignty into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains that were abroad, they caus'd them to set up an *Aristocratie* in the Towns of their Confederates; and

and in the mean time, some, that were most likely to oppose this Innovation, being Slain at *Athen*, the Commonalty were so dismay'd that none durst open his Mouth against the Conspirators, whose Number they knew not; but every Man was afraid of his Neighbour, lest he should have a hand in the Plot. In this general Consternation, the Government of *Athen* was usurped by Four-hundred, who preserving in shew the Ancient form of Proceeding, caus'd all matters to be propounded to the People, and concluded upon by the greater part of the Voices; but the things propounded were only such, as had been first agree'd upon among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other Liberty, than only that of approving and giving content; for whosoever presum'd to take upon him any farther, was quickly dispatch'd out of the way, and no enquiry made after the Murderers. By these means were many Decrees made, all tending to the Establishment of this new Authority, which nevertheless endur'd not long; for the Fleet, and Army, which was then at the Isle of *Samos*, altogether detesting these Tyrannical Proceedings of the four-hundred Usurpers, recall'd *Alcibiades* from his Banishment; and partly out of fear of him, and partly because they found the Citizens incens'd against them, the Tyrants Voluntarily resigned their Authority, and went into Banishment.

Yet was not this alteration of Government a full restitution of the Sovereign Command to the People, or whole Body of the City, but only to Five-thousand, which the Four-hundred (when their Authority began) had pretended to take to them as Assistants in the Government; herein seeming to do little or no wrong to the Commonalty, who seldom assembled in a greater Number; and therefore no Decrees were pass'd in the Name of the Four-hundred, but all was said to be done by the Five-thousand; and the Usurpers were called (says (a) *Plato*) *Πεντακισιοι* ἢ ὀλίγοι, five-thousand, tho' they did not exceed four-hundred. But now when the Power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agree'd that *Alcibiades* and his Friends should be recall'd from Exile by the Citizens, as they had before been by the Soldiers; and that the Army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the Government, which was forthwith reform'd according to the Soldiers desire.

This establishment of Affairs at home was immediately seconded with good Success from abroad, for by the help of *Alcibiades* they in a short time obtain'd several very important Victories; but the giddy Multitude being soon after incens'd against him, he was Banish'd a second time (b). His Absence had always before been fatal to the *Athenians*, but never so much so, as at this time; for their Navy at *Ægos-Potamos* through the carelessness of the Commanders, was betray'd into the hands of *Lysander*, the *Lacedemonian* Admiral, who took and sunk almost the whole Fleet, to that of two, or three-hundred Sail of Ships there escap'd not above eight.

After this Victory, *Lysander* joining his own Forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, march'd directly to *Athen*, which

(a) *Alcibiades*. (b) *Diodor. Sic. lib. XII. Xerxes Hist. Grec. lib. II. Justin. lib. V.*

was surrendred to them upon Terms, whereby the *Athenians* oblig'd themselves to pull down the Long-Walls, by which the City was join'd to the *Piræus*, or Haven, and deliver up all their Naval Forces, only ten, or as some say, twelve Ships excepted. Nay there was a Consultation held whether the City should be utterly destroy'd, and the Lands about it laid waste; and *Agis* had carried it in the affirmative, had not *Lysander* oppos'd him, urging, That one of the *Etes of Greece* ought not to be pluck'd out. However he forc'd them to alter their form of Government, and change their *Democracy* into an *Oligarchie*, a State ever affected by the *Lacedæmonians*.

In compliance therefore with the Commands of their Conquerors, the People of *Athens* chose Thirty Governours, commonly call'd *Thirty Tyrants*, the Names of which you may see in *Xenophon*. These (saith an Author above mentioned) were chosen with a design to compile a Bodie of their Laws, and make a Collection of such Ancient Statutes, as were fittest to be put in Practice in that juncture of Affairs, which were called *ἡνίκαν νόμους*, or New Laws. And to this Charge was annexed the supreme Authority, and the whole Government of the City entrusted in their hands. At the first they seem'd to proceed with some shew of Justice, and apprehending such troublesome Fellows, as were odious to the City, but could not be taken hold of by the Laws, condemn'd them to Death. But having afterwards obtain'd a Guard from the *Spartans*, to secure the City, as was pretended, to their Obedience, they soon discover'd what they had been aiming at; for they sought no more after Base and Detested Persons, but invaded the Leading and Principal Men of the City, sending Ann'd Men from House to House, to dispatch such as were like to make any Head against their Government. And to add the greater strength to their Party, and Colour to their Proceedings, they selected three-thousand of such Citizens, as they thought fittest for their purpose, and gave them some part of the publick Authority, disarming all the rest. Being confirm'd with this accession of Strength, they proceeded in their Bloody designs with more Heat and Vigour than before, putting to Death all that were possessed of Estates, without any form of Justice, or so much as any the least Pique or Grudge against them, only that their Riches might fall into their hands. Nay, so far were they transported with Cruelty, and Covetousness, that they agree'd that every one of them should name his Man, upon whose Goods he should seize, by putting the owner to Death, and when *Theramenes*, one of their own Number profess'd his detestation of so Horrid a Design, they condemn'd him forthwith, and compelled him to drink Poison. This *Theramenes* was at the first a mighty stickler for the Tyrants Authority, but when they began to abuse it in the defence of such outrageous Practices, no Man more violently oppos'd it than he, and this got him the Nick-name of *Καὶ ὁ δύο*, or Jack of both-sides, ὁ ὅς καὶ ὅτε ἀντιέστη τῷ τοῖς πέντε ἐμφορίῳ δέξι, from *Cuthurnus*, which was a kind of a Shoe that fitted both Feet.

At length the *Athenians* to the number of seventy, that had Fled to *Thebes*, going voluntarily into Banishment to secure themselves from the Tyrants,

Tyrants, entred into a Conspiracy against them, and under the Conduct of *Thrasybulus* seiz'd upon *Phyle*, a strong Castle in the Territory of *Athens*, and encreasing their Strength and Numbers by little and little, so far prevail'd against them, that they were forc'd to retire to *Sparta*, and then all their Laws were repeal'd, and the upstart Form of Government utterly dissolv'd. And thus the *Athenians* regain'd their Liberty, and were re-establish'd in the Peaceable enjoyment of their Lands and Fortunes in the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth *Olympiad*. And to prevent all future Jealousies and Quarrels amongst themselves, they proclaim'd an *Amnistia*, or Act of Oblivion, whereby all, that had been concern'd in the Outrages and Barbarities committed during the Sovereignty of the Tyrants, were admitted to Pardon.

*Thrasybulus* having thus free'd his Countrey from the heavy Yoke of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Canon* established it in all it's Ancient Privileges and Immunities, by another signal Victory at *Cnidus*, wherein he gave a total Defeat to the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet. And having by this means regain'd the Sovereignty of the Seas, they began again to take Courage, and aim'd now at nothing less than the restauration of *Athens* to her Ancient Glory: and Fortune was not wanting in some measure to further their great Design; for they not only reduc'd the Ile of *Lesbos*, *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other Places thereabouts to their former Obedience, but rais'd *Athens* once more to be the most Potent, and the Principal City in all *Greece*.

In this State they continued for some Years till the *Thebans*, who had been rais'd from one of the most inconsiderable States in *Greece* to great Power, by the wise Conduct and great Courage of *Epaminondas*, put a stop to her Grandeur, and disputed the Sovereignty with her; but this Contest was soon decided by the hasty Death of *Epaminondas*, at the Famous Battel of *Maninea*, that put an End to the *Theban* Greatness, which as it was rais'd, and maintain'd, so it likewise perill'd with that great Man. So great alterations are the Wisdom and Courage of one Man able to effect in the Affairs of whole Kingdoms.

The Death of *Epaminondas* prov'd no less fatal to the *Athenians* than the *Thebans*, for now there being none whose Virtues they could emulate, or whose Power they could fear, they Lorded it without a Rival, and being glutt'd with too much Prosperity, gave themselves over to Idleness and Luxury; they slighted the Virtue of their Ancestors; their hard and thrifty way of Living they laugh'd at; the publick Revenues that used to be employ'd in paying the Fleets and Armies, they expended upon Games and Sports, and lavishly profus'd them in Sumptuous preparations for Festivals, they took greater pleasure in going to the Theater, and hearing the insipid jests of a Comedian, than in manly Exercises, and Feats of War, and preferred a *Mimick*, or a Stage-Player, before the most Valiant and experienc'd Captain; Nay, they were so besott'd with their pleasures, that they made it Capital for any Man to propose the re-establishing of their Army, or converting the publick Revenues to the maintenance of it, as *Libanius* observes (a).

(a) Argument ad Olynthiac. I.

This foolish and degenerate Disposition of theirs, and the rest of the *Greeks*, who were also drown'd in the same security, gave Opportunity and Leisure to *Philip*, who had been educated under the Discipline of *Epaminondas*, and *Pelidas*; to raise the *Macedonians* from a mean, obscure, and underling condition to the Empire of all *Greece*, and *Asia*; as *Justin* hath observ'd (a). And this design was projected and begun by *Philip*, but achiev'd, and perfected by his Son, *Alexander* the Great.

## CHAPTER V.

*Of the State of Athens, from Philip of Macedon to it's delivery by the Romans.*

THE *Athenians*, and the rest of the *Greeks*, made some resistance against the Victorious Army of *Philip*, but were overthrown in a pitch'd Battle at *Chæronea*, in the third Year of the CXth. *Olympiad*. This Defeat put an End to the *Grecian* Glory, and in a great measure to their Liberty, which for so many Ages, and against the most puissant Monarchs they had preserv'd entire till that time, but were never again able to recover it. However *Philip*, to the end he might be declar'd Captain General of *Greece*, against the *Persians* without any further trouble, and strengthen his Army by the accession of their Forces, was content to forbear any farther attempt upon the *Athenians*, and permit them to enjoy a shew of Liberty.

No sooner was *Philip* dead, than they revolted, and endeavour'd to free themselves from the *Macedonian* Yoke, but were easily brought into Subjection by *Alexander*, and as easily obtain'd pardon of him, being then very-eager of invading *Persia*, and unwilling to be diverted by taking Revenge upon those petty States, from a more Noble and Glorious Enterprise. And during his Life they continu'd quiet, not daring to move so much as their Tongues against him. Only towards the latter end of his Reign, when he was busi'd in the Wars with remote Countreys, and not at leisure to take notice of every little Opposition, they resolv'd to entertain the banish'd Persons, which *Alexander* had commanded should be restor'd in all the Cities of *Greece*. However they durst not break out into open Rebellion; but gave secret orders to *Leosthenes*, one of their Captains, to levy an Army in his own Name, and be ready whenever they should have occasion for him: *Leosthenes* obey'd their commands, and as soon as certain News was brought, that *Alexander* was dead in *Persia*, being joyn'd by some others of the *Grecian* States, proclaim'd open War against the *Macedonians*, in defence of the Liberty of *Greece*. But being in the end totally defeated by *Antipater*, they were forc'd to entertain a Garrison in *Athens*, and submit to what condition the Conquerour pleas'd to impose upon them.

(a) *Histor. L. VI. Cap. IX.*

He therefore chang'd their form of Government, and instituted an *Oligarchie*, depriving all those, that were not worth two thousand *Drachms*, of the right of Suffrage, and the better to keep them quiet, all mutinous, and disaffected Persons he transplanted into *Thrace*. And by this means the supreme Power came into the hands of about nine thousand.

About four Years after, *Antipater* died, and the City fell into the hands of *Cassander*, who succeeded in the Kingdom of *Macedon*. From him they made many attempts to free themselves, and regain their beloved *Democracy*, but were in the end forc'd to submit themselves, in the third Year of the hundred and fifteenth *Olympiad*, and accept of the same Garrison that *Antipater* had impos'd upon them, to live under the same form of Government, and obey any Person that the Conquerour should nominate to the Supreme Power in it. The man appointed to be their Governour was *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, who, as (a) *Diogenes Laërtius* reports, was of the Family of *Canon*, and studied Philosophy under *Teophrastus*. He us'd them with all possible kindness and moderation, enlarg'd their Revenues, beautified their City with magnificent Structures, and restor'd it almost to it's former Look; and they in requital of these Favours, bestow'd on him all the Honours, that in so poor a condition they were able to give, erecting to him three hundred Statues, according to the number of Days in the *Attick* Year, most of which were on Horse-back (b). But all this was the effect of Flattery and Dissimulation, rather than any real Respect to him, all his Moderation, all the Benefits he had conferr'd on them, could not beget in them any sincere Affection for him; they still hated him, tho' they had no other reason for it, than that he was set over them by *Cassander*; and tho' their Power was gone, yet their Spirits were still too high, to brook any thing that savour'd of Tyranny. And this in a few Years was made manifest, for when *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, the Son of *Antigonus*, took up Arms, as was pretended, in defence of the Liberty of *Greece*, they receiv'd him with loud Acclamations, and all possible expressions of Joy, compell'd the *Phalerean* to secure himself by Flight, in his absence condemn'd him to dye, and laid in wait to apprehend him, and bring him to Execution, and when they could not compass his Person, vented their Rage and Malice upon his Statues, which they pull'd down with the greatest Detestation and Abhorrence, breaking some to pieces, selling others, and drowning others, so that of three-hundred there was none left remaining, except only one in the Cittadel, as the foremention'd Author hath reported.

*Demetrius Poliorcetes* having gotten possession of the City, restor'd to the *Athenians* their Popular Government, bestow'd upon them fifteen-thousand Measures of Wheat, and such a Quantity of Timber as would enable them to build an hundred Gallies, for the defence of their City, and left them in full possession of their Liberty, without any Garrison to keep them in obedience. But so transported were the *Athenians* with this Deliverance, that with a wild and extravagant Gratitude,

(a) *Demetrius. (b) Thuan Hist &c.*

they bestow'd upon *Demetrius* and *Amigonus*, not only the Title of *Kings*, tho' that was a Name they had hitherto declin'd, but call'd them their *Tutelar Deities* and *Deliverers*; they instituted Priests to them, enacted a Law that the Ambassadors, which they should send to them, should have the same Stile and Character, with those which were accustomed to be sent to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*, or to *Elis* to the *Olympian Jupiter*, to perform the *Grecian* Solemnities, and make Oblations for the Safety and preservation of their City, whom they call'd *Θεοι*. They appointed lodgings for *Demetrius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, and erected and consecrated an Altar in the place where he first alighted from his Chariot, calling it the Altar of *Demetrius* the *Aligher*, and add'd infinite other instances of most gross and fordid Flattery, of which *Plutarch* (a), and others give us a large account; for (says a learned modern Author) the *Athenians* having forgotten how to employ their hands, made up that defect with their Tongues; converting to base Flattery that Eloquence, which the Virtues of their Ancestors had suited unto more manly Arguments.

But afterwards when *Demetrius's* Fortune began to decline, he was no longer their God, or their *Deliverer*, but in requital of all his former Kindnesses, they basely desert'd him, deny'd him Entrance into their City, and by a Popular Edict made it Death for any person so much as to propose a Treaty or Accommodation with him. Then the City being embroil'd in civil Dissentions, one *Lachares* took this opportunity, to set himself up as an Usurper over it, but upon the approach of *Demetrius*, was forc'd to quit his new-usurped Authority, and preserve himself by a timely Flight.

Thus they were a second time in the possession of *Demetrius*, who notwithstanding their former shameful Ingratitude receiv'd them again into Favour, bestow'd upon them an hundred-thousand Bushels of Wheat, and to Ingratiate himself the more with them, advanc'd such persons to publick Offices, as he knew to be most acceptable to the People. This unexpected Generosity transported them so far beyond themselves, that at the motion of *Dromocles* an Orator, it was decree'd by the unanimous suffrage of the People, that the Haven of *Piræus*, and the Castle of *Munychia* should be put into the hands of *Demetrius*, to dispose of them as he pleas'd. And he having learn'd by their former inconsistency not to repose too much trust in such humble Servants, put strong Garrisons into those two places, and by his own Authority plac'd a third in the *Museum*, to the end (saith *Plutarch*) that those People, who had shew'd so much Levity in their Dispositions, might be kept in subjection, and not by their future Perfidies be able to divert him from the prosecution of other Enterprizes.

But all this care was not sufficient to keep a People restless, and impatient of any thing that favour'd of Servitude in Obedience, for *Demetrius's* Power being again diminish'd by divers bad Successes, they made another revolt, expell'd his Garrison, and proclaim'd Liberty

(a) *Deat. 10.*

to all *Athenians*; and to do him the greater Disgrace, they displac'd *Diphilus*, who was that Year the Priest of the two *Tutelar Deities*, that is, *Amigonus* and *Demetrius*, and by an Edict of the People restor'd the Priest-hood to it's Ancient Form. Again *Demetrius* having recover'd himself a little, and being justly enrag'd against them for their repeated Perfidies, laid close Siege to the City, but by the perswasion of *Crateus* the Philosopher was wrought upon to quit it, and leave them once more in possession of their Freedom.

Some time after this, *Demetrius* died, and was succeeded by *Antigonus Gonatas*, who again recover'd *Athens*, put a Garrison into it, and left it in the hands of his Successour: but upon the Death of *Demetrius*, the Son of *Gonatas*, the *Athenians* made another attempt to regain their Liberty, and call'd in *Aratus* to their assistance, who tho' he had been signally affronted by them, and lain a long time bed-ridden of an Infirmary, yet rather than fail the City in a time of need, was carried thither in a Litter, and prevail'd with *Diogenes* the Governour, to deliver up the *Piræus*, *Munychia*, *Salamis*, and *Sanium* to the *Athenians*, in consideration of an hundred and fifty Talents, whereof *Aratus* himself gave twenty to the City. And of all these Changes and Successes we have a large account in *Pausanias*, *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus*.

Not long after this re-establishment, they quarrel'd with *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, who reduc'd them to great Extremities, laid waste their Country, pull'd down all the Temples in the Villages around *Athens*, destroy'd all their stately Edifices, and caus'd his Soldiers to break in pieces the very Stones, that they might not be serviceable in the reparation of them, all which Losses with a great many aggravations are elegantly set forth in an Oration of the *Athenian* Ambassadors to the *Ætolians*, in *Livie* (a). But the *Romans* coming to their Assistance, *Philip* was forc'd to forsake his Enterprize, and being afterwards entirely defeated, left the *Grecians* in a full possession of their Liberty, which, at least some part of it, they enjoy'd many Years, under the *Roman* Protection.

## CHAPTER VI.

### Of the State of Athens, from it's Confederacy with Rome to Constantine the Great.

THE *Grecians*, and others that put themselves under the *Roman* Protection, tho' they gilded their condition with the specious Name of Liberty, yet were no farther free, than it pleas'd those in whose Power they were; they were govern'd indeed by their own Laws, and had the Privilege of electing their own Magistrates; yet their Laws were of small force, if they seem'd any way to oppose the *Roman* Interest

(a) *Lib. XXXI. cap. XXX.*

and good Pleasure; and in the election of Magistrates, and ordering publick Affairs, tho' every man might give his Voice which way he pleas'd, yet if he thwarted the *Roman* designs, or was cold in his Assistance to them, or (which was all one) but warm in the Defence of the Liberties and Privileges of his Country, he was look'd upon with a jealous Eye, as a Favourer of Rebellion, and an Enemy to the *Romans*.

And for no other reason were a thousand of the most eminent *Acheans*, without any charge, or so much as suspicion of Treachery, sent Prisoners to *Rome*, where, notwithstanding all the Testimonies of their Innocence, and the Sollicitations of their Country, which never ceas'd to importune the Senate for their Liberty, they endur'd an imprisonment of seventeen Years; which being expired, to the number of thirty of them were releas'd, amongst whom was *Polybius*, from whose impartial History you may have an account of all these proceedings, which their own Historians endeavour to palliate, tho' they cannot denie them; all the rest either died in Prison, or upon attempting to make their Escape, suffer'd as Malefactor's.

And by these and such like means, whilst some sought by Flattery and Compliance to ingratiate themselves into the Favour of the *Romans*, others out of Fear and Cowardice resolv'd to swim with the Stream, and those few that had Courage and Resolution to appear for their Country were little regarded; every thing was carried on according to the Desire of the *Romans*; and if any thing happen'd contrary to it, their Agents presently made an Appeal to the Senate, which reserv'd to themselves a Power of receiving such like complaints, and determining as they thought convenient, and they that would not submit to this Decision, were proceeded against as Enemies, and forc'd by Power of Arms into Obedience. No War was to be begun, no Peace to be concluded, nor scarce their own Countrey to be defended without the advice and consent of the Senate; They were oblig'd to pay what Taxes the Senate thought fit to impose upon them; Nay, the *Roman* Officers sometimes took the liberty of raising Contributions of their own accord, and tho' in the *Macedonian* War, upon several just complaints made against them, the Senate was forc'd to put forth a Decree, that no *Grecian* should be oblig'd to pay any Contribution, besides such as was levied by their Order; yet if any man refus'd to answer the Demands of any *Roman* Officer, he was look'd upon as an encourager of Sedition, and in the End far'd little better, than those that broke out into open Rebellion.

In this State stood the Affairs of the *Athenians* under the *Roman* Government, and whether in consideration of the easiness of this Yoke, if compar'd with that which the *Macedonians* impos'd on them; or thro' meanness of Spirit contracted by being long accusom'd to Misfortunes; or for want of Power to assert their Liberty; or for all these reasons, they patiently submitted themselves, seeming well satisfied with the enjoyment of this slavish Freedom, which in a few Ages before, they would have rejected with the greatest Indignation, and endeavour'd to deliver themselves from it, tho' their Lives, and the

remainder of their Fortunes should have been hazarded in the Enterprize.

And from this time till the War with *Mithridates*, they continu'd without any remarkable alterations, but either by the persuasions of *Ariston* the Philosopher, or out of fear of *Mithridates's* Army, they had the bad Fortune to take his part, and receive *Archestratus*, one of his Lieutenants, within their Walls; at which *Sylla* being enrag'd laid Siege to the City, took it, and committed to merciless a slaughter, that the very Channels in the Streets flow'd with Blood. At this time the *Piræus*, and *Munychia*, were burn'd to the Ground, their Walls demolish'd, their Ancient Monuments destroy'd, and the whole City so defac'd, that it was never able to recover it's former Beauty, till the time of *Albion* (a).

This Storm being blown over, they liv'd in Peace till the time of the Civil War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, in which they sided with *Pompey*, and were closely Besieg'd by *Q. Fufius Calenus*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, who spoil'd and destroy'd all the adjacent Countrey, and seiz'd upon the *Piræus*, being at that time unfortified, and a place of little strength: But news being brought that *Pompey* was totally routed, they yielded themselves into the hands of the Conquerour, who according to his wonted Generosity receiv'd them into Favour, and this he did out of respect to the Glory and Virtue of their Ancestors, giving out, That he pardon'd the Living for the sake of the Dead, as *Dion Cassius* reports (b).

But it seems they still retain'd some sparks, at least, of their old Love for Popular Government, for when *Cæsar* was dead, they joyn'd themselves to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, his Murderers, and besides other Honours done to them, plac'd their Statues next those of *Pharmodius* and *Aristogiton*, two famous Patriots, that defended the Liberty of their Countrey against the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* being defeated, they went over to *Antony*, who behav'd himself very obligingly toward them, and the rest of the *Grecians*, being fond (saith (c) *Plutarch*) of being stil'd a *Lover of Greece*, but above all in being call'd a *Lover of Athens*, to which City he made considerable Presents; and, as others tell us, gave the *Athenians* the Dominion of the Islands of *Tenus*, *Ægina*, *Ieus*, *Cea*, *Sciathus*, and *Peparethus*.

*Augustus* having overcome *Antony*, handled them a little more severely for their ingratitude to his Father, and besides some other Privileges, as that of Selling the Freedom of the City, took from them the Isle of *Ægina* (d). Towards the latter End of his Reign, they began to revolt, but were easily reduc'd to their former obedience; and notwithstanding all the Cruelties, Ravages, and other Misfortunes they had suffer'd, *Strabo*, who flourish'd in the Reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, tells us they enjoy'd many Privileges, retain'd their Ancient form of Government, and liv'd in a flourishing Condition in his Days (e). And

(a) *Plutarch. Sylla. Strabo* l. IX. *Lucius Florus* l. III. c. V. *Appianus* in *Mithridatica*. (b) *l. XLII.* (c) *Antony.* (d) *Dion Cassius. l. c. Georg. l. IX.*

*Germanicus*, the adopted Son of *Tiberius*, making a Journey that way, Honour'd them with the Privilege of having a *Lictor*, which was an Officer, that attended upon the chief Magistrates at *Rome*, and was accounted a mark of Sovereign Power.

In this condition they remain'd with little alteration till the Reign of *Vespasian*, who reduc'd *Attica*, and all *Achaia* to be a Roman Province, exacting Tribute of them, and compelling them to be govern'd by the Roman Laws.

Under *Nerva* some Shadow, at least, of Liberty was restor'd them, but they were still under the Government of a *Proconsul*, and receiv'd most of their Laws from the Emperour, who also nominated the Professours in their publick Schools, and appointed them *Archons*; and hence it came to pass, that *Adrian* before his advancement to the Empire, was invested in that Office. In the same State they continu'd in *Trajan's* time, as appears from an Epistle of *Pliny* to *Maximus*, who was sent to Govern *Achaia*, wherein he advis'd him to use his Power with moderation, and tells him in particular of the *Athenians*, that it would be a Barbarous piece of Inhumanity, to deprive them of that Shadow, and Name of Liberty, which was all that remain'd to them (a).

But notwithstanding the Peace and Privileges they enjoy'd under these, and other Emperours of *Rome*, they were never able to repair those vast Losses they had Suffer'd under *Sylla*, till the reign of *Adrian*, who in the time of his being *Archon*, took a Particular Affection to this City, and when he was promoted to be Emperour, granted them very large Privileges, gave them just and Moderate Laws, bestow'd on them a large Donative of Money, and annual Provisions of Corn, and the whole Island of *Cephalenia*; repair'd their old decay'd Castles, and restor'd them to their ancient Splendor, and added one whole Region of new Buildings at his own charge, which he call'd *Adrianopolis*; and, in short, so Beautified the whole City, that it was call'd *New-Athens*, as appears as well from other Records, as also from an Inscription upon an *Aque-duct*, begun by this Emperour, and finished by his Successor *Antoninus*,

IMP. CÆSAR. T. ÆLIUS. HADRIANUS. ANTONINUS.  
AUG. PIUS. COS. III. TRIB. POT. II. P. P.  
AQUÆDUCTUM. IN. NOVIS. ATHENIS. COEPTUM. A.  
DIVO.  
ADRIANO. PATRE. SUO. CONSUMMAVIT. DEDICAVIT-  
QUE (b).

The meaning of which is, that *Antoninus* had finish'd the *Aque-duct* in *New-Athens*, that had been begun by his Father, and Predecessor *Hadrian*. And from another of *Gruter's* Inscriptions, it appears that they acknowledg'd him to be the second Founder of their City,

(a) *Plin.* l. VIII. Epist. XXIV. (b) *Gruter.* p. CLXXVIL

ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ  
ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ Κ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ (a).

The Substance of which is, that *Athens* was formerly the City of *Theseus*, but do's now belong to *Adrian*. Many other Privileges this Emperour granted them, which were continu'd and enlarg'd by his Successors *M. Antoninus Pius*, and *M. Antoninus the Philosopher*, the latter of which allow'd them stipends for the maintenance of Publick Professors in all the Arts and Sciences, and was himself initiated amongst them.

But *Severus*, having receiv'd some Affront from them, when he was a Private Person, and Studied in *Athens*, was resolv'd to pay them Home, as soon as he was Emperour, and for no other reason, as 'tis thought, depriv'd them of a great part of their Privileges (b).

*Valerian* was more Favourable to them, and permitted them to rebuild their City-Walls, which had lain in Rubbish between Three and Four-hundred Years, from the time that *Sylla* dismantled them (c).

But these Fortifications could not Protect them from the Fury of the *Goths*, who under *Gallienus*, as *Zosimus*, or *Claudius*, as *Cedrenus* reports, made themselves Masters of it; but were soon driven out of their new Conquest, by *Cleodemus*, who having escap'd the Fury of those *Barbarians*, and got together a considerable Number of Men, and Ships, defeated part of them in a Sea-Fight, and forc'd the rest to quit the City, and provide for their Safety by an early Flight (d). One thing remarkable *Cedrenus* reports of the *Goths*, That when they had Plunder'd the City, and heap'd up an Infinite number of Books, with a Design to Burn them, they desisted from that purpose for this reason, viz. That the *Greeks* by employing their time upon them, might be diverted from Martial Affairs.

## CHAPTER VII.

### Of the State of Athens, from Constantine the Great.

TOWARDS the Declination of the Roman Greatness, the Chief Magistrate of *Athens*, was call'd by the Name of *Στάτης*, i. e.

Duke, but *Constantine the Great*, besides many other Privileges granted to the City, Honour'd him with the Title of *Μέγας Στάτης*, or Grand-Duke (e). *Constantinus* at the Request of *Proeresius*, enlarg'd their Dominions, by a Grant of several Islands in the *Archi-pelago*.

Under *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *Alarick*, King of the *Goths*, made an

(a) *Gruter.* pag. MLXXXVIII. (b) *Spartianus.* (c) *Zosimus.* (d) *Zonaras.*  
(e) *Julian.* Orat. I. *Nicephorus Gregoras Hist. Rom.* l. VII.

Incurſion into Greece, Pillag'd and Deſtroj'd all before him, but as *Zofimus* reports, was diverted from his Deſign upon *Athens*, by a Viſion, wherein the Tutelar *Godeſs* of that City appear'd to him in Armour, and in the Form of thoſe Statues that are Dedicated to *Minerva* the *Proteſtreſs*, and *Achilles* in the ſame manner that *Homer* reſents him, when being enrag'd for the Death of *Patroclus*, he fell with his utmoſt Fury upon the *Trojans* (a). But the Writers of thoſe Times make no mention of any ſuch thing, on the contrary they tell us, that *Athens* paſſ'd the common Fate of the reſt of Greece; and ſo *Claudian* reports,

*Si tunc his animis acies collata fuiſſet,  
Prodiſſa non tantas vidiffet Græcia clades,  
Oppida ſemoto Pelopeia Marte vigerent;  
Starent Arcadia, ſtarent Lacedæmonis arces;  
Non mare ſagraſſet geminum ſagrans Corintho;  
Nec ſera Cæcropias traxiffent vincula matres* (b).

Had thus th' embattel'd *Grecians* dar'd t'oppoſe  
With Rage and Pow'r Divine their Barbarous Foes,  
N'ere had their Land of Strength and Help bereft  
T'inſulting Conquerours a Prey been left.  
The *Spartan* Land had n'ere ſuch havock ſeen,  
It's Splendor n'ere eclips'd, or Pow'r depreſ'd had been.  
*Arcadian* Flocks might graze untainted Food,  
And free from Plunder *Pelops* Iſle have ſtood,  
*Corinth's* proud Structures n'ere had felt the Flames,  
Nor griping Chains enſlav'd th' *Athenian* Dames.

Mr. *Abell*.

And *Syneſius*, who liv'd in the ſame Age, tells us, there was nothing left in it ſplendid, or remarkable, nothing to be admired, beſides the Famous Names of Ancient Ruins; and that, as in a Sacrifice, when the Body is conſum'd, there remains nothing of the Beaſt, but an empty Skin; ſo it was in *Athens*, where all the Stately and Magnificent Structures were turn'd into ruinous Heaps, and nothing but old decay'd Out-ſides left remaining (c).

*Theodoſius* II. is ſaid to have Favour'd the *Athenians*, upon the Account of his Queen *Eudocia*, who was an *Athenian* by Birth. *Iuſtinian* alſo is reported to have been very Kind to them, but from his Reign, for the ſpace of about Seven-hundred Years, either for want of Hiſtorians in Ages ſo Rude and Barbarous, or becauſe they liv'd in Peace, and Obſcurity, without atchieving, or ſuffering any thing deſerving to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, there is no Account of any thing that paſſed amongſt them, till the Thirteenth Century.

At that time, *Nicetas* tells us, *Athens* was in the hands of *Baldwin*, and was Beſieg'd by one of the Generals of *Theodorus* *Laſcares*, who was

(a) *Zofimus* l. V. (b) *Claudian*. in *Ruffinum*. l. II. (c) *Syneſius* Ep. CCXXXV.

then

then the *Greek* Emperour, but he was repulſ'd with Loſs, and Forc'd to raiſe the Siege. Not long after, it was Beſieg'd by the Marquels *Boniſacius*, who made himſelf Maſter of it (a).

It was afterwards Govern'd by one *Delvæ*, of the Houſe of *Arragon*, and after his Death fell into the hands of *Bajazet*, Emperour of the *Turks* (b). Afterwards it was taken by the Spaniards of *Catalonia*, under the Command of *Andronicus* *Palæologus* the Elder (c). And theſe are the ſame, that *Chalcocondylas* calls *Καλπόνες*, and reports, they were diſpoſſeſ'd of it by *Reinerius* *Acciaiolo*, a *Florentine*, who having no legitimate Male-Iſſue, left it by his laſt Will and Teſtament to the State of *Venice*.

The *Venetians* were not long Maſters of it, being diſpoſſeſ'd by *Antony*, a Natural Son of *Reinerius*, who had given him the Sovereignty of *Thebes* and *Bæotia*; and from this time it continu'd ſome Years under the Government of the *Acciaioli*: for *Antony* was Succeeded by one of his Kinſmen, call'd *Nerius*; *Nerius* was diſplac'd by his Brother *Antony* for his Inſufficiency, and Unſuitneſs to Govern, and after *Antony's* Death, recover'd it again; but leaving only one Son, then an Infant, was Succeeded by his Wife, who for her Folly was ejected by *Mahomet*, upon the complaint of *Francus*, the Son of *Antony* the Second, who Succeeded her, and having confin'd her ſome time in Priſon, put her to Death, and was upon that ſcore Accuſ'd by her Son to *Mahomet* II, who ſent an Army under the Conduct of *Omares* to Beſiege him; *Francus* upon this made his Application to the *Lains*, but they refus'd to grant him any Aſſiſtance, except he would Engage his Subjects, in all things to Conform to the *Romiſh* Superſtition, and renounce all thoſe Articles, wherein the *Greek* Church differs from them; which he not being able to do, was forc'd to Surrender it to the *Turks*, in the Year of our Lord CIOCCCLV (d), and in their hands it continues to this Day.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### Of the City of Athens, and it's Walls, Gates, Streets, Buildings, &c.

THE City of *Athens*, when it Flourish'd in it's greateſt Splendor, was one of the faireſt and largeſt Cities of all Greece, being, ſays *Ariſtides*, a Day's journey in Compaiſ (e). But this ſeems to be rather a Rhetorical Flourish, than a juſt and true Account; for according to the moſt exact computation, the whole Circuit of it contain'd no more than CLXXVIII. *Stadia*, that is, ſomething above two and twenty Roman Miles.

(a) *Nicetas* *Choniates* in *Vita* *Baldvini*. (b) *Laonic* *Chalcocondylas* lib. III. (c) *Niceph. Greg.* lib. VII. (d) *Chalcocond.* lib. VI. & IX. (e) *Panathen.*

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But



But many were the changes of Government, and Fortune, which it underwent, before it arriv'd to this Pitch of Greatness, for at the first, that which was afterwards the Cittadel, was the whole City, and was call'd *Cecropia*, from it's first Founder *Cecrops*, who, they say, was the first that invented the manner of Building Cities, and therefore the *Athenians*, Proud of every little pretence to Antiquity, us'd to call it by way of Eminence *ἄνω*, and *πόλις*, as being the first City (a). Afterwards it chang'd it's first Name of *Cecropia*, and was call'd *Athena* in *Erichonius's* Reign, for which several reasons are given, but the most Common is, that the Name was taken from *Minerva*, whom the *Greeks* call *Ἀθῆνα*, because she was the Protectress of the City; indeed almost all Towers, and Cittadels were Sacred to this Goddess, who is therefore by *Caecilius* call'd,

———— *Diva tenens in summis arboribus arces.*

———— Goddess that in Cittadels doth dwell.

And *Eustathius* hath remark'd the same upon *Homer's* sixth *Iliad*, where he tells us, *Minerva's* Temple was in the *Trojan* Cittadel,

Νῆν Ἀθηνᾶς γλαυκᾶπις ἐν πέλει ἄρη (b).

*Minerva's* Temple in the Cittadel.

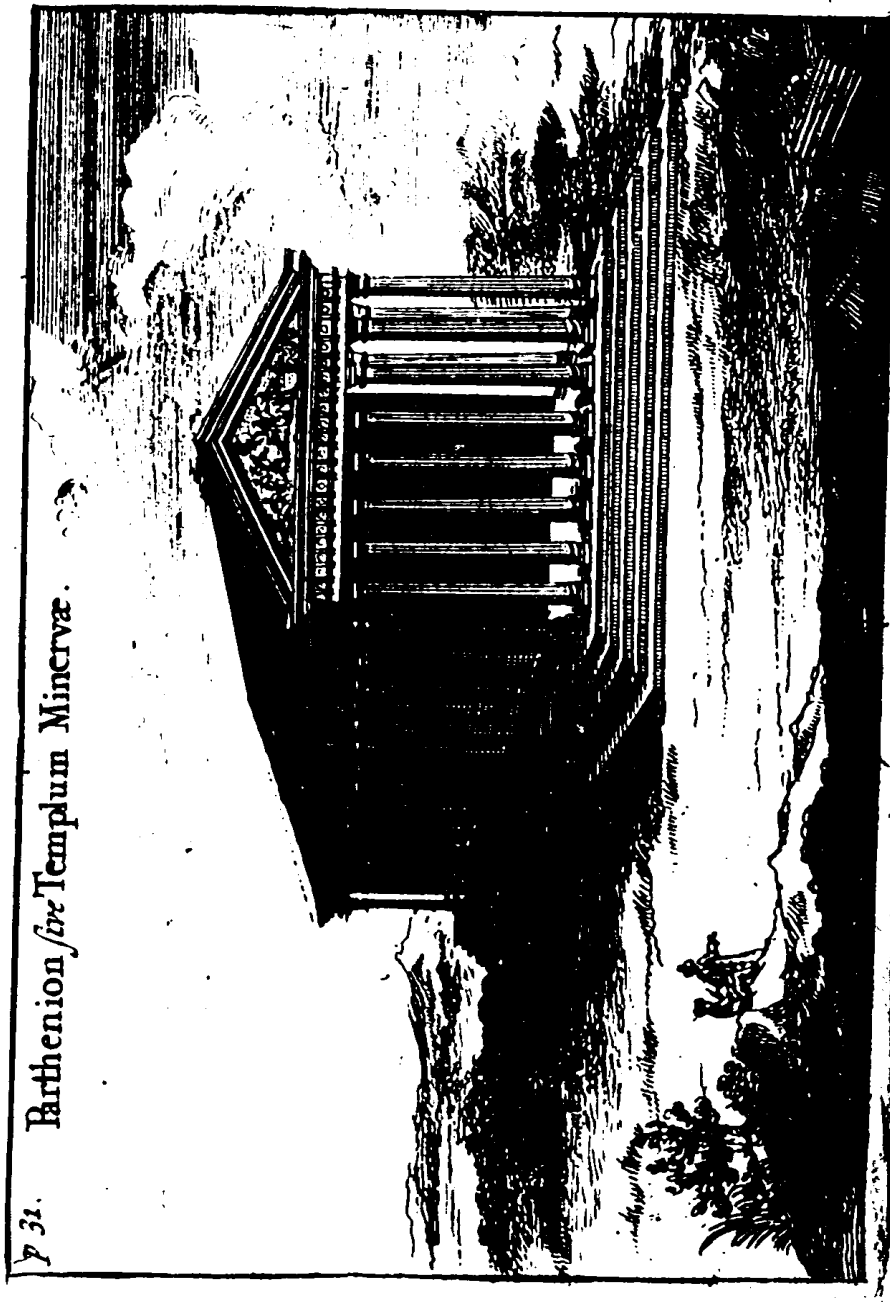
*Cecropia* was Seated in the midst of a large and pleasant Plain, upon the top of a high Rock, for, as the foremention'd Author observes, it was usual for the First Founders of Cities in those Ages, to lay the Foundations of them upon Steep Rocks, and high Mountains; and this they did, partly for that such places were a good Defence against Invaders, but more especially, because they hop'd to be secur'd by them from Inundations (c), which the People of those Times exceedingly dreaded, having heard and experienc'd the sad Effects of them under *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*. Afterwards, when the number of Inhabitants was increas'd, the whole Plain was fill'd with Buildings, which were call'd from their Situation *ἡ κάτω πόλις*, or the Lower City, and *Cecropia ἡ ἄνω πόλις*, or *Ἀκρόπολις*, the Upper City.

The Circuit of the Cittadel was Three-score Stadia, it was fenc'd in with wooden Pales, or, as some say, was set about with Olive-Trees; and therefore in *Xerxes's* Invasion, when the Oracle advis'd the *Athenians* to defend themselves with Walls of Wood, some were of Opinion, they were commanded to enter into the *Acropolis*, and there receive the Enemy; which some of them did, but after a desperate Resistance, were overpower'd by Numbers, and forc'd to suffer the sad Effects of their fond Interpretation (d).

It was Fortified with a strong Wall, one part of which was Built by *Cimon*, the Son of *Miltiades*, out of the Spoils taken in the *Persian* War, and was call'd *Κιμωνίου πύργος*, being on the South-side of the Cittadel (e).

(a) *Stephanus V. Ἀθήναι*. (b) Pag. CCCCLXXXIII. Edit. *Basil.* (c) *Il. d. p. CCCLXXXIV.* (d) *Syrrianus in Herm. Cornel. Nep.* (e) *Plutarch. in Cimone.*





The North-Wall was Built many Ages before, by *Agrolas*, as *Pausanias*, or *Enrialus*, as *Pliny*, and *Hyperbius*, two Brothers, that first taught the *Athenians* the Art of Building Houses, whereas till that time, they liv'd in Caves. They were *Tyrrenians* born, and by that Nation all forts of Building are said to have been first begun in *Greece*, and from them Walls and Castles were call'd *Τυρραια* (a). This Wall was nam'd *Πελαργική*, or *Πελαργική*, because the Founders of it, were call'd *Pelasgi*, from their continual wandring, and removing from one Countrey to another, in the manner of Storks, which the *Greeks* call *Πελαργί* (b). *Thucydides* tells us, there was an Execration laid upon any that should build Houses under this Wall, because the *Pelasgi*, whilst they dwelt there, entred into a Conspiracy against the *Athenians* (c). And *Pollux* adds, that it was unlawful to make Ditches, or sow Corn here, and if any man was taken offending, he was apprehended by the *Nomothetæ*, and brought before the *Archon*, who was to lay a Fine of three Drachms upon him (d). It was Beautified with Nine Gates, and therefore is sometimes call'd *Επταπύλος*; but tho' there were many lesser Gates, yet the Cittadel had but one great Fore-Gate, or Entrance, to which they ascended by Steps, cover'd with white Marble, and it was Built by *Pericles*, with such Magnificence, that the expences of it amounted to above a Thousand Drachms (e).

The In-side of the Cittadel, was adorn'd with innumerable Edifices, Statues, and Monuments, wherein all the Ancient Stories were describ'd at large, insomuch that *Aristides* tells us, it lookt like one continu'd Ornament (f). The Description of all these would be tedious, and is already perform'd by *Meursius*, who hath with vast industry collected into one Body all the reliques of Antiquity that lay dispers'd here and there in Ancient Authors. The most remarkable of them were these:

The Temple of *Minerva*, call'd *Νίκη*, or *Victory*, in which the Goddess was represented, having a Pome-Granate in her right Hand, and an Helmet in her left, and without Wings, in memory of *Theseus's* good Success in *Cree*, the Fame whereof had not reach'd *Athen*, before his Arrival: but in other Places, *Victory* was usually represented with Wings (g). It was plac'd at the right Hand of the Entrance of the Cittadel, and was Built with white Marble.

About the middle of the Cittadel, was the Stately Temple of *Minerva*, call'd *Parthenion*, because that Goddess preserv'd her Virginity pure and inviolate, or because it was Dedicated by the Daughters of *Erechtheus*, who were peculiarly call'd *Παρθέναι* (h). It was call'd also *Εκατομπεδον*, because it was an Hundred-Foot square. It was Burn'd by the *Persians*, but restor'd again by *Pericles*, and enlarg'd Fifty Foot on each side (i). *Sr. George Wheeler* reports, that it is Two-hundred,

(a) *Thucydides* V. 2. (b) *Strabo* lib. IX. P. 11. lib. VII. LVI. & *Pausanias* Atticis. (c) *Thucydides* ejusque Scholiast. lib. II. (d) *Pollux* lib. VIII. c. IX. (e) *Plutarchus* Pericle. *Pausan.* Atticis. *Harpocrat* & *Suidas* V. Περικλέους. (f) *Aristides* in *Panatheniaca*. (g) *Suidas* & *Harpocrat*. (h) *Heyschius*. (i) *Pausanias*. *Plutarch.* Pericle.

and Seventeen Foot, Nine Inches long, and Ninety-eight Foot, Six Inches broad, that it consists altogether of admirable white Marble, and both for Matter and Art is the most Beautiful piece of Antiquity, remaining in the World.

The Temple of *Neptune* Sirnam'd *Erechtheus*, which was a double Building, and, besides other Curiosities, contain'd in it the Salt-spring, call'd *ἑλκυστήρ*, which was said to have burst out of the Earth, from a stroke of *Neptune's* Trident, in his contention with *Minerva*. And this Part was Consecrated to *Neptune*. The other Part of the Temple belong'd to *Minerva*, Sirnam'd *Πολιάς*. i. e. Protectress of the City; and *Παιδοποιός*, from one of *Cecrops's* Daughters of that Name. Here was the Sacred Olive, produc'd by *Minerva*; and the Goddett's Image, which was said to have fallen from Heaven in *Erechthonius's* Reign; it was kept by one, or two Dragons, call'd *οἰκάρχοι οφείας*, and had a Lamp always burning with Oil, and an Owl plac'd before it (a). Both of them remain to this Day, and the Lesser Edifice, which is an Entrance to the other, is Twenty-nine Foot long, and Twenty-one Foot, Three Inches broad; the Bigger is Sixty-three Foot, and a half long, and Thirty-six Foot broad. The Roof is supported by *Ionick* Pillars Channelled, but the Chapters seem to be a mixture between that, and the *Dorick* Order.

On the Back-side of *Minerva's* Temple, was the publick Treasury, call'd from it's Situation *Οπισθοδόμος*, wherein, besides other publick Money, a Thousand Talents were laid in Store, against any very urgent Occasion, but if any Man expended them upon a trivial Account, he was to be put to Death. Also the Names of all that were indebted to the Common-wealth were entered in a Register in this place, and therefore such Persons were call'd *ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει*, as on the contrary, when they had discharg'd their Debt, they were nam'd *ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως ἐκκλησιασμένοι*. The Tutelar Gods of this Treasury, were *Jupiter Sotēr*, or the Saviour; and *Plutus*, the God of Riches, whom they represented with Wings, and (which was unusual in other Places) Seeing (b). *Aristophanes* hath taken notice of the Statues of both these Gods, in the latter End of his *Plutus*, where he introduces *Carion* very busie in placing that God after the recovery of his Sight, next to the Statue of *Jupiter the Saviour*,

KAP. Θάξῃς, καλῶς γὰρ ἔστα, ὡς θεὸς θέλῃ,  
Ο Ζεὺς ὁ Σωτὴρ γὰρ πέρισιν ἐνθάδε  
Αὐτόματ' ἦσαν. IEP. πᾶσι' ἀγαθὰ ποίωμι λέγεις.  
KAP. Ἰδρυσμέθ' ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν  
Πλάτων, ὡς περὶ τὸν ὡς ἰδρυμένην,  
Τὸν Οπισθοδόμον ἀεὶ φυλάττων τ' Οἶα.

(a) *Apollodorus* l. III. *Plutarch* Symp. l. IX. Q. VI. (b) *Aristoph.* Schol. *Plut.* *Etimologus*, *Thucyd.* l. II. *Philostroph.* *Eccl.* l. II. *Demosthen.* Schol. *Orat.* III. in *Timocratem*.

*Carion*.

*Carion*. Come, Courage, on God's will depends Success,  
Which I Divine will answer to our Hopes,  
For doth not *Love*, our President's approach  
Without entreatie seem thus to preface?

*Priest*. Your Words bring Comfort. *Car*. Therefore let us wait  
For *Plutus* coming, him we'll substitute  
An Overseer into the place of *Love*  
To th' Treasury of *Pallas* our Goddeffs.

*Mr. Abell*.

Afterwards this Building was burn'd to the Ground by the Treasurers, who having imbezzled the publick Money, secur'd themselves by that means, and prevented the City from calling them to Account (a). There were also several other remarkable Edifices in the Cittadel, as the Chappels of *Jupiter Sotēr*, and of *Minerva Sotēra* (b). The Temple of *Agraulus*, the Daughter of *Cecrops*, or rather of *Minerva*, Worshipp'd by that Name, in the Front, and Steep and Craggy side of the Rock (c). And, to mention only one more, The Temple of *Venus Ioppolitus* (d). And thus much concerning the Cittadel.

The Lower City, containing all the Buildings, which surrounded the Cittadel, with the Fort *Munychia*, and the two Havens *Phalerum*, and *Piræus*, was encompass'd with Walls of unequal Strength, being Built at different Times, and by different Hands; The chief Parts of them were, The *Μακρά τείχη*, that joyn'd the Haven of *Piræus* to the City, being about Five Miles in length, and therefore *Plutarch* calls them, *Μακρά στείλη*, long Leggs (e), and *Propertius* long Arms,

*Inde ubi Piræci capient me litora portus,  
Scandam ego Theseæ brachia longa viæ* (f).

When I've arriv'd at the *Piræan* Port,  
And eas'd the shatter'd Vessel of it's Load,  
I'll Scale the Walls of the *Thesean* Road.

*Mr. Abell*.

They consisted of two Sides, one of which lay towards the North, and was Built by *Pericles* (g), with vast Expence, containing XL. Stadia; the other lay to the South, and was call'd *Νότιον τείχος*, or *Διὰ μίαν τείχη*, or *Νότιον διὰ μίαν τείχος*, to distinguish it from the South-Wall of the Cittadel; sometimes *τείχος Φαληρικόν*, because it took in the Port *Phalerum*. It was Built by *Themistocles*, of huge square Stones, not cemented together by Mortar, but fasten'd by Iron and Lead. The Height of it was Forty Cubits, and yet was but the half of what *Themistocles* design'd; the Length of it was Thirty-five Stadia. Upon both of them were erected a great Number of Turrets, which

(a) *Demosth.* ejusque Schol. *Orat.* in *Timocratem*. (b) *Lycurg.* *Orat.* in *Leocratem*. (c) *Herodot.* l. VIII. (d) *Euripid.* Schol. in *Hippolyto*. (e) *Strabo*. (f) *Lib.* III. *Eleg.* (g) *Plutarch.* *Pericles*.

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were

were turn'd into Dwelling-houses, when the *Athenians* became so Numerous, that the City was not large enough to contain them (a). The *Μαύχιον*, or Wall, that encompass'd the *Μυνυχία*, and joyn'd it to the *Πειραιεύς*, contain'd LX. *Stadia*; and the exterior Wall on the other side of the City, was in length XLIII. *Stadia*; so that the whole Circuit of the City contain'd CLXXVIII. *Stadia*, which are something above Two and Twenty Roman Miles.

1. The Principal Gates of the City, were the *Πύλαι Θεράσιας*, afterwards call'd *Διαυλόν*, because they were larger then any of the rest. They were plac'd at the Entrance of *Σωραμίου*, and therefore seem to have been the same with the *Πύλαι Κισσαμεικῆς*, in *Philostratus* (b).

2. *Πύλαι Πειραιϊκῆς*, leading to the *Πειραιεύς*; near which was the Temple of the Heroe *Chalcodoon*, and the Tombs of those that died in the Defence of their Countrey, when the *Amazons* Invaded *Attica* under *Theseus* (c).

3. *Ἰσπαιδὶς*, near which *Hyperides* the Orator, and his Family were Buried (d).

4. *Ἠελίαι*, where they carried forth dead Persons to their Graves, so call'd from *ἦελον*, a Grave (e).

5. *Ἰερά*, the Gate leading to *Eleusis*, through which they that Celebrated the Festival of *Ceres Eleusinia*, made a solemn Procession, from which Custom the Gate receiv'd it's Name, it being usual to call every thing, that was any way concern'd in those Mysteries *ἱερόν*, Sacred.

6. *Αἰγίως πύλαι*, the Gate of *Ægeus*, the Father of *Theseus*, whose House stood in the place, where afterwards the *Delphinium* was Built, and therefore the Statue of *Mercury* at the East-end of that Temple, was call'd *Ερμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγίως πυλαίς*, by which it is evident, that this Gate was near the *Delphinium* (f).

7. *Διοχάρους πύλαι*, the Gate of *Diochares*.

8. *Πύλαι Αχαρνικῆς*, the Gate that look'd towards *Acharnae*, a Burrough in *Attica*.

9. *Διομικῆς*, that lay toward the Burrough of the *Diomians*.

10. *Πύλαι Θρακικῆς*, the *Thracian* Gate.

11. *Πύλαι Ἰωνικῆς*, the *Ionian* Gate, near which was the Pillar erected in memory of the *Amazons* (g).

12. *Πύλαι Σκαιῆς*, the *Scean* Gate (h).

13. *Ἀδριανῆς πύλαι*, the Gate of *Adrian*, by which they entered into that part of the City, which that Emperour rebuilt, and call'd *Ἀδριανόπολις*.

As to the Streets in *Athens*, thus much is said of them in general,

(a) *Plutarch Themistocl. Appian. in Mithridatico. Thucyd. lib. I. & II.* (b) *Philostratus in Philagros Sophist lib. II. Xenophon Hist. Græc. l. II. Plutarch. Pericle, & Sylla.* (c) *Plutarch. Theseo.* (d) *Hesychius.* (e) *Theophrastus Charact. Ethic.* (f) *Plutarch. Theseo.* (g) *Æschines Philosophus in Asiacho.* (h) *Hilduinus in Vita Dionysii Arcopagita.*

that they were not very Uniform, or Beautiful (a), and tho' Homer calls it *ὀρεσώδης*.

Ἰκτεο δ' εἰς Μαφιδῶνα, καὶ εὐρυάγχαρ Ἀθλιῶνα (b).

Yet that seems onely to imply the Bigness, and not the Beauty of them; for so that Poet has us'd the same Epithet in other places. The number of them without question was very great, but most of their Names are quite lost; and few, if any, besides these that follow are to be met with in Authors. *Ἰεὴ Συκῆ*, or the Way to *Elcussis*. *Ὀδὸς Θηοισία*, betwixt the long Walls, leading to the *Πρωτεύς*, which seems to be the same with that, which was call'd *Ἡ εἰς Περαιά*. *Ἡ τῶν πολέμων*, near the Academy. *Ἡ τῶν Εὐμεγλύφων*. *Ἡ τῶν Κισσώτεποιων*. *Ἡ Ἐπικ*. *Ἡ Ἐσινύ*. *Μυρμηκῶν ὁδὸς*. *Ρομῆ τριτῇ*.

*Τεῖποδες*, a Way near the *Prytaneum*, wherein were Places largely stock'd with Tripods of Brass, Curiously wrought; amongst which was the Famous Satyr, call'd by the Greeks *Παράδοσι*, being one of the Master-pieces of *Praxiteles*. And concerning these *Heliodorus* is said to have written an entire Treatise (c).

It remains in the next place, that I give you an Account of the Buildings of the Lower City; In doing which I shall only mention such as were most remarkable, or had some History, or Custom depending upon them, for the rest referring the Reader to *Pausanias*, and *Meursius's* larger Treatises.

*Πομπικίον*, a stately Edifice, in which were kept the Sacred *Viensils*, made use of at Festivals, and all things necessary for the Solemn Processions prepar'd. It was plac'd at the Entrance of the Old City, which looks towards the *Phalerum*, and adorn'd with many Statues, of the Athenian Heroes. Indeed there was scarce any place in the City, that was not fill'd with such like Representations.

The Temple of *Vulcan*, or of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*, not far from *Ceramicus* within the City, seems to have been a publick Prison, frequent mention being made of Persons Tortur'd there.

Near this place was the Temple of the Heavenly *Venus*, for they had a Two-fold *Venus*, one of which was call'd *Οὐρανία*, and the other *Πάιδημος*, the former presided over Chaste and pure Love; the latter was the Patroness of Lust, and Debauchery. And as their Natures and Characters were different, so were also the Ceremonies us'd in their Worship. They that worshipp'd the former, behav'd themselves with all Modesty and Gravity; but the latter was pleas'd only with Lewdness and Wantonness. Nay, *Solon* permitted publick Strumpets to prostitute themselves in her Temple. Besides these, *Venus* had several other Temples dedicated to her, as those which were erected upon the Account of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, to *Venus Lamia*, and *Leena*, in Honour of two of

(a) *Dicaearchus* in *descriptione Græciæ*. (b) *Odyss.* VII. (c) *Ἡρακλείου*. V. *Οἰκιστῶν*.

his Mistresses, call'd by those Names. Nay, so gross Flattery did the Athenians degenerate into, that they enroll'd several of his *Parasiti* into the Number of their Deities, and Honour'd them with Temples and Altars (a).

The Temple of *Theseus* was erected by *Conon*, in the middle of the City, near the Place where the Youth perform'd their Wrestlings, and other Exercises of Body, and was allow'd the Privilege of being a Sanctuary for Slaves, and all those of mean Condition that Fled from the Persecution of Men in Power, in memory that *Theseus* while he Liv'd, was an Assister and Protector of the Distressed. And a great many other Temples were Consecrated to him in his life Time, as grateful acknowledgements of the Benefits, he had conferr'd upon the City, all which, Four only excepted, he Dedicated to *Hercules*, and chang'd their Names from *Θησείας*, to *Ηρακλείας*, after he had been rescued by him from the King of the *Molossians*, as *Plutarch* reports out of *Philochoerus* (b). One of these was put to divers other uses, for certain Magistrates were created in it by the *Thesmothetae* (c). Causes also were heard there, and it was a publick Prison (d), and therefore a Gaol-bird, is wittily call'd *Θησιόπτερις*, in *Aristophanes*, such an one *Plautus* with no less Elegancy names *Colonus Carceris*.

The Temple of *Theseus*, is to be seen at this Day, and is Built, as *St. George Wheeler* reports, in all respects like the Temple of *Minerva* in the Cittadel, as to its Matter, Form, and Order of Architecture, but not so large. It is Dedicated to *St. George*, and still remains a Master-piece of Architecture, not easie to be parallel'd, much less exceeded by any other.

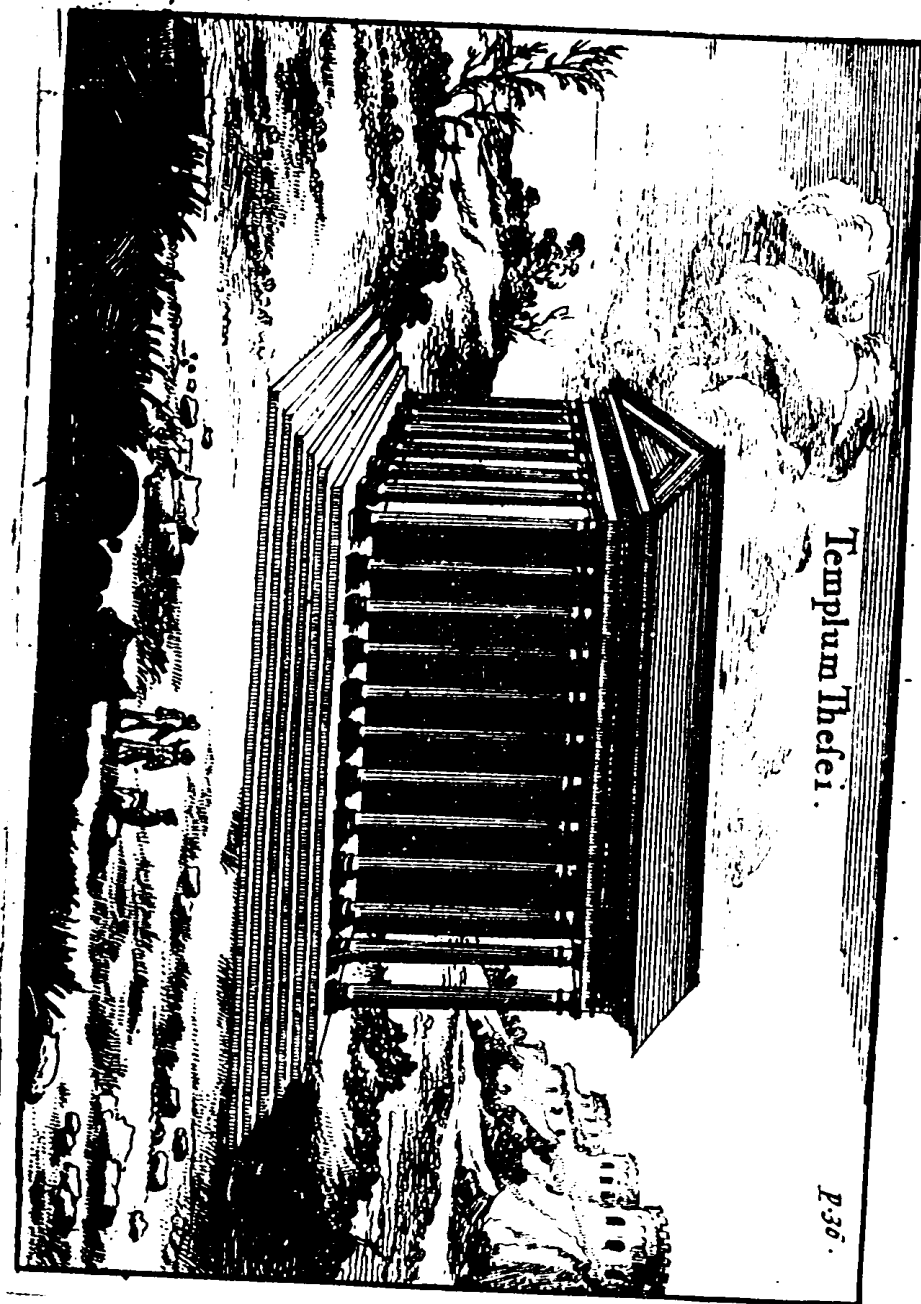
*Ανάκτορις*, or the Temple of *Castor and Pollux*, call'd *Ανάκτορις*. In this Place Slaves were expos'd to Sale.

*Ολυμπιον*, or *Ολυμπιον*, a Temple erected in Honour of *Jupiter* the *Olympian*; it was the most magnificent Structure in *Athens*, being in Circuit, no less than Four *Stadia*, which was the reason they were forc'd to support it with Pillars, a thing unknown in *Athens* before that time (e). The Foundations were laid by *Pisistratus*, and many succeeding Governours contributed to the Building of it, but it was never compleatly finish'd till *Adrian's* time, which was Seven-hundred Years after the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*.

The Temple of *Apollo and Pan*, at the Bottom of the Cittadel on the North-side, in a Cave or *Grotto*, call'd *Μακράν πύργον*, or *Κικονίαν πύργον*, where *Apollo* was feign'd to have deflower'd *Cressa*, the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, we find it mention'd in *Enripides*,

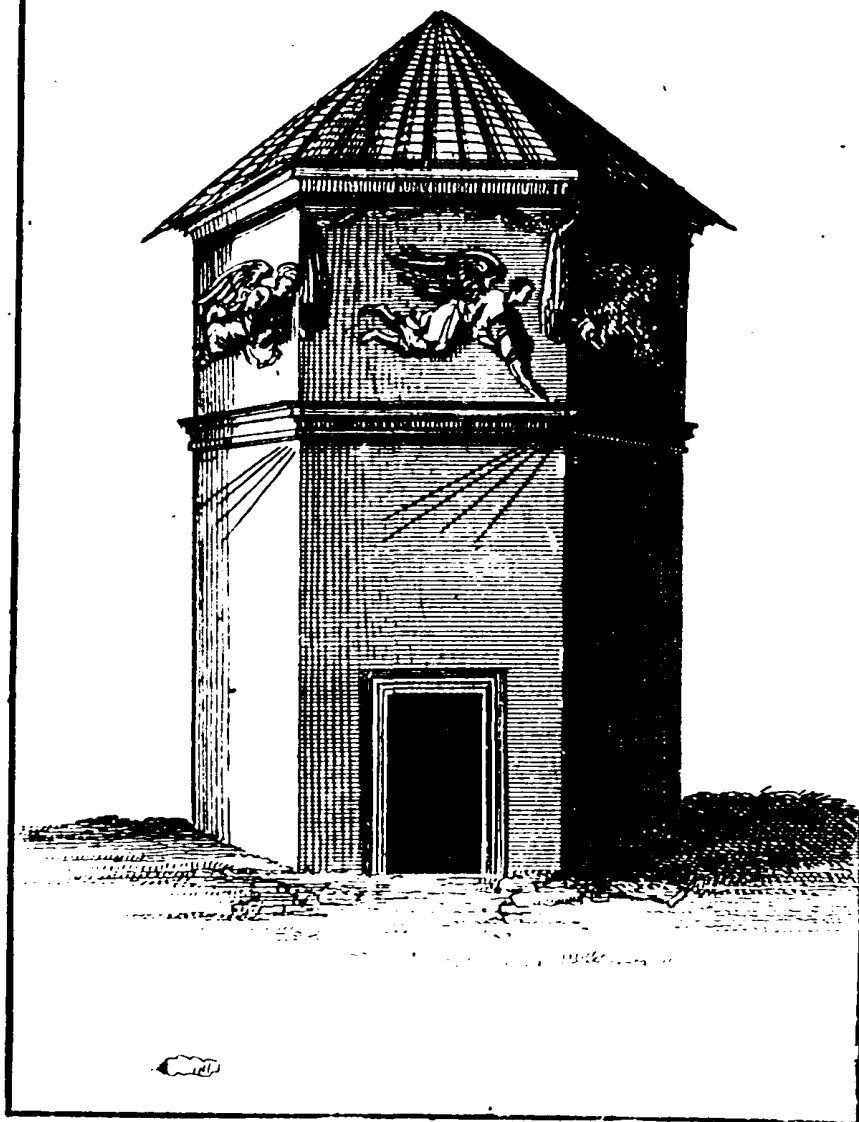
οἷδ' αὖ Κικρονίαν πύργον  
Πρόδρομον ἄντρον, ὡς Μακρὰς κυκλόπεδον;  
οἷδ' ἔνδ' αὖ Πανὸς ἄδυτον ἢ βασιμὸν πέρας (f).

(a) *Plutarch*. in *Demetrio*. (b) *Idem Theseus*. (c) *Aeschin. Orat. in Ctesiphont*.  
(d) *Etymologus*. (e) *Plinius lib. XXXVI cap. VI*. (f) *Ione*.



## Temple of the Eight Winds

P. 37.



The Temple of *Diana*, Sirnam'd *Ανδρον*, because in it Women, after their first Child, us'd to Dedicate their Girdles to her (a).

*Παρθεν*, was a Temple Dedicated to all the Gods, who, as they were United in one Temple, so were they Honour'd with one Common Festival, call'd *Θεσφια*. This was a very magnificent Structure, and supported by an Hundred and Twenty Marble-Pillars, on the Out-side were all the Histories of the Gods, curiously Engraven, and upon the great Gate, stood two Horses, excellently Carv'd by *Praxiteles*. It is to be seen at this Day, as *Theodore Zygomalas* reports, in an Epistle to *Martin Crusius*, written A. D. CIOIOLXXV. wherein he describes the then present State of *Athens*.

The Temple of the *Eight Winds*, omitted by *Pausanias*, but mention'd and describ'd by *Sr. George Wheeler* out of *Virivinius*, who reports that, such as had made exact Observations about the Winds, divided them into Eight; as namely, *Andronicus Cyrrhaster*, who gave this Model to the *Athenians*, for he Built a Tower of Eight square of Marble, on every side of which he Carv'd the Figure of a Wind, according to the Quarter it blew from. On the top of the Tower, he erected a little Pyramid of Marble, on the point of which was plac'd a Brazen *Triton*, holding a Switch in his right Hand, wherewith turning about, he pointed to the Wind, that then blew. All the Winds answer'd exactly to the Compass, and were represented by Figures answerable to their Natures, above which were written their Names in large Greek Letters, which are these that follow, *ΕΥΡΟΣ*, *Eurus*, South-East. *ΑΠΗΛΛΕΤΗΣ*, *Subsolanus*, East. *ΚΑΙΚΙΑΣ*, *Cacias*, North-East. *ΒΟΡΕΑΣ*, *Boreas*, North. *ΣΚΙΡΟΝ*, *Corus*, North-West. *ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ*, *Occident*, West. *ΝΟΤΟΣ*, *Notus*, South. *ΑΨ*, *Libs*, *Africus*, South-West. This Tower remains yet entire, the Weather-Cock only excepted.

*Στοάς*, or *Portico's*, they had a great many, but the most remarkable was that, which was call'd *Περικλεαρχική*, and afterwards *Περικλεαρχική*, from the variety it contain'd of curious Pictures, drawn by the greatest Masters in Greece, such were *Polygnotus*, *Mycon*, and *Pandemus*, the Brother of *Phidias*. Here it was that *Zeno* taught Philosophy, and instituted that Sect, which receiv'd their Names from the Place, being call'd *Στοαί* from *στά*. And the *Portico* it self, is usually put for that Sect of Philosophers, as when *Athenæus* calls *Zeno τῆς Στοᾶς κτίστην*, the Founder of the *Stoicks* (b).

*Μουσείον* was a Fort near the Cittadel, so call'd from the old Poet *Museus*, the Scholar of *Orpheus*, that us'd to repeat his Verses in this Place, where also he was Buried. This Fort was forc'd to entertain a Garrison by *Amigonus*, and his Son *Demetrius* to make it the more secure surrounded it with a Wall.

*Θέατρον* was a Mulick-Theater, Built by *Pericles*, and for the contrivance of it on the In-side, was full of Seats and Ranges of Pillars, and on the Out-side in the Roof or Covering of it, was made from one

(a) *Apollonii Schol.* lib. I. (b) *Deip.* l. VIII.

point at the Top with a great many Bendings, all shelving downward, and it is reported, (saith *Plutarch*), that it was so fram'd in imitation and after the Copy of the King of Persia's Pavilion (a). It was also a Tribunal as we learn from *Aristophanes*,

Οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν ὑπὸν Ἀρχῶν· οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ἑνδεκα·  
Οἱ δ' ἐν Ὠδεῖῳ Διγάζουσ' ————— (b).

It was very much Beautified by *Lycurgus* (c), but being demolish'd in the *Mithridatic* War (d), was re-edified by *Herodes Atticus*, with such Splendor and Magnificence, that, as *Pausanias* tells us, it surpass'd all the famous Buildings in Greece. It stood in the

*Ceramicus*, of which Name there were two Places, so call'd from *Ceramus* the Son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne* (e); οὗ δὲ καὶ ἡ κορμικὴ τέχνη, from the Potter's Art, which was first invented in one of these Places by *Corabius* (f). One of them was within the City, and contain'd innumerable Buildings, as Temples, Theatres, Porticos, &c. The other was in the Suburbs, and was a publick Burying-place, and contain'd the *Academy*, and many other Edifices.

The *Athenian Agora*, or *Fora*, were very numerous, but the most noted of them were two; the Old *Forum*, and the New. The New *Forum* was in a Place call'd *Egeusis* by *Strabo* (g). Which it is probable was not far from *Zeno's Portico*, because *Pausanias* tells us, that in his Time the *Forum* was near that Place. The Old *Forum* was in the *Ceramicus* within the City, call'd *ἀρχαία Agora*. In it were held the publick Assemblies of the People; but the chief Design of it was the meeting of People to Buy and Sell, and therefore it was divided into different parts, according to the Wares expos'd to Sale, for every Trade had a different place assign'd to make their Markets in; and hence we read of *Κύκλῳ*, where Slaves, and Vessels were Sold (h): *Ἀλφειόπωλις ἀγορὰ*, *ἰχθυόπωλις ἀγορὰ*, and *Γυναικεία ἀγορὰ*, where Women's Cloaths and Ornaments were expos'd; and others without Number. Sometimes they call'd the *Fora*, by the single Names of things Sold in them, as *Οἶνῳ*, the Wine-market, *Ελαιῶν*, the Oil-market, &c. (i) And an instance of this we have in these Verses of *Eupolis*,

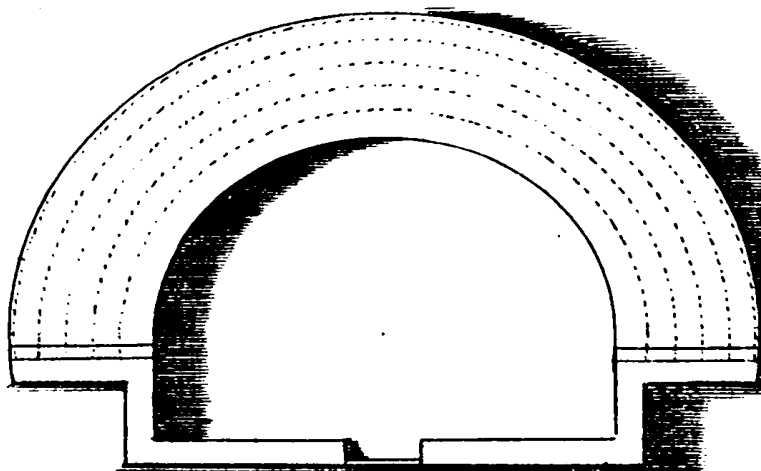
Πιστέλλον εἰς τὰ σκέρδεα, καὶ τὰ κρέμματα,  
καὶ τὴν λιθανωτὸν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀραιμάτων,  
καὶ πᾶσι τὰ χέλην —————

The time in which things were expos'd to Sale, was call'd *πλήθυσις Agora*, full Market, from the multitudes of People that Assembled at such times; and there seems to have been different Hours appointed for such and such Wares, which I suppose, is the reason that *Suidas* in

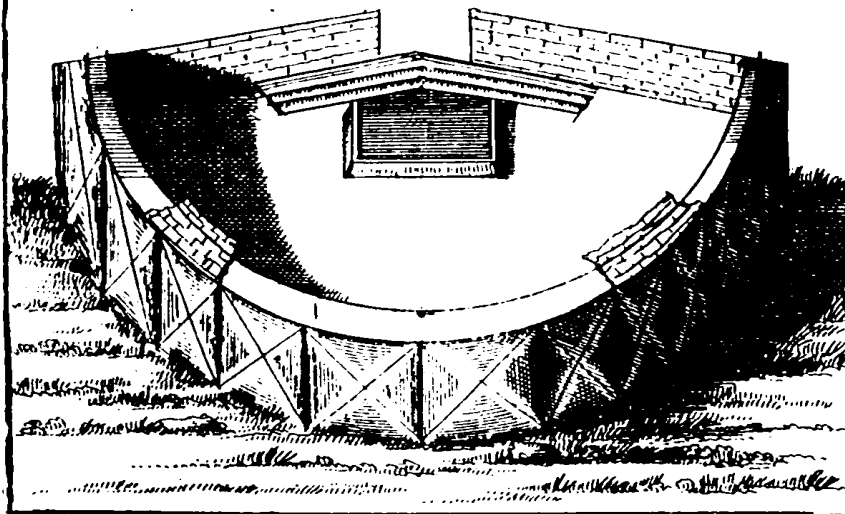
(a) *Plutarch*. in *Pericle*. (b) *Vespis*. (c) *Hyperid*. Orat. pro *Lycurgo*. (d) *Appian*. in *Mithridatico*. (e) *Pausan*. (f) *Suidas*. *Plin*. l. VII. c. LVI. (g) *Strabo* l. IX. (h) *Hesych*. (i) *Pollux* l. IX. c. V.

some

## The Area of the Theatre of Bacchus



## The Odeum or Musick Theatre.



Some Places tells us, the Full Market was at the Third Hour, in others that it was at the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth.

And besides these Places, the Trades-men had their *Bulwariem*, or Publick-Halls, wherein each Company met, and consulted about their Affairs. For Trades were very much encourag'd at *Athens*, and if any Man objected the living by such Gain to another, as a matter of Re-proach, the Person affronted might have an Action of Slander against him (a). Nay, Trades were so far from being counted a mean and ignoble way of Living, that Persons of the greatest Quality did not disdain to betake themselves to such Employments, and especially to Merchandize, as *Plutarch* informs us; *Solon* (says he) apply'd himself to Merchandize, tho' some there are that report, that he Travell'd rather to get Learning and Experience, than to raise an Estate. In his time (according to *Hesiod*) a Trade was not Dishonourable, nor did it debase it's followers; but Merchandize was a worthy Calling, which brought Home the good things that Barbarous Nations enjoy'd, was the occasion of Friendship with their Kings, and Mother of Experience. Some Merchants have Built great Cities, as the Founder of *Masilia*, that Man so much esteem'd by the *Gaul's*, that liv'd about the *Rhine*; some also report, that *Thales*, and *Hippocrates* the Mathematician Traded; and that *Plato* defray'd the charges of his Travels by Selling Oil in *Aegypt*. Thus *Plutarch* (b).

*Aqueducts* were not common at *Athens*, before the *Roman* Times; and the want of them was supplied by Wells; some of wick were Dug by private Persons, others at the publick Expence; but because the Country having but few potable Rivers, (for *Eridanus* *Strabo* (c) telleth us was Muddy, and not fit for use,) Lakes, or large Springs, was but poorly furnish'd with Water, which gave occasion to continual Quarrels amongst the Citizens, *Solon* enacted a Law, that where there was a publick Well, within an *Hippicon*, (that is, four Furlongs) all should have the Privilege of drawing at that; but those that liv'd at a greater Distance, should be oblig'd to provide a private Well; and if they had Dug ten Fathom deep, and could find no Water, they had liberty to fetch ten Gallons a Day from their Neighbours; for he thought it prudent (saith my Author) to make Provision against want, but not encourage Laziness (d). *Adrian*, besides other magnificent Structures, laid the Foundations of a stately *Aqueduct*, which was finish'd by his Successour *Antoninus*. And one part of it remains to this Day, sustain'd by *Ionick* Pillars; which *Sr. George Wheeler* is of opinion, was the Frontis-piece of the Repository, or Receiver of the Water.

*Gymnasia* are said to have been first in use at *Lacedaemon*, but were afterwards very common in all the parts of *Greece*, and imitated, very much augmented, and improv'd at *Rome*. They were not single Edifices, but a Knot of Buildings united, being so Capacious as to

(a) *Demosth. Orat. in Eubulidem.* (b) *Plutarchus Solone.* (c) *Lib. IX.* (d) *Plutarchus Solone.*



hold a great many Thousands of People at once, and have Room enough for Philosophers, Rhetoricians, and the Professors of all other Sciences to read their Lectures; and Wrestlers, Dancers, and all other that would, to Exercise at the same Time without the least Disturbance or Interruption. They consisted of a great many Parts, the Chief of which were these,

1. Στυῖς, the Porticos, which were full of ἱεῖδρας, and Side-Buildings furnish'd with Seats, and fit for Study or Discourse; and here it is probable the Scholars us'd to meet.

2. Εφεδρείον, the Place where the Εφηβί, or Youths Exercis'd; or, as some say, where those that design'd to Exercise met, and agree'd what kind of Exercise they should contend in, and what should be the Victor's Reward.

3. Κωλύματα, ἀποδυτήριον, γυμναστήριον, the Undressing-room.

4. Ελαιόθειον, ἀλειπτήριον, the Place where those that were to Wrestle, or had Bathed, were Anointed.

5. Κονίσιον, κονίρεα, the Place where the Dust, with which they besprinkled those that had been Anointed, was kept.

6. Παιλαίστρα, which sometimes is taken for the whole *Gymnasium*, but in it's proper acceptation signifies the Place, wherein all the Exercises of the Παιῖες, or (say others) only Wrestling, and the Παικράσις were perform'd; and least the Combatants should Slip, or Hurt themselves by Falling, the Bottom of it was cover'd with Dust, or Sand. Also there was another Room in the *Gymnasium*, fill'd with Sand, much deeper than that in the *Palestra*.

7. Σφαιροαίσιον, a Place appointed for divers sorts of Exercises, but more especially for the Ball.

8. The Spaces between the Porticos and the Walls left Void to admit the Light, and the *Area* of the Περυστήριον, or Πιάττα, which was a large Place square, or sometimes oblong in the middle of the *Gymnasium*, design'd for Walking, and the performance of those Exercises which were not practis'd in the *Palestra*, or the Deeper Sand, or any other place of the *Gymnasium*, such were (as some are of opinion) Leaping, and the Discus.

9. Ξυστί, and Ξυστή, which were distinct Places both in Greece, and Rome. Ξυστί, were places cover'd at the Top, design'd for the Exercise of Wrestlers, when the Weather did not permit them to contend in the open Air. Ξυστή, sometimes call'd Περαισφομίδες, were Walks open at the Top, design'd for Exercises, or Recreation in the heat of Summer, and milder Seasons of the Winter.

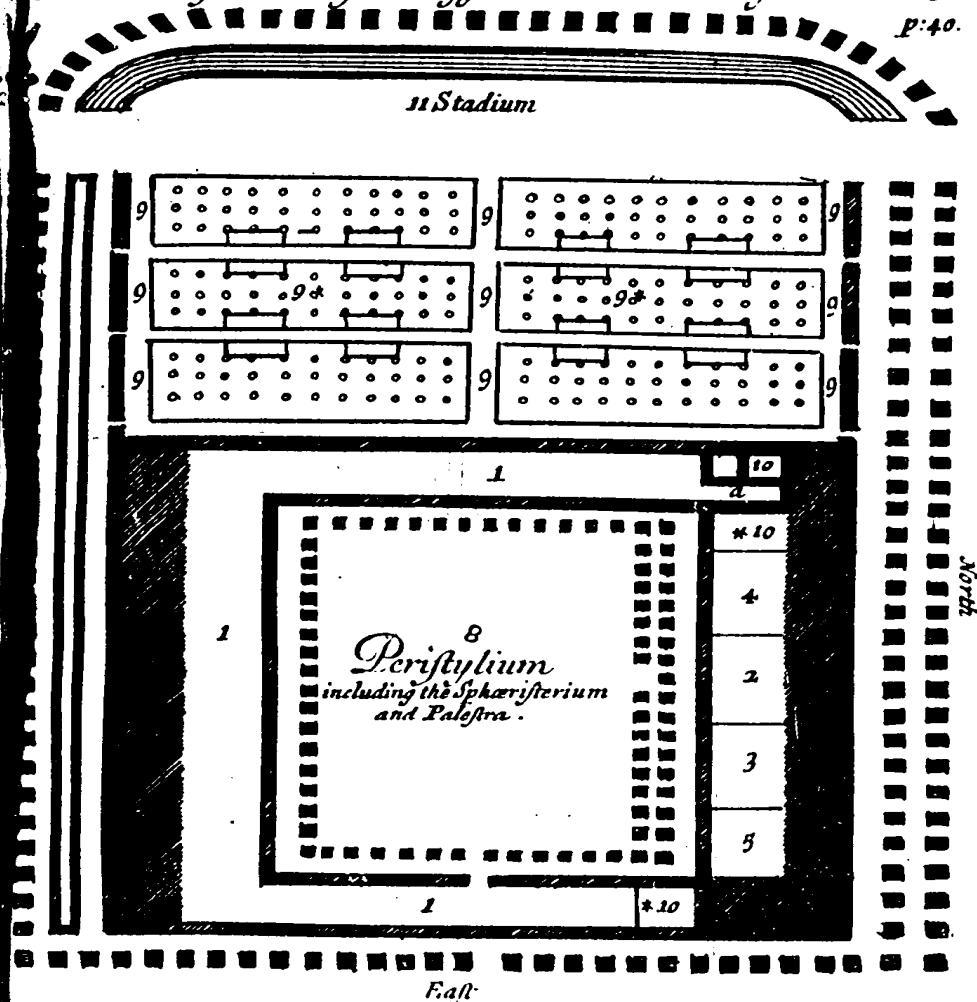
10. The Baths, in which were Waters hot and cold in different Degrees, and in these they refresh'd themselves, when they were wearied with Exercise, and at other Times. Amongst the Ancient Greeks, Baths were not much frequented, being rarely us'd but after the Accomplishment of some very great Work, which requir'd abundance of Labour and Toil, as the ending of a War, or atchieving any great and painful Enterprize (a). And thus Agamemnon after the Trojan

(a) Arsenidorus Onειροει. lib. I.

War,

# The Area of the Palaestra or Gymnasium according to Vitruvius

p. 40.



- 1 The Porticos
- 2 The Ephebeum
- 3 The Undressing Room
- 4 The Elaiothesium
- 5 The Conisterium

- 8 The Peristylum
- 9 Ξυστί 9\* Ξυστή
- 10 The Hot Baths 10\* The Cold Baths
- a The Store

War, at his return Home, went into the Bath, there to Wash away the remembrance of all his past Labours, and was slain by the Treachery of his Wife *Chrysestira* (a). In latter Ages they became more common, and were frequently us'd for Health or Recreation by both Sexes, who at *Sparta* Wash'd in one common Bath, but in other Cities had distinct Places appointed them.

11. The *Stadium* was a large Semicircle, in which Exercises were perform'd; and for the better convenience of Spectators, which flock'd thither in vast Multitudes, was Built with Steps one above another, that the higher Ranks might look over the Heads of those that were plac'd below them. Several of these there were at *Athens* in their *Gymnasia*, and other Places, but the most remarkable was that, which was Built near the River *Ilissus* by *Lycurgus*, and afterwards enlarg'd by *Herodes Atticus*, one of the Richest Citizens *Athens* ever had; it was Built of *Pentelick* Marble, with so great Magnificence, that when *Pausanias* comes to speak of it, he tells his Readers, That they wou'd hardly believe, what he was about to tell them, it being a Wonder to all that beheld it, and of that stupendous Bigness, that one would judge it a Mountain of white Marble, upon the Banks of *Ilissus*. *Sr. George Wheeler* reports, that at this Day there remains some of the Stone-Work at the End towards the River, but the rest is only a *Stadium* of Earth above Ground. However it's Figure, and Bigness continue, tho' the Degrees be all taken away. It is a long Place, with two parallel sides, clos'd up circularly to the East-end, and open towards the other end; and is about One-hundred, Twenty-five Geometrical Paces long, and Twenty-six, or Twenty-seven broad, which gave it the Name of a *Stadium*, which was a measure ordinarily us'd among the *Greeks*, being the Eighth part of a Roman Mile.

*Athens* had several *Gymnasia*, of which these Three are of most note, *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynosarges*. *Auxion*, *Lyceum* was Situated upon the Banks of *Ilissus*, it receiv'd it's name from *Apollo Λυγκιστορ*, or *Λύκος*, to whom it was Dedicated; Nor was it without reason (saith *Plutarch*) that this Place was Sacred to *Apollo*, but upon a good and rational Account, since from the same Deitie that Cures our Diseases, and restores our Health, we may reasonably expect Strength and Ability, to contend in the Exercises (b). The Building of this Structure, is by some ascrib'd to *Pisistratus*, by others to *Pericles*, and others to *Lycurgus*; which makes it probable that all of them might contribute something towards it; and perhaps *Pisistratus* laid the Foundations of it, *Pericles* rais'd it, *Lycurgus* enlarg'd and beautified it. This was the Place where *Aristotle* taught Philosophy, and discours'd with such as resorted to him for Instructions, walking constantly every Day till the Hour of Anointing, for the *Greeks* usually Anointed before Meals; whence he, and his Followers were call'd *Περπατητικοὶ* διὰ τὴν ἀλειψάνην, *Peripateticks* from walking (c). Tho' others re-

(a) *Lycophron*. (b) *Plutarch*. in *Symp* l. VIII. Q. IV. (c) *Suidas* &c.

port, that his walking and discoursing Philosophy with *Alexander*, was the occasion of that Name.

*Acadēma* was part of the *Ceramicus* without the City, from which it was distant about Six *Stadia*, so call'd from *Acadēmus*, an old Heroe, that, when *Helena* was Stolen by *Theseus*, and conceal'd at *Aphidne*, discover'd her to *Castor* and *Pollux*, for which reason he was extremely Honour'd by them during his Life; and the *Lacedæmonians*, when in After-ages they made several Incurſions into *Attica*, and destroy'd all the Countrey round about, always spar'd this Place for his sake. But the *Dicaearchus* writes, That there were two *Arcadians* in the Army of *Castor* and *Pollux*, the one call'd *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*, from the former that, which was afterwards call'd the *Academy*, was then nam'd *Echedemia*, and the Burrough of *Marathon* had it's Name from the latter. Thus *Plutarch* (a). It was beset with Shady Woods, and Solitary Walks fit for Study and Meditation, as the Poets and others witness. This Verse is cited out of *Eupolis* (b),

Εν σκιάσις δ' ἐμυσίου Ἀκαδῆμους θίβει.

In *Acadēmus* Shady Walks.

And *Horace* speaks to the same purpose,

Atque inter sylvas Hecademii quæverè verum (c).

In *Hecadēmus* Groves to search for Truth.

At the first it was a desert Place, and uninhabited by reason of the Fens and Marſhes that were in it, and rendred it very Unhealthful, but they being drain'd by *Cimon*, it became Pleasant and Delightful, and was much frequented by all sorts of People, especially such as applied themselves to the Study of Philosophy, for they resorted thither in great Numbers to *Plato's* Lectures, who read constantly in this Place; and having contracted a Distemper thro' the Unwholesomeness of the Air, which was not yet wholly rectified, and being advis'd by his Physicians to remove his School to the *Lyceum*, made answer, That he chose the *Academy* to keep his Body under, least by too much Health it should become wanton, and more difficult to be govern'd by the dictates of Reason, as Men prune Vines, when they spread too far, and lop of the Branches that grow too luxuriant (d). I must not forget to add, that it was surrounded with a Wall by *Hipparchus*, the Son of *Pisistratus*, who to defray the Charges of it, laid so heavy a Tax upon the People, that ever after, any Chargeable and Expensive business was call'd *ἱππαρχικὴ τὸν τιμὴν*.

*Kynossepolis* was a Place in the Suburbs, near the *Lyceum*, so call'd from a white, or swift Dog, in Greek *κυνὸν ἀγρὸς*, that, when *Dionysus* was Sacrificing to *Hercules*, snatch'd away part of the Victim (e).

(a) *Theleo*. (b) In *Asparivōis*. (c) Lib. II. Ep. II. (d) *Basil. Mag. lib. de legend. Gentil. libris*. (e) *Hesych. aliiq. innumeri*.

It was adorn'd with several Temples, Dedicated to *Hebe*, *Alcmene*, and *Ioleus*, all which bore some Relation to *Hercules*, the chief Deitie of the Place, and he also was Honour'd with a Magnificent Temple. But there was nothing in it so remarkable as the *Gymnasium*, in which Strangers, and those that were but of the half Blood, or had but one Parent an *Athenian*, were to perform their Exercises, because *Hercules*, to whom it was Consecrated, was under some illegitimacy, and was not one of the immortal Gods, but had a mortal Woman for his Mother; and therefore *Themistocles* being but of the half Blood, perswaded divers of the Young Noblemen to accompany him, to Anoint and Exercise themselves at *Cynosarges*; in doing which he seem'd with some Ingenuity to take away the distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger; and between those of the whole, and those of the half Blood of *Athens* (a). There was also a Court of Judicature in this Place, wherein Causes about Illegitimacy were heard, and Examination made concerning Persons, that lay under a Suspicion of having falsly inserted their Names among the true born *Athenians* (b). In this *Gymnasium* *Antisthenes* instituted a Sect of Philosophers call'd *Kynickoi*, *Cynicks*, from the name of the Place (c), as some are of Opinion.

All Theaters were Dedicated to *Bacchus*, and *Venus* (d), the Deities of Sports and Pleasure; to the former of which they are said to owe their Original (e), and therefore Plays Acted in them were call'd *Διονυσιαὶ*, and the Artificers that labour'd in the Building of them *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνίται*, as belonging to *Διόνυσος*, or *Bacchus*.

The most Ancient Theaters were Temporary, being compos'd of nothing but Boards, plac'd gradually above each other, for the convenience of Spectators, and therefore they were call'd *ἱσθιαί* (f). But these slight Buildings had well-nigh prov'd fatal to the Commonwealth, for almost the whole City, as well the Magistracy and Nobility, as those of inferior Ranks, being assembled, as their manner was, to hear *Pratinas* Act a Tragedy; the Theater, too weak to support the vast weight of thronging Multitudes, on a sudden tumbled down, and wanted not much of Burying them in it's Ruins (g). This narrow escape made them more cautious, and was the occasion of erecting a Theater of Stone, for their better security. And from this Time the *Athenians*, whose Example the rest of the *Grecians* follow'd not long after, erected fix'd and durable Theaters of Stone, commonly of Marble, which by degrees were encreas'd to that Magnitude, that they exceeded almost all other Buildings in *Greece*.

The Figure of Theaters was Semicircular, tho' they were not exact Semicircles, but contain'd the bigger half of the Circle, and therefore *Amphitheaters*, which were made in the same Figure, as if two Theaters should be joyn'd together, were not nicely Orbicular, but Oval.

(a) *Plutarch. Themistocles*. (b) *Nonnus Monachus in Collect. Hist.* (c) *Diogen. Laert. Antisthenes*. (d) *Lactant. l. VI.* (e) *Polydor. Virg. l. III. c. XIII.* (f) *Hesych. in V.* (g) *Suidas in Nigratus*.

They consisted of two parts, Σκηνή, *Scena*, and Καῖλος, *Cavea*. *Scena* was a Partition, assign'd for the Actors, reaching quite cross the *Theater*, which at the first, agreeably to the Ancient simplicity, was dress'd with Boughs and Leaves, but in more Expensive Ages was adorn'd with Rich and Costly Hangings, to hide the management of Machines, and other actions of the Players from the Spectators. It was either so fram'd as that it might be turn'd round, and then it was call'd *Versatilis*, or drawn up, and then it was *Duclilis*, and this way is usually practis'd in our Theaters, in changing the Prospect. It had Three Principal-Gates, one upon the Right hand, another upon the Left, by which were presented meaner and smaller Edifices; and a Third in the Middle, by which more magnificent Structures, as Temples of the Gods, or Palaces of Kings, were brought in View; and on each side of the Gate was a lesser Entrance, thro' which the Persons either of Gods, or Men were introduc'd by Various Machines, and Instruments, the Names whereof you may find explain'd in *Julius Pol-lux* (a). The whole Scene was divided into several parts, the most remarkable whereof are these;

Βροντήιον, a Place underneath the Floor, wheroin were kept Brazen Vessels, full of Stones and other Materials, with which they imitated the noise of Thunder.

Επισκηνίον, a Place upon the Top of the *Scene*, in which all the Machines, whereby they presented the various Figures and Prospects, were mov'd.

Παρασκηλίον, the Tiring-Room, a Place behind the *Scenes* wherein the Actors dress'd and adorn'd themselves.

Προσκήλιον, the Stage, a Place before the *Scenes*, in which the Players Acted. And Ορχήστρα was that Part in which the *Chorus* us'd to Dance and Sing, in the middle of which was plac'd the Pulpit, in Greek Λογιστήν, or Ουμίστην.

Υποσκηλίον, a Partition under the Pulpit, appointed for the Musick.

The Καῖλος, or *Cavea*, was appointed for the Spectators, and consist-ed of Three Parts, plac'd in equal Degrees one above another; the Lowest of which belong'd to Persons of Quality, and Magistrates; the Middle to the Commonalty; the Uppermost to the Women.

And because *Theaters* were open at the Top, they erected *Porticos* be-hind the *Cavea*, whither they retir'd for Shelter, in Rainy weather.

(a) *Oriens. l. IV. c. XIX.*

## CHAPTER IX.

## Of the Citizens, Tribes, &amp;c. of Athens.

THE Inhabitants of *Attica* were of Three sorts, 1. Πολῖται, or Free-men. 2. Μήτορες, or Sojourners. 3. Δούλοι, or Servants.

The *Citizens* surpass'd the others in Dignity, and Power, as ha-ving the Government in their Hands, but were far exceeded by the Slaves in number; most of the Free-men maintaining several Servants to attend upon them, or do their Business. The number of Citizens in in *Cecrops's* time, I have already said was Twenty-Thousand; in *Pe-ricles's*, they were not so many, as appears from *Plutarch* (a); and when *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* was their Governour, they exceeded their first number under *Cecrops* only by One-thousand, at the same time the Forreigners were Ten-thousand, and the Slaves Four-hundred-thousand, as appears from a Poll instituted at the command of *Demetrius*, and mention'd in *Athenaeus* (b).

Whence it is evident, that the Encrease of the *Athenians* themselves was very inconsiderable, but those growing Numbers of Inhabitants, that swell'd the City to that Bigness, to which it was extended in after-Ages, were either of Slaves, or Strangers, that for the advantage of Trade, or other Conveniences, came, and settled themselves at *A-thens*; and of these two Sorts, in the time of *Cecrops*, it is probable there were few or none, because through the Scarcity of Men in his new-form'd Government, for the encouragement of Forreigners to settle there, he was forc'd to allow them the same Privileges, that were en-joy'd by the Natives.

And for several Ages after, it was no difficult Matter to obtain the Freedom of the City; but when the *Athenian* Power grew Great, and their Glorious Actions rendred them Famous thro' all *Greece*, this Pri-villege was accounted a very great Favour, and granted to none but Men of the greatest Birth, or Reputation, or such as had perform'd some Notable piece of Service for the Common-wealth. Nor was it without much difficulty to be obtain'd even by them; *Menon* the *Pharsalian*, who had sent the *Athenians* a Supply of Two-hundred Horse, in the War against *Eon*, near *Amphipolis*, desired it, and was rejected. And *Perdiccas*, the King of *Macedonia*, after having assisted them against the *Persians*, could obtain no more than a bare ἀτιμία, or Immunity from Tribute paid by those that Sojourn'd amongst them, but no right of Suffrage, or other Privileges common to the Free-men.

But this peremptory Stiffness, which Success and Victory had put into them, did not always make them so Obstinate, nor hinder but that

(a) *Pericle. (b) Deipnos. l. VI.*

many Worthies, tho' neither equal in Birth, or Fortune to the former, were enroll'd amongst the Citizens, such were *Hippocrates* the Phylitian, *Euryaces* the Son of *Ajax*, with many others, belide the whole City of the *Plaseans*, to which they granted Freedom, for their signal Services in the *Persian* War. But by these Grants, tho' the number of the Citizens may be said to have been Encreas'd, yet nothing was added to the number of the Inhabitants, which remain'd still the same, because the Persons thus admitted, seldom made use of their Privilege, and Sued for it rather as a Title of Honour, than with a design to be any ways Advantag'd by it.

This Title could not be conferr'd upon any man, without the Consent of Six-thousand Citizens at the least. And for fear the Authority, or Interest of any Person should sway them to Comply with such Requests against their Inclinations, they gave their Votes privately, by casting little Stones into Urns, plac'd on purpose in their Assemblies by the *Prytanes*, who were also oblig'd to provide a sufficient Number of Stones for the Suffragants; Nay, farther, till all had done Voting, the Strangers that Petition'd for Freedom were not permitted to come into the place of the Assembly. And after all this, if any one appear'd to be Undeserving of the Honour, they had conferr'd upon him, an Appeal might be made to the Court; which had Power to enquire into the Lives and Conditions of these Persons, and deprive such as they found Unworthy, by recalling the Freedom, which had been granted thro' the Ignorance, and Inconsideration of the Multitude; and this Disgrace befel *Pytholans* the *Thessalian*, and *Apollonides* the *Olynthian* (a).

The manner of Admission was by declaring that such an one was incorporated amongst the *Danizens* of *Athens*, and invested with all the Honours, Privileges, and Immunities belonging to them; and had a Right to partake of, and assist at the performance of all their Holy Rites, and Mysteries, except such as were appropriated to certain Noble Families, such as were the *Eumolpide*, *Ceryces*, *Cynide*, which had certain Priesthoods, and Holy Offices peculiar to themselves; except also the Offices of the Nine *Archons*, which none but Free-born *Athenians* were allow'd to Execute; Lastly, they were admitted into a certain Tribe, and Hundred, and so the Ceremony ended (b).

Free-born *Athenians* were those that had both, or one of their Parents an *Athenian*; and *Aristotle* tells us, that in several Commonwealths, at the first, Those were accounted Free, that were born of a Free Woman; but when the Number of Inhabitants increas'd, such only were esteem'd Free, as were descended from Parents, that were both Free (c). And so it came to pass in *Athens*; for *Pericles*, when he flourish'd in the State, and had Sons Lawfully begotten, propos'd a Law, that those only should be reputed true Citizens of *Athens*, who were Born of Parents, that were both *Athenians*; and having pre-

(a) *Demosth. Orat. in Aristocr.* (b) *Demosthen. Orat. in Nearam.* (c) *Aristot. Polit. l. III. c. V.*

vail'd

vail'd with the People to give their consent to it, little less than Five-Thousand were depriv'd of their Freedom, and Sold for Slaves, and those, who enduring the Test, remain'd in the Government, and past Muster for True-born *Athenians*, were found in the Poll to be Fourteen-thousand and Forty Persons in Number. But *Pericles* himself afterwards having lost all his legitimate Sons, so far perswaded the *Athenians*, that they cancell'd the Law, and granted that he should Enroll his Bastard-Son in the Register of his own Ward, by his Paternal Name; thinking that by those Losses he had been sufficiently Punish'd for his former Arrogance and Haughtiness, and therefore being of Opinion, that he had been Shrewdly handled by the Divine Vengeance, of which he had run so severe a Gantlope, and that his Request was such as became a Man to ask, and Men to grant. Thus *Plutarch* (a).

But those that were only of the Half-blood, when they were invest'd with Freedom, were always reputed Inferiour, and less Honourable then those that were of the Whole; and several Marks, and Customes they had to distinguish them from the others, as particularly, that those who had but one Parent, an *Athenian*, were not allow'd to Exercise themselves in any of the *Gymnasia*, that were frequented by those, who had both; but only at the *Cynosarges*, a Place without the City; and that this was esteem'd a Mark of Disgrace, is evident from the Practise of *Themistocles*, who was but of the Half-blood of *Athens*, and to take away, or, at least, lessen this Distinction, us'd to Engage the Noble *Athenians* to go, and perform their Exercises with him (b). In the same Place, there was a Court of Judicature, where Persons suspected of Illegitimacy were Tryed, and those that were found Guilty, depriv'd of the Freedom they Falsly pretended to, and Sold for Slaves.

*Cecrops*, after he had settled a Form of Government amongst the *Athenians*, for the better administration of Justice, and the prevention of Deceit, and over-reaching one another in Commerce, divided them into Four *Φυλαι*, or Tribes; each Tribe, he subdivided into three Parts, call'd *Τριττις*, *Εθνη*, or *Οικισμ*; and each of these into Thirty *Γιν*, or Families, which, because they consisted of Thirty Men, were call'd *Τετρακτίς*; and they that were Members of these, were call'd *Ομογείλακται*, and *Γινῆται*, not from any Relation to one another, but only because they liv'd in the same Burrough, and were Educated together, and joyn'd in one Body, or Society; the same Persons were call'd *Οεγίωτες*, because they participat'd of the same Sacrifices, and Worshipp'd the same Gods together, from *Οργια*, which, tho' it properly signifies only the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, yet is often taken for the Ceremonies us'd in the Worship of any other Deity (c).

The names of the Tribes were these, 1. *Κεκροπιδες*, from *Cecrops*, for it was usual with the Ancients, out of an earnest desire of continuing

(a) In *Pericle*. (b) *Plutarch. in Themistocle*. (c) *Pollux lib. III. cap. IV. lib. VII. cap. IX.*

their

their memories to Posterity, to call Cities, or Countries, or any Monuments, that seem'd likely to remain to succeeding Ages, by their own Names. 2. *Αὐτίχων*, from a King of that Name, reported by some to have reign'd in some part of *Attica* before *Cecrops*; or rather from the Name of *Αὐτίχθους*, in which the *Athenians* glory'd not a little. 3. *Ακτῖν*, from *Αἴταις*, or *Αἴταιον*, another of the Kings before *Cecrops*; or from *ἀκτῆ*, which signifies a Shore, because a great part of *Attica*, and that in particular, where this *Tribes* inhabited, lay towards the Sea, and this was the reason, why the whole Countrey was sometimes call'd *Attē*. And the same Cause is given, for the Name of the Fourth *Tribes*, which they call'd *Παρωνία*, from it's nearness to the Sea.

In the Reign of *Cranæus*, new Names were impos'd upon them, and they were call'd, 1. *Κρανῖς*, from the King's Name. 2. *Αττίς*, from a Young Lady, the Daughter of *Cranæus*. 3. *Μισύλαι*. 4. *Διακεί*. And both these, I suppose, were nam'd from their Situation; the latter being Seated upon a Craggy Shore, and the former in the Inland part of the Countrey.

*Erethoneus* being advanc'd to the Kingdom, called them after the Names of *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, *Neptune*, and *Vulcan*, 1. *Δίας*. 2. *Αθήναις*. 3. *Ποσειδωνίας*. 4. *Ηφαίστιος* (a).

Afterwards under *Erethheus*, they receiv'd new Names from the Sons of *Ion*, a Man of great Repute amongst the *Athenians*, and General of their Armies, as *Herodotus* reports (b). These Names were, 1. *Γελοίπης*. 2. *Οπλίται*. 3. *Αιγυρίης*. 4. *Αργαδίας*. And of these Names *Euripides* is to be understood, when he introduces *Minerva* speaking thus of *Ion* (c),

Λαῶσα τόνδε πῦδα, Κικροπίαν χθίνα  
 Χάρεϊ, Κρέεσσα, κείς θρόνος παρανικῆς  
 Ἰδρυσόν· ἐν γὰρ ᾧ Ἐριχθέως γένος,  
 Δίκαι' ἄρχειν ἡσυχ' ἐμῆς ὅδε χθονός,  
 ἔσται τὴν Ἑλλάδ' εὐκλείης. οἱ τῷδε γὰρ  
 Παῖδες γινόμενοι πῶταίς ἐξίης μιᾶς,  
 Ἐπώνυμοι γῆς, καὶ παλὴν χθονός  
 Λαῶν ἔσονται, σκοπελὸν οἱ ναῖουσ' ἐμὸν.

Here, Nurse *Creüsa*, since this Child by Birth Claims the just Priv'lege of *Erethheus* Line, Take him to *Athens*, and Proclaim him King, For he hath just Pretensions to the Crown; His Blooming Courage is a previous Sign, With how much Prowess, Policy, and Art

(a) Pollux l. VIII. c. IX. (b) Lib. VIII. cap. XLIV. (c) *Ion*, ad finem.

Greece's

Greece's Dominions he will Sway, the Gods  
 Shall bless him with Four Sons, by whom in Tribes  
 High Seated *Athens* shall divided be,  
 And bear her sev'ral Names deriv'd from Them.

Mr. Abell.

And *Herodotus* (a), and *Pollux* are of the same Opinion, tho' they are herein contradicted by others, as we find it in *Plutarch*, who hath made some alteration in the Names, his Words are these, Some affirm that the *Tribes* did not take their Names from the Sons of *Ion*, but from the different sorts of Occupations, that they follow'd; the Soldiers were call'd *Οπλίται*; the Crafts-men, *Εργαται*; and of the remaining three, the Farmers, *Γεωργοί*; the Shepherds, and Grailers, *Αιγυρίαι* (b).

Afterwards, when the number of Inhabitants was encreas'd; *Clisthenes* having first advis'd with *Apollo's* Oracle, as it was usual to do in every Concern of moment, alter'd the number of the *Tribes*, encreasing them from Four to Ten, and gave them new Names, taken from certain Ancient Heroes, all Born in *Attica*, except *Ajax*, the Son of *Telemachus*, to whom he gave a Place amongst the rest, as being a Neighbour, Friend, and Companion in the Wars (c), for, as *Homer* reports, *Ajax's* forces were joyn'd to those of *Menestheus*, the *Athenian* General,

Αἴας δ' ἐν Σαλαμῶνι ἄγει δυνάμειν νῆας,  
 Σῆπτε δ' ἄγων ἱν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσαντο πόλεως.

Twelve Ships from *Salamis* Stout *Ajax* brought,  
 And rank'd his Men, where the *Athenians* Fought.

Mr. Creech:

And *Plutarch* reports, that when the *Athenians*, and *Megarensians*, both made pretensions to *Salamis*, and Chose the *Spartans* to decide the Controversie, these Lines of *Homer* being produc'd by *Solon*, did the *Athenians* a considerable Kindness, serving very much to strengthen their Title to that Island. To return, these Heroes, from the Name they gave to the *Tribes*, were call'd *επώνυμοι*, and were Honour'd with Statues, erected near the Senate-house. Their Names are recorded by *Pausanias*, and are these, *Erethheus*, *Cecrops*, *Aegæus*, *Pandion*, *Acamas*, *Antiochus*, *Leo*, *Oeneus*, *Hippothoon*, *Ajax*. And the Names of the *Tribes* are these, *Εριχθίς*, *Κικροπίς*, *Αιγυρίς*, *Πανδιονίς*, *Ακαμαντίς*, *Αρπυρίς*, *Λεοντίς*, *Οινίς*, *Ιερποθωνίς*, *Αϊαντίς*.

Afterwards when *Amigonius*, and *Demetrius* free'd the *Athenians* from the *Macedonian* Slavery, they augmented their *Tribes*, adding Two to their former Number, which in Honour of their Deliverers, they call'd from their Names, *Αμυγνίς*, and *Δημητριάς* (d). But the Gratitude of the *Athenians* being no longer liv'd, than the good Fortune, and Successes of those Two Princes, the *Tribes* soon chang'd

(a) Lib. V. c. LXVI. (b) *Plutarch*, *Solone*. (c) *Herodot.* & *Pollux* loc. citatis. (d) *Plutarchus* *Demetrius*.

their first Names, for those of *Ατταλίδαι*, and *Πτολεμαῖοι*, the former of which was deriv'd from *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*; the latter, from *Ptolemee*, King of *Ægypt*, from both of which the *Athenians* had receiv'd some signal Favours (a).

This was the constant Number of the *Athenian Tribes*, which lasted as long as the City maintain'd it's Liberty, and Form of Government. Each of these was at the first divided into Thirty *Γῆν*, every one of which consisted of Thirty Men (b). And the better to maintain a mutual Correspondence, and for the promotion of good Fellow-ship, and Kindness amongst them, they had publick Feasts, first instituted by *Solon*, where they all met together, and made Merry (c). These Meetings were Nam'd from the Persons assembled at them, for if the whole *Tribe* came together, then they call'd it *δῆπιον φυλακῶν*; if onely one *φρατρία*, then it was *δῆπιον φρατρίων*; or if a *δῆμος*, it was *δῆπιον δημοτικόν*.

These *Δῆμοι*, were little Burroughs in *Attica*, several of which belong'd to every *Tribe*, and tho' they were reckon'd together in the Business of the Common-wealth, yet had separate Habitations, and distinct Rites and Ceremonies in the performance of Holy Worship; nay, and different Gods too, for each of them ador'd peculiar Deities, and yet all unanimously agree'd in Worshipping *Minerva*, who was the *Tutelar Goddess* of the whole Countrey, whereas the other Deities had only certain Parts assign'd them, and in those they were inferiour to *Minerva*, the only supreme Governess. And this Difference in Religion was very Ancient, being of no less Duration, than the Common-wealth it self, for when *Theseus* had prevail'd upon them to leave their Countrey-Seats, and Unite themselves in one City, they thought it would be an impious and unpardonable Action to desert the Gods of their Ancestors, and therefore judg'd it convenient, and more agreeable to the Respect due from them to their *Tutelar Deities*, to pay them the same Honours, and frequent the same Places of Worship, they had formerly done (d).

The greatest use we have of these *Δῆμοι*, is in their Forms of Law, and Contracts, whereby sufficient Provision was made against all Fraud, Deceit, and Mistakes. Hence we read of such punctual Clauses in their Writs, as these, N. the Son of N. of the *Tribe* of *Æanias*, of the Burrough of *Rhamnus*, &c.

The Number of them was an Hundred-seventy-four (e), some of which having the same Names, were distinguish'd by their Situation, being call'd *καθ' ἑσθιν*, and *ὑπὸ ἑσθιν*, Upper, and Lower. All of them were divided into Greater, and Less; the *μικροί*, or Less, were these (f), *Alimusiæ*, *Zoster*, *Prosaltians*, *Anagyrsians*, *Cephale*, *Præficiæ*, *Lampreæ*, *Phyleis*, *Myrrhinsiæ*, *Athmonians*, *Acharnæ*, *Mara-*

(a) *Straban. V. Ατταλίδαι*, & *Βερνικίδαι*. (b) *Tollux* loc. cit. (c) *Athen. Dip. l. XV*. (d) *Livius. Pausan. Atticis*. (e) *Eustath. Il. p. Strabo l. IX*. (f) *Pausan. Atticis*.

ἰον,

*ἰον*, *Braurion*, *Rhamnus*. The rest were Greater; take them promiscuously according to their *Tribes*.

### Κ Ε Κ Ρ Ο Π Ι Σ.

Αἰξῶν,  
Δαιδαλίδαι,  
Ἐπικίδαι,  
Ἐνπιπῖ,  
Πίδος,

Συπαλῆδος,  
Τεινιμῆς,  
Ἀθμονόν, ἢ Ἀθμονία,  
Ἀλαί,  
Φλύα.

### Ε Ρ Ε Χ Θ Η Ι Σ.

Ἀρξάλη, ἢ Ἀρξόλη,  
Εὐωνυμία, ἢ Εὐώνυμος,  
Θήμακοι, ἢ Θήμακος,  
Κηρίσια,  
Λαμπρὰ Καθύπερθεν,  
Λαμπρὰ ὑπὲρθεν, ἢ Ὠξάλιος,

Παμβωτίδαι,  
Περασὴ,  
Συβεΐδαι,  
Φηγῦς,  
Ἀναγυρῆς,  
Κήδαι.

### Π Α Ν Δ Ι Ο Ν Ι Σ.

Ἀγγιλῆ,  
Κυδαδινωαίων,  
Κύθηρον,  
Οα, ἢ Οῖς,  
Παιανιδὰ καθ' ἑσθιν,

Παιανιδὰ ὑπὲρθεν,  
Προδάλινθος,  
Στεινιά,  
Φηγαία,  
Μυρξινῶς.

### Α Ι Γ Η Ι Σ.

Ἀλαί,  
Ἀραρνίδες, ἢ Ἀράρνη,  
Βαπή,  
Γαργυλῶς,  
Διομεία,  
Ἐμχθία,  
Εἰκρία,  
Ἐχρία,  
Ιαγεία, ἢ Ιαχέιος,

Κολυπῶς,  
Κυδαντίδαι,  
Πλωδεῖα,  
Τίθρας,  
Φηγαία,  
Φιλαΐδαι,  
Χολλίδαι,  
Ιωνίδαι.

G 2

Α Κ Α.

## ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ.

Αγνῆς,  
Βεισίδαι,  
Ερμῶς, ἢ Ερμού,  
Ηραισιάδαι,  
Θέεικος,  
Ιτιά,

Κίμνα,  
Σφιπῶς,  
Χολαργεῖς, Χολαργία, ἢ Χόλαργοι.  
Κεφαλῇ,  
Περάσπατα,  
Κυρπάδαι.

## ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ.

Αιδαλίδαι, ἢ Αιδαλία,  
Αφίδνα,  
Δειράδεις,  
Εκάλη,  
Ευπυεῖδαι,  
Κηπῶι,  
Κρωπία  
Λακόνιον,  
Οἶον Κεραμεικόν,  
Παιονίδαι,

Πήληκες,  
Ποταμῶς,  
Σκαμβωνίδαι,  
Σόνιον,  
Τβάδαι,  
Φρέαξις,  
Μαξαθῶν,  
Αλιμῶς,  
Χολεῖδαι.

## ΙΠΠΟΘΟΩΝΤΙΣ.

Αζυμιά,  
Αμαξαντεῖα,  
Ανάκχια,  
Αρχαδῶς,  
Δικέλεια,  
Ελαιεύς, ἢ Ελαιῶς,  
Ελευσις,  
Εεριάδαι,

Θυμοιτάδαι,  
Κειειάδαι,  
Κορυδαλλῶς,  
Οἶον Δεκαλεικόν,  
Οἶνεν πρὸς Ελευσίνας,  
Σπινδάλη,  
Κοίλη.

## ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ.

Αἰγυλία, ἢ Αἰγύλη,  
Αλωπηκὴ, ἢ Αλωπηκῆ,  
Αμφισοπή,  
Ανάφλωτος,

Ατλῶν, ἢ Ατλῶνα,  
Βήσσα,  
Θοράι,  
Κεῖωα,

Λευκοπύργος.

Λευκοπύργος,  
Μιλαινεῖς, ἢ Μέλαιναι,  
Παλλῶν,  
Πιπτήλη,

Σημαχίδαι,  
Φάληρον,  
Λίγκον.

## ΑΙΑΝΤΙΣ.

Οἶνεν πρὸς Μαξαθῶνι,  
Τιτακίδαι,  
Τεικέρυδος,

Ραμνῶς.  
Ψαρίδαι.

## ΟΙΝΗΙΣ.

Βύτεια, ἢ Βυτιάδης,  
Επικηρισία,  
Θεία, ἢ Θείω,  
Ιπποδαμιάδαι,  
Λακία, ἢ Λακιάδαι,  
Λυσία,  
Μελίτη,

Οἶ, ἢ Οἶη,  
Πειθοῖδαι,  
Πτελέα,  
Φυλῇ,  
Αχάρναι,  
Τυρμίδαι.

## ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΣ, ἢ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗΙΣ.

Βερενικίδαι,  
Θυερωνίδαι,

Κονδύλη.

## ΑΤΤΑΛΙΣ, ἢ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΣ.

Απολλωνιεῖς.

Besides these, there were several other Burroughs, of which it is uncertain, what Tribe they belong'd to, such are these;

Αρχα,  
Αρχηνομοῖ,  
Αμφιάδη,  
Αρχήλαια,  
Αστυπάλαια,  
Ατλάντη,  
Βελίτη,  
Βραύρων,  
Τόρρεα,

Τμήηιοι,  
Φορμίσιοι,  
Χιτώνη,  
Βεληνοῦς,  
Εννα,  
Εχελίδαι,  
Ζωστής,  
Θειῶν,  
Κοδοκίδαι,

G 3

Κυβισσῶν,



Κυράρχης,  
Σπερχιλός,  
Υπαι,  
Φείησι,  
Ορεπίς,  
Κεραμεικός ἔξω τῇ πόλει,  
Λαύριον,  
Ληγαῖον,  
Λίμναι,

Μηνοχόα,  
Παργεῖς,  
Πινύξ,  
Πατρώα καὶ βόθρυς,  
Σίειον,  
Φαυρά,  
Φορών,  
Ψυπάλια,  
Φαρμακῦται. &c.

## CHAPTER X.

### Of the Sojourners, and Servants, in Athens.

THE Second sort of the Inhabitants of *Attica*, were call'd *Μετοικοί*, by which Word were signified Persons, that came from a Foreign Country, and settled in *Attica*, being admitted by the Council of *Areopagus*, and enter'd in a publick Register. They differ'd from the *Πολῖται*, or Citizens, because they were not Free-born *Athenians*, but either came from another City themselves, or were Descended from such as did; and from the *Ξένοι*, or Strangers, because these took up their Lodgings only for a short Time, whereas the *Μετοικοί* had fix'd Habitations, and constantly resided upon the Place, whither they had transplanted themselves.

They were permitted to dwell in the City, and follow their own Business, without disturbance, but could not Serve in any publick Office, give their Votes in the Assemblies, or have any Share in the Government; but were oblig'd to sit still, as Spectators in a Theater, without intermeddling, or any way concerning themselves with State-Affairs, and patiently submit to the Decrees enacted by the Citizens, and observe all the Laws and Customs of the Country. And therefore *Aristophanes* in *Suïdas*, compares them to Chaff, as being an unprofitable and useless Part of the Common-wealth,

Τὰς γὰρ Μετοίκους ἄχυστα ὅς' ἀστῶν λέγω.

The Sojourners (if I may speak my Mind)  
Are, as it were, the City's Chaff, and Scum. (Mr. *Abell*.)

They were not allow'd to Act any Thing, or manage any Business in their own Names, but were oblig'd to Choose out of the Citizens one, to whose Care and Protection they committed themselves, and whose Duty it was to Defend them from all Violence, and Oppression. An hint of this we have in *Terence's Eunuchus*, where *Thais* puts her self into the Hands of *Phædria's* Family,

— CH.

— CH. *Tum autem Phædria,*  
*Meo fratri, gaudeo amorem esse omnem in tranquillo, una est domus,*  
*Thais patri se commendavit, in clientelam & fidem*  
*Nobis dedit se* — (a).

My Brother's good Success in his Amour,  
Doth glad my Soul, for *Thais* now's his own,  
Since the Protection of her self she leaves  
To my old Father's care, and management.

Mr. *Abell*.

The Person, to whom they committed themselves, was call'd *Προστάτης*, and might Demand several Services of them, in which if they fail'd, or if they neglected to Choose a Patron, a Law-Suit was commenc'd against them, call'd *Ἀπρωτασίας δίκη*, and their Goods were Confiscated.

In consideration of the Privileges allow'd them, the Common-wealth required them to perform several Duties; for instance, in the *Panathenaea*, a Festival celebrated in Honour of *Minerva*, the Men were oblig'd to carry certain Vessels, call'd *Σκάφαι*, and the Women *Υδριαί*, or Water-Pots, and therefore the Men are sometimes call'd *Σκαφηφόροι*, or *Σκαφεῖς* by the Comedians, and the Women *Υδριαφόροι*.

Beside this, the Men paid an annual Tribute of Twelve *Drachms*, tho' *Hesychius* mentioneth Ten only, and the Women that had no Sons, were liable to be Taxed Six; but such as had Sons that paid, were excus'd. This Tribute was call'd *Μετοίκιον*, and was exacted not only of those that dwelt in *Athen*, but of all such as settled themselves in any Town of *Attica*, as appears from the instance given us by *Eysias* (b) in *Oropus*, which was an *Athenian* Town, Situated upon the confines of *Boeotia*. About the time of *Xerxes's* Invasion upon *Greece*, *Themistocles* having by his eminent Services rais'd himself to a great Power in the Common-wealth, prevail'd so far upon the *Athenians*, that they remitted this exaction, and continued the Sojourners, in the enjoyment of their Privileges, without requiring any such acknowledgment from them (c). How long they enjoy'd this Immunity, I cannot tell, but it is certain they kept it not long, as soon as *Themistocles* fell into Disgrace. Upon non-payment of this Imposition, the delinquent was immediately seiz'd by the Tax-masters, and carry'd away to the Market set apart for that Purpose, (call'd by *Phalaris* *Μετοίκιον* (d), and by *Demosthenes* (e) *Πωλητήριον τῷ Μετοίκῳ*, where they were expos'd to Sale by the *Πωληταί*, which were Officers concern'd in the publick Revenues. And this Fate had the Famous Phi-

(a) *Act. ult. Scen. ult.* (b) *Orat. in Philonem.* (c) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. XI.*  
(d) *Elaminio.* (e) *Orat. I. in Aristogis.*

Iosopher *Xenocrates* undergon, had not *Lycurgus* rescued him out of the hands of the Officers, as *Plutarch* reports (a) : *Diogenes Laertius* (b) tells us, he was actually Sold, because he had not wherewithal to pay the Tribute, but was redeem'd by *Demeetrius* the *Phaleræan*, who because he would not Violate the Laws of the City, nor yet could endure to see so great and worthy a Person reduc'd to so miserable a Condition, restor'd him his Liberty, and paid for him what the Tax-masters demanded.

But tho' these Men were incapable of having any Preferment, or bearing any Office in the Common-wealth, yet they were not wholly Destitute of Encouragements to the Practice of Virtue, and the undertaking of Noble Actions, and being serviceable to the Publick. For such as signaliz'd themselves by any notable Exploit, were seldom pass'd by neglected, or unrewarded; but were taken into publick Consideration, and by a special Edict of People, Honoured with an Immunity from all Impositions, Taxes, and other Duties, except such as were required of the Free-born Citizens, and therefore they call'd this Honour *ιστιλεια*, and the Persons that enjoy'd it *ιστιλαιοι*, because they did *ισα πλεον της εστις*, pay only an equal Proportion with the Citizens. This was a sort of an half Freedom, being the same with what we sometimes find call'd *Ατιλεια*, of which I have spoken already, and was granted to Forreigners, that had deserved well of the Publick, but not merited enough to be Enroll'd amongst the true Citizens; an Instance of which we have in *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedon*, and sometimes in whole Cities and Common-wealths, that had by some special Service demonstrated the Kindness, and good Affection they bore to *Athens*; two examples of this we have in the *Thébans*, and *Olynthians* in *Theophrastus*, as he is Cited by *Suidas*, to whom with *Harpocration*, and *Hesychius*, we are oblig'd for this Account.

I proceed in the next place, to speak of the Third, and most numerous part of the Inhabitants of *Athens*, I mean the *Servants*, of which there were Two sorts, the First was of those, that thro' Poverty were forc'd to Serve for Wages, being otherwise Free-born Citizens, but not having any Suffrage in publick Affairs, by reason of their Indigency, it being forbidden at some times (for this Prohibition was not perpetual) that Persons not having such an Estate, as was mention'd in the Law, should have the Privilege of giving their Voices. These were properly call'd *Θητις*, and *Πελάται* (c), and were the most Gentel sort of *Servants*, being only in that State during their own pleasure, and necessities; and having Power either to change their Masters, or (if they became able to subsist by themselves) wholly to release themselves from Servitude.

The Second sort of *Servants*, were such, as were wholly in the Power and at the Disposal of their Lords, who had as good a Title to them, as to their Lands, and Estates, a considerable part of which they were Esteem'd. They were wholly at their Command, to be employ'd as they

(a) Loc. cit. (b) *Xenocrate*. (c) *Pollux* l. III. c. VIII.

saw

saw convenient, in the worst and most wretched Drudgeries; and to be us'd at their discretion, Pinch'd, Starv'd, Beaten, Tormented, and that, in most Places, without any appeal to Superior Powers, and Punish'd even with Death it self. And, which yet farther enhanc'd the Misery of their Condition, they had no hopes of recovering their Freedom themselves, or procuring it for their Posterity, but were to continue in the same Condition, as long as they liv'd, and all the Inheritance they could leave their Children (for their Masters not only allow'd, but encourag'd them to Marry, that they might encrease in Number) was the Possession of their Parents Miseries, and a Condition scarce any way better than that of Beasts.

The Ancients were very sensible of the hard Usage *Slaves* met with; and the earnest desire of Liberty, that reign'd in their own Breasts, and made them always forward to expose their Lives in the Defence of it, was a sufficient Cause to beget in them a Jealousie of the like in other Persons; Men being generally very apt to suspect others of the same Passions and Inclinations, which themselves have been guilty of. And we find them very Industrious to prevent, and suppress all such motions, by keeping the *Slaves* at a very great Distance from them, by no means Condescending (I speak of the generality of them) to familiar Converse, much less to jest with them; by instilling into them a mean Opinion of themselves; debasing their Natures, and extinguishing in them (as much as possible) all sparks of Generosity, and Manhood, by an illiberal Education, and accustoming them to Blows, and Stripes, which they thought were very disgraceable to Ingenuous, and Free-born Natures; and subduing them with hard Labour, and Want; and, in short, by using them almost in the same manner, nay, sometimes worse, than we do Brute Animals. A sufficient proof whereof (were there no more) we have in the Famous *Roman Case*, a Man celebrated in all Ages for his exact observance of the nicest Rules of Justice, nor doth it at all Invalidate the Evidence, that this was done by a *Roman*, since both at *Rome*, and in *Greece*, and most other Civiliz'd Countreys, the usage of *Slaves* seems to have been much what the same, some few Alterations excepted. This *Case*, (*Plutarch* tells us) when his *Servants* grew Old, and unfit for Labour, notwithstanding they had been very Faithful, and Serviceable to him, and had spent their Youth, and Strength in Labouring for him; for all this, when Years came upon them, and their Strength fail'd them, he would not be at the charge of maintaining them, but either turn'd them away, unable to provide for themselves, or let them Starve to Death in his own Family (a). It is true, this Barbarity was not Practis'd in all Places, and my Author thinks the *Censor* blame-worthy for it, imputing it to a Savage and Unnatural Temper; yet hence appears the miserable Condition of *Slaves*, that were forc'd to undergo the most Arbitrary, and unjust Impositions of the Cruellest and most Barbarous Tyrants. Now the better to show you what State they were

(a) *Plutarch. Catone*.

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in,

in, I will give you a Taste of the constant Behaviour of their Masters towards them in a few instances, which were not the effects of the Passion, Pride, or Humour of private Persons, but the common and general Practice of the whole Countrey.

It was accounted an unsufferable piece of Impudence, for a *Servant* to Imitate the Free-men in any thing, or affect to be like them in their Dress, or any part of their Behaviour. In those Cities, where they let their Hair grow long, for a *Servant* to have long Hair, was an unpardonable Offence, inasmuch that the Comedian, speaking it Proverbially of one that does, what becomes him not, says,

Ἐπιτα δὴτα δῶλ' ὅν κόμην ἔχεις (a).

Then you disdain your own State, affect  
To wear long Hair, as Free-men. ——— (Mr. Abell.)

They had a peculiar Form, after which they cut their Hair, call'd *Θελὲ ἀνδραποδίδης*, which they laid aside, if ever Fortune was so propitious, as to restore them their Liberty. Now because *Slaves* were generally Rude and Ignorant, therefore *ἔχω ὡς ἀνδραποδίδης ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τείχεος*, was Proverbially apply'd to any Dull, Stupid Fellow (b). The Garments also of *Slaves* were different from those of Free-men; for the Free-men's Coats were *ἀμφιμάχαλοι*, had two Sleeves; whereas those of *Slaves* were *ἑπτομάχαλοι*, had only one Sleeve (c).

At *Athens*, it was common to be in Love with Boys, *Socrates*, and *Plato's* Amours are notorious enough, and *Solon* himself was too weak to resist this Passion, but thought it neither unlawful, nor Scandalous, but on the contrary Honourable, and well becoming an Ingenious Education; therefore he forbid *Slaves*, the use of this Pleasure, as it were inviting the Worthy to Practice, when he commanded the Unworthy to forbear, says *Plutarch* (d). The same Law-giver forbid them to Anoint, or Perfume themselves with sweet Odours, allowing those pieces of Gentility, only to Persons of better Birth, and Quality.

*Slaves* were not permitted to Communicate at the Worship of some of the Deities, but were accounted Unholy, and Prophane; and thought to be Offensive to the Gods, and to Pollute the Worship by their Presence; as for instance, at the Worship of the *Eumenides*, or *Furies*, at *Athens*; and *Hercules*, at *Rome*. Of which I shall have occasion to speak something more hereafter.

Their Education was quite different from that of Free-born Children, these were instructed in all the Liberal Arts; the others only taught how to Obey, and Drudge in their Masters Business. And whereas the common method was, to win those of Ingenious Birth by gentle means into a performance of their Duty; the manner of Tutoring *Slaves*, was the same that they us'd to Tame Wild Beasts, namely, Stripes, and the Cruellest Severity. For all this, there

(a) *Aristophan. Avibus.* (b) *Eustath. Il. α'. p. 59. Edit. Bas.* (c) *Tollux On. l. VII. c. XIII.* (d) *Soiene.*

wanted

wanted not some, whom Nature had Bless'd with a more happy Genius, and a larger share of Parts than the rest, and Fortune directed to Kind and Gentle Masters, that by their great Improvements in Learning, and Wisdom, were a sufficient evidence, that Nobility of Soul, and Greatness of Understanding are not confin'd to any Rank, or Quality, but that even the meanest and most abject Persons may dive into the most hidden Secrets of Nature, and be admitted to the most intimate Converse with the Muses. Poor deform'd *Æsop*, and the Poet *Alcman* (a), are undeniable proofs of it, and (to mention no more) *Epictetus*, the Famous *Moralist*, confirms the same, of whose Poverty, and Servile condition we have mention in this *Epigram*,

Δῶλ' Ἐπίκλειτ' γενέμεν, καὶ σώματι πρὸς,  
Καὶ πένι' ἰσθ', καὶ φίλ' Ἀθανάτοις.

The Gods to me great Favours do dispence,  
Tho'n Bondage, Crippled, and in Indigence.

Mr. Abell.

They thought it a piece of Presumption, as detracting something from the Free-born Citizens, to call *Slaves* by any Name, that was in use amongst them; But if any man was so Bold, as to give his *Servant* the Name of a Person of Quality, or Honour, it was a signal Affront; *Domitian* is said to have Punish'd *Meius Pomposianus*, for calling his *Slaves* by the Illustrious Names of *Hannibal*, and *Mago*; and, to come nearer to our purpose, the *Athenians* enacted a Law, that no Man should presume to call any of his *Servants* by the Names of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*, two Famous Patriots, that with Courage and Resolution oppos'd the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons (b). For the most part, as *Strabo* reports, they were call'd after the Names of their Native-Countries, as *Λυδίαι*, or *Σύροι*, if they were Born in *Lydia*, or *Syria*; or, by the Names, that were most us'd in those Nations, as *Manes*, or *Midas* in *Phrygia*; or, *Tibias* in *Paphlagonia*. The most common Names in *Athens* were *Geta*, and *Davus*, being taken from the *Getae*, and *Daci*, whom my Author thinks to have been formerly call'd *Δάκται*, or *Davi* (c). They seldom consist'd of above two Syllables, and therefore *Demosthenes* having objected to *Æschines*, that his Father was a *Slave*, tells him farther as a proof of what he had affirm'd, that he had falsified his Name, calling him *Αἰρωμεύς*, whereas in truth it was *Tromes* (d). The reason of this seems to have been, that their Names, being short, might be more easily and quickly pronounc'd. Upon the same account, *Oppian* advises to give Dogs short Names,

Ὀνόματα σκυλάκισσι  
Βραὺ τίθει, δοῦν πάντα, δοῦν ἵνα βάζιν ἀκέρ' (e).

(a) *Ælian. V. H.* (b) *Alex. ab Alex. l. III. c. XX.* (c) *Strabo l. VII.* (d) *Οἱ παρὰ Στράβωνα.* (e) *Κικλήϊον.*

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Let

Let Hounds that are design'd for Game, and Sport,  
Have Names impos'd that easie be, and short;  
Least at the Hunts-man's call they trace in vain,  
And run with open cry confus'dly o're the Plain.

Mr. Abell.

Above all things, especial care was taken that *Slaves* should not wear Armour, which (considering the number of them, that was usually almost Twenty times as great as that of the Citizens) might have been dangerous to the Publick. For this reason it was not usual for them to Serve in the Wars, and therefore when *Virgil* speaks of such an one's assisting in the War of *Troy*, he tells us, it was contrary to Law, or Custom,

— — — — — *Vix unus Helenor,*  
*Et Lycus elapsi, quorum primævus Helenor;*  
*Meonio regi quem serva Lycimnia furtim*  
*Sustulerat, vetitisque ad Trojam miserat armis (a).*

Scarce *Lycus* and *Helenor* 'scap'd away  
From the sad Ruins of that dismal Day.  
Against th' enacted Law for *Slaves*, in Arms  
*Helenor* had Stole of to War's Alarms,  
For he a Spurious Issue was brought forth  
By a Bond-woman of *Plæbeian* Worth  
To the *Meonian* King.

Mr. Abell.

Only upon some emergent and extraordinary Occasions, we find the *Slaves* Arm'd in the Defence of their Masters, and themselves; but this was never done except in Cases of most extreme Danger, when all other means of preserving the Common-wealth were taken away; and the first time it was practis'd, is said to have been when the *Persians* under *Darius* invaded the *Athenians*, and receiv'd a total Overthrow by them in *Marathon* (b). The like was afterwards put in Practice by other Common-wealths, but not without great Caution; *Cleomenes*, King of *Sparta*, being sore press'd by the *Macedonians*, and *Acheans*, and finding himself unable to make Head against them, Arm'd Two-thousand of the *Hæloæ*, or *Lacedæmonian Slaves*, that he might make a fit Body to Oppose *Amigonius's* *Leucaspides*, or White Shields; but ventur'd not to List any more of them, tho' *Laconia* was at that time Furnish'd with much greater Numbers (c). And their Prudence in this Case deserves Commendation, for having exasperated them so much by their hard Usage, they had no reason to expect any Mercy from them, if ever they should get the upper hand. And to me it seems not much less than

(a) *Æneid* l. IX. v. 745. (b) *Plutarch*. (c) *Plutarch*. *Cleomenes*.

a Miracle, that Four-hundred-thousand Men should groan under the Oppression of Twenty, or Thirty-thousand (for those, I have told you already, were the Numbers of the *Slaves*, *Citizens*, and *Sojourners*, in *Attica*) without ever (some few times excepted) attempting to assert their Liberty; when 'tis evident, they wanted not strength to turn the State upside down; and impossible, but that they might have met with many Opportunities, especially in times of War, Sedition, and Tumult, in which the City was continually embroil'd, to accomplish such a design. But this must be ascrib'd partly to the watchful Eye, their Masters, and the whole State had upon them; and partly, to that Cowardise and Degeneracy, which usually in a great measure corrupt and debase the Minds of those, that Fortune has plac'd in a servile Condition, however Noble and Daring they be by Nature; for it is a true saying of *Homer*,

Ἥμιν γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς Σποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
Ἀνέγρ, οὐτ' ἂν μιν χεῖρ δέλιον ἡμᾶρ ἔλθοι.

True Valour n'ere can animate that Mind,  
Whole inbred Seeds by Slav'ry are confin'd.

Mr. Abell.

But neither the Care of the State, nor the great Power that Oppression has to debase Men's Souls, could always keep them in Subjection; but Nature sometimes would exert it's self, when either a fair Opportunity invited, or some insufferable Oppression compelled them to endeavour the Recovery of their Liberties, that is, their Lives, their Fortunes into their own Hands. *Athenæus* reports, that in *Attica* they once seiz'd upon the Castle of *Sunium*, and committed Ravages throughout the Countrey; and at the same time made their second Insurrection in *Sicily*, for in that Countrey they frequently Rebell'd, but were at last reduc'd with great Slaughter, no less than a Million of them being Slain (a). Several other efforts we find made by them in other Places, to the great danger, and almost utter subversion of those Countries. Sometimes, in times of War, the *Slaves* would run over to the Enemy, and this Desertion they call'd *αὐτομολεῖν* (b), which, excepting Theft, a Crime almost peculiar to them, was the most common Offence they committed, being in most Places the only way they had to deliver themselves; but if they were taken, they were made to pay dearly for their desire of Freedom, being bound fast to a Wheel, and Unmercifully beaten with Whips, as the Comedian tells us,

Ἡ δὲ λ. αὐτομολεῖν παρεκκινασμένῳ.  
Ἐπὶ πρὸς χεῖρ ἔλκοιτο μαστιγέμενῳ (c).

(a) *Athenæus* *Deipn.* l. VI. (b) *Aristoph.* *Equit.* (c) *Aristoph.* *Pace*.

If wretched Slaves harass'd, and wear'd out  
Under the Thralldom of dire Servitude,  
Should but anticipate sweet Freedom's Joys,  
And make Revolt to their more gentle Foes,  
Fast to a Wheel being bound with Cords, they're Whipt.  
Mr. Abell.

The same Punishment was inflicted on them for Theft, as we learn from *Horace* (a),

Non furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicas  
Servus, habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio.

Suppose, my Slave shou'd say, I neither Fly  
Nor Seal: Well, thou hast thy reward, say I,  
Thou art not Scourg'd.

Mr. Creech.

Sometimes they were rack'd upon the Wheel, (a Cruelty never practis'd upon any Free-born Person) to Extort a Confession from them, when they were suspected to have been Accessory to any Villainous Design, as *Aristophanes* informs us in his first Comedy, where one says to a Slave,

Επὶ τῷ τροχῷ γὰρ δὲ σ' ἐκεῖ ἐφελέμενον  
Εἰπὲν ἂν πετασέμενος.

We ought to Wrack you with incessant Pain,  
To force you to reveal your Rogueries.

Mr. Abell.

The common way of correcting them for any Offence, was to Scourge them with Whips, wherefore a Villain, that had been guilty of any Crime that deserv'd Punishment, was said *μασηχᾶν*, to stand in need of, and, as it were, Itch for a Scourge. Sometimes to prevent their shrinking, or running away, they were tied fast to a Pillar; and therefore *Hyperides* in *Pollux* saith, *κειράμενος ἐν τῷ κίονι*, *ἰξιδίην*. For so, I think, that place ought to be read, and not, *κηρύσσον ἐν τῷ κίονι*, *ἰξιδίην* (b). As the Vulgar Editions have it.

If they stood guilty of any notorious Offence, they were Condemn'd to Grind at the Mill, a Labour exceeding toilsom in those Days, when they were forc'd to beat their Grain into Meal, being unacquainted with the easie way of Grinding, that is us'd amongst us, and was the invention of later Ages. And therefore when they had a mind to express the greatness of any Labour, or Toil, it was usual to compare it to Grinding in a Mill, *Tibi necum erit*, *Crasse*, in eodem *pistrino vivendum*, says *Tully* (c), that is, You and I, *Crassus*, must undergo the same troublefom course of Life. But beside the Labour

(a) Epist. lib. I. (b) On. I. III. c. VIII. (c) De Orat.

they

they were put to, they were beaten with Rods, or Scourges, sometimes, if their Offence was very great, to Death, as we learn from *Terence*, the Scene of whose *Drama* is laid in *Africa*,

*Verberibus caesum te in pistrinum*, Dave, dedam usque ad necem (a).

I'll have you flea'd, you Villainous Curr, to Death.

Mr. Abell.

Or else, as others understand this Place, they were Condemn'd to that Punishment, as long as they liv'd.

These Mills, were call'd in general *Μύλων*, which Word, because of the Cruelty exercis'd upon poor Slaves there, *Pollux* tells us, was *ὄν ὀφημῶ*, Unlucky, or Inauspicious, and not to be nam'd, and therefore calls it *Στοπιήνης οἶκῶ*. They had several Names from the different Sorts of Grain, that was ground in them, as, *Χοιροκόπιον*, or *Χοιροκόπιον*, *Αλφιτέιον*, *Ζῶτειον*, *Ζῶτειον*, or *Ζῶτειον*, and *Ζητέιον*, whence comes the word *Ζητέιον*, to examine upon the Rack, as was usual in that Place (b).

Beside this, they Stigmatiz'd them, in the Fore-head, for the most part, and sometimes in other places, for, as *Galen* observes (c), it was Customary to Punish the Member that had Offended, if the Slave was a Glutton, his Belly must suffer; if a Tell-tale, his Tongue must be cut out, and so of the rest. The common way of Stigmatizing was by burning the Member with a red-hot Iron, upon which certain Letters were Engraven, till a fair Impression was made, and then pouring Ink into the Furrows, that the Inscription might be the more conspicuous and legible. Persons thus us'd, were call'd *Στιγματίαι*, and *Στιγματίαι*, saith *Pollux*; or *Αἶγας*, because that Bird was *ποικιλοπτερός*, of divers colours, as *Aristophanes* tells us (d). *Pliny* calls them *Inscripti* (e); and others *Literati*, as *Plautus*,

*sic hic literatus me finat* (f).

And what the same Author means by *Trium literarum homo*, no man can be ignorant. This Punishment was seldom, or never inflicted upon any, but Slaves, and with them it was so frequent, that the *Samians*, when they gave a great number of Slaves their Liberty, and admitted them to Offices in the State, were branded with the Infamous name of *Literati*,

*Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος ὅτι πολυγράμματός*.

The Samian People (Fy for Shame)  
For store of Letters have great Fame,

Dr. Linleton.

Saith *Aristophanes* in *Plutarch* (g); tho' others, and amongst them *Plutarch* himself, assign different Reasons for this Appellation (h). This

(a) *Andria*. (b) *Pollux* l. III. c. VIII. *Hesychius*. *Suidas*. *Etymolog.* (c) *Lib. VI.* (d) *Avibus*. (e) *Lib. XVIII. c. III.* (f) *Casina Act. II. Sc. VI.* (g) *Terence*. (h) *Erasm. Adag.*

was the greatest mark of Infamy, that could be inflicted on them, and therefore *Phocylides* advises to forbear it, even in *Slaves*,

Σπίγματα μὴ γράψης, ἐπονείδειζον δερδόνοντα (a).

Brand not your *Slave* with Characters of Infamy.

On the contrary in *Thrace*, *Herodotus* tells us, it was accounted a Badge of Honour, and us'd by none but Persons of Credit, nor omitted, but by those of the meanest Rank (b).

At *Athens*, *Slaves* had a little more Humanity shown them, than in most other Places, for if any of them were grievously Oppress'd, they were allow'd to fly for Sanctuary to *Theseus's* Temple, whence to force them was a piece of Sacrilege (c). And those that had been Barbarously treated by their Masters, had the Privilege of commencing a Suit at Law against them, which they call'd *Υἱεως δίκην*, or *Αἰκίας δίκην*, the former of which was against such, as had made any violent Attempts upon the Chastity of their *Slaves*; the latter against those, that had us'd too much Severity in Punishing them; and if it appear'd, that the Complaint was reasonable and just, the Master was oblig'd to Sell his *Slave*.

Beside the being deliver'd from the injurious Treatment of Tyrants, the *Slaves* at *Athens* had a great deal the Advantage of their Brethren in other Places, in many Respects; they might use their Tongues with far greater Freedom, as appears every where from the Comedies of *Aristophanes*, *Plautus*, and *Terence*; and indulge themselves in the Enjoyment of a great many Pleasures, that in other Places they had not the smallest Taste of, insomuch that *Demosthenes* tells us, The Condition of a *Slave* in *Athens* was preferable to that of a Free *Denizon* in some other Cities (d), and *Plautus* sufficiently testifies the truth of what he saith,

Atque id ne vos miremini, homines servulus  
Potare, amare, atque ad carnem condicere;  
Licet hoc Athenis ——— (e).

The Laws at *Athens* don't our *Slaves* restrain  
From Pleasure, Mirth, and Gayety of Life,  
For they may revel, be inflam'd with Love,  
And live as much at Ease, as some Free *Denizens*.

Mr. Abell.

Farther, they were permitted to get Estates for themselves, paying only a small Tribute to their Masters every Year out of them, and if they could procure as much as would pay for their Ransom, their Masters had no power to hinder them from buying their Liberty, as may be observ'd from the same Author, who introduces a *Slave* speaking in this manner,

(a) V. 212. (b) Lib. V. (c) *Plutarch. Theseo*. (d) *Philipp. III*. (e) *Stiche*.

Quid

Quid tu me vero libertate territas?  
Quod si tu nolis, filiusque etiam tuus,  
Vobis inuitis, atque amborum ingratis,  
Vna libella liber possum fieri (a).

Pray, Sir, good Words, since nor you, nor your Son  
Can me my Liberty deny, 'altho'  
You pour out Threatnings with such rigorous awe,  
For if I please, one Pound can me release,  
And purchase Freedom. ——— (Mr. Abell.)

Sometimes, if they had been faithful, and diligent in their Master's Business, they dismiss'd them of their own accord; and upon the Performance of any remarkable Service for the Publick, the State usually took care to reward them with Liberty. Such of them as were admitted to serve in the Wars, were seldom left in the Condition of *Slaves*, either for fear the Remembrance of their former Oppression might move them to revolt to the Enemy, or raise a Sedition at Home, so fair an opportunity being put into their Hands; or, to animate them with greater Courage and Constancy to oppose the Invaders, when they were to receive so great a Reward for the Dangers they underwent; or, because it was thought unreasonable, that such as hazarded their Lives in Defence of their Country's Liberty, should themselves groan under the heavy Yoke of *Slavery*, and be depriv'd of even the smallest part of that, which was in a great measure owing to their Courage and Loyalty; for one, I say, or all these reasons, such as upon emergent Occasions took up Arms for the publick Safety, seldom fail'd of having their Liberty restor'd to them. An instance whereof, to mention no more, we have in the *Slaves*, that behav'd themselves Valiantly in the Sea-Fight at *Arginusæ*, where the *Athenians* obtain'd a signal Victory against *Callicratidas*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral; and therefore the *Slave* in *Aristophanes*, being almost ready to faint under an heavy Burden, accuseth his own Cowardise, that hindred him from lifting himself amongst the Marine-Forces, and thereby recovering his Liberty,

Οἱμοὶ κακοδαίμων· τί γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐν ἐναυμάχῃ (b);

Pox take this Heart, that durst not meet  
In boist'rous Seas the *Spartan* Fleet.

*Slaves*, as long they were under the Government of a Master, were call'd *Οἰκῆται*, but after their Freedom was granted them, they were *ἄλλοι*, not being, like the former, a part of their Master's Estate, but only oblig'd to some grateful Acknowledgements, and small Services (c), such as were requir'd of the *Μετρητοί*, to whom they were in some few things inferior; but seldom, perhaps never, arriv'd to the Dignity of Citizens, especially if they had receiv'd their Freedom from a private Person, and not upon a Publick Account; for such

(a) *Asinæ*. (b) *Ranæ* Act. I. Scen. I. (c) *Chrysippus de Concordia* l. II.

as were advanc'd for Publick Services, seem to have liv'd in greater Repute, and enjoy'd a larger share of Liberty, than others, that had only merited their Freedom, by the Obligations, they had laid upon particular Persons.

A Tribute of twelve *Drachms* was exacted of the *Mirongi*, and the same with an addition of Three *Oboli* was required of the *Free'd-men* (a). Also they were oblig'd to choose a *Hypocritus*, who was to be no other, than the Master, out of whose Service they had been releas'd; upon him they attended almost in the same manner with the *Roman Liberti*, and *Cientes*; but in Case they behav'd themselves Stubbornly, and Ungratefully towards him, he had power to Arrest them, and carry them before a Judge, by whom, if they were found Guilty, they were depriv'd of their Liberty, and reduc'd to their former miserable Condition; this Suit was call'd *Αποστονισ δικη*, which name was also given to the complaints made by *Servants*, and *Free'd-men* against their Masters, and *Patrons*, which both of them were allow'd to Prefer, if they were not treated with all the Humanity that was thought due to their respective Conditions; but because all the *Free'd-men's* publick Business, like that of the *Mirongi*, was to be manag'd chiefly by Proxies; at their restoration to Liberty, both of them had the Privilege of choosing an *Επίτροπος*, or *Curator*, who in case his *Clients* receiv'd any Injury from his *Patron*, was to Defend him, to Appeal for him, and plead his Cause before the Judges, who out of respect to the *Patron*, were appointed out of his own Tribe (b).

This was the Condition of *Slaves* in *Athens*, which, tho' in it self deplorable enough, yet if compar'd with that of their Fellow-sufferers in other Cities, seems very easie, at least tolerable, and not to be repin'd at. I might here give you an account, of the various Conditions of *Slaves* in the several Countries of *Greece*, such as the *Penestæ* in *Thessaly*; the *Clarotæ*, and *Mnoitæ* in *Crete*; the *Corynephori* at *Sicyon*; the *Gymniæ* at *Argos*, and many others; but I shall only at present lay before you the State of the *Helotæ* in *Sparta*, which, because of the frequent mention made of them in Authors, must not be omitted; and from their Treatment (tho' they were a more Gentle sort of *Slaves*, and enjoy'd more Privileges (c) than the rest) will appear the Truth of what *Plutarch* tells us, was commonly said of *Sparta*, *Εν Λακιδαιμονίῳ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον μάλιστα ἰσχυρίζεται εἶναι, ἢ τὸ δούλον μάλιστα δούλον*, That in *Sparta* he that was Free, was most so; and he that was a *Slave*, was the greatest *Slave* in the World (d).

The *Helotæ* were so call'd from *Helos*, a *Laconian Town*, Conquer'd by the *Spartans*, who made all the Inhabitants Prisoners of War, and reduc'd them into the condition of *Slaves* (e).

The *Free-men* of *Sparta*, were forbidden the Exercise of any mean or Mechanical Employment, and therefore the whole Care of supplying the City with Necessaries was devolv'd upon the *Helots*, the Ground

(a) Harpocrat. (b) Suidas, Harpocrat. (c) Pollux. l. III. c. VIII. (d) Plutarch. Lycorg. (e) Strabo l. VIII. Harpocrat.

was till'd, and all sorts of Trades manag'd by them, whilst their Masters, Gentlemen like, spent all their time in Dancing, and Feasting, in their Exercises, Hunting matches, and the *αἶμα*, or places where good Company us'd to meet (a).

But the being Condemn'd to such Drudgeries all their Lives, had been, at least, supportable, had they not been also treated in the most Barbarous manner, abus'd beyond the patience of Man, and often Murder'd without committing any Fault, and without any shew of Justice. And of this the *Κρυπτικὴ*, or secret Law, is a sufficient proof; It was an Ordinance, (these are *Plutarch's* own Words,) by which those, who had the care of the Young-men, dispatch'd privately some of the ablest of them into the Countrey, from time to time, Arm'd only with Daggers, and taking a little necessary Provision with them; these in the Day-time, hid themselves in the Thickets and Cliffs, and there lay close; but in the Night issu'd out into the High-ways, and Murder'd all the *Helots* they could light upon; sometimes they set upon them by Day, as they were at work in the Fields, and kill'd them in cold Blood, as *Thucydides* reports, in his History of the *Peloponnesian War*. The same Author tells us, (saith *Plutarch*), that a good number of them being crown'd by Proclamation, (which was a token of their being set Free) enfranchis'd for their good Services, and led about to all the Temples in token of Honour, disappear'd all of a sudden, being about the number of Two-thousand, and no Man either then, or since could give any Account, how they came by their Deaths. *Aristotle* adds, that the *Ephori*, so soon as they were enter'd into their Office, us'd to declare War against them, that they might be Masacred with a pretence of Law.

It is confess'd on all hands, (proceeds my Author,) that the *Spartans* dealt with them very hardly; for it was a thing common to force them to drink to Excess, and to lead them in that Condition into their Publick Halls, that their Children might see, *What a contemptible and beastly sight a drunken man is*. They made them to Dance uncomely Dances, and Sing ridiculous Songs; forbidding them expressly to use any that was Serious, and Manly, because they *Would not have them Prophan'd by their Mouths*. For this reason, when the *Thebans* made an Incursion into *Laconia*, and took a great number of the *Helots* Prisoners, they could by no means persuade them to Sing the Odes of *Terpander*, *Alcman*, or *Spendon*, Poets in repute at *Lacedæmon*, For (said they) *they are our Master's Songs, we dare not Sing them* (b).

Having given you a Survey of the usage, *Slaves* generally met with amongst the Ancients, it remains that I give you an account how they came to fall into this deplorable Condition, from that Liberty, which all Men are by Nature made Masters of. And it seems to have happen'd these Three ways: First, from Poverty, whereby Men being unable to subsist of themselves, and perhaps, deeply in Debt, were forc'd to

(a) Plutarch. Lycorgo. (b) Plutarch. ibidem.



part with their Freedom, and yield themselves *Slaves* to such as were able to maintain them; or Sell their Bodies to their Creditors, and pay them in Service, what they were not able to do in Money. Secondly, Vast numbers were reduc'd to *Slavery* by the chance of War, by which the Conquered became wholly at the disposal of their Conquerors. Thirdly, By the perfidiousness of those that Traded in *Slaves*, who would often Steal Persons of Ingenuous Birth and Education, and Sell them. *Aristophanes* tells us, the *Thessalians* were notorious for this sort of Villany,

ΠΕ. Πόθεν ἔν' ἔξεις δειράποντας;

ΧΡ. Ὀνησόμεθ' ἀργυρεῖν δ' ἄντα. ΠΕ. Τίς δ' ἔστι πρῶτον ὁ πωλὼν,  
ὅταν ἀργυρεῖον κακῶν ἔχῃ; ΧΡ. Κερδαίνειν βελήματα πρὸς  
βιμπρεῖν, ἔκων ἐκ Θυγαλίας περὶ πλείων ἀνδραποδιστῶν (a).

POV. How will you, Sir, get *Slaves*? CHR. I'll Buy with Coyn.

POV. But where? since all the Merchants leave of Sale,  
Having got Wealth enough. CHR. I'll warrant you,  
*Slave-mongers* will come here from *Thessaly*,  
Driv'n by hopes of getting more.

Mr. Abell,

But if any Person were convicted of having betray'd a Free-man, he was severely Punish'd by *Solon's* Laws, except it were a Daughter, or a Sister, for those they were permitted to Sell, if they had caught them with a Man (b).

At *Athens*, they had several places in the *Forum* appointed for the Sale of *Slaves*, of which I have spoken already; and upon the first of every Month, the Merchants, call'd *Ανδραποδευκαπηλοι*, brought them into the Market, and expos'd them to Sale (c), the Cryer standing upon a Stone erected for that purpose, call'd *Πρωτὴ λίθος*, and calling the people together (d); whence *Cicero* opprobriously calls the *Tribunes*, *emprios de Lapide*, because they were suspected to have been hir'd to the management of an Affair (e).

At *Athens*, when a New-bought *Slave* was first brought Home, there was an Entertainment provided to welcome him to his new Service, and certain Sweet-meats were pour'd upon his head, which for that reason they call'd *Καταχύσματα* (f). But I do not find that this Ceremony was practis'd in other Places; tho' in all Countries, *Slaves* were Bought and Sold like other Commodities; the *Thracians* are particularly remarkable for Purchasing them with Salt, and therefore they were call'd *Πρὸς ἁλὸς ἡγεσάμενα*; *Eusebius* adds, that *Αλάνητα δαλαρα*, signified those, that were Bought at a very low Rate. The *Chians*

(a) *Plut. A. S. II Sc V.* (b) *Plut. arch. Solon.* (c) *Aristoph. Sx. Equit.* (d) *Polux I. III. c. VIII.* (e) *Orat. in Eusebio.* (f) *Aristoph. Pluto, & Polux loc. cit.*

are reported to have been the first that gave Money for them (a); whereas before, they were usually exchange'd for other Commodities; indeed, the Ancient Trade was wholly manag'd that way; *Homer's* Heroes are often said to have exchange'd their Captives for Provisions, and particularly at the end of the Seventh *Iliad*,

Ενθεν ἄρ' οἰνίζοντο καυκαμόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ,  
Ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δ' αἰθωνί σιδήρῳ,  
Ἄλλοι δὲ ῥινόισι, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοῖσι βόσσιν,  
Ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραπέδεσσι, πένοντο δ' αἶψα θάλασσαν.

The Grecian Chiefs by bartering of their Ware,  
Their choice Provisions, and their Wine prepare;  
Some Brass exchange, some Iron, some Beast's hydes,  
Some *Slaves* of War, some Cattle.

Mr. Abell.

Whence it appears, that the Barbarous Oppression, and Cruelty us'd towards *Slaves*, was not an effect of the Pride of later Ages, but practis'd in the most primitive and simple Times; how long it continued, is not certain.

*Adrian* is said to have been the first, that took away from Masters, the power of putting their *Slaves* to Death, without being call'd to Account for it. And in the Reign of *Nero*, and other Cruel Emperours of *Rome*, the Masters were forc'd to give them Civil Treatment, for fear they should accuse them, as Persons disaffected to the Government.

But the growth of *Christianity* in the World seems to have put a final Period to that unlimited Power, that Lords in former Ages claim'd over their *Slaves*; for the *Christians* behav'd themselves with abundance of Mildness, and Gentleness towards them; partly, to encourage them to embrace the *Christian* Religion, the Propagation of which they aim'd at more, than the Promotion of their own private Interests; and partly, because they thought it Barbarous, and Unnatural, that Persons endu'd by Nature with the same Powers and Faculties, the same Tempers and Inclinations with themselves, should be treated with no more Kindness, than those Creatures, that are without Reason, and have no Power to reflect on their own Condition, nor to be sensible of the Miseries they lie under.

(a) *Ca. Rhod. Antiquitat. I. XXV. c. IX.*



## CHAPTER XI.

## Of the Athenian Magistrates.

THE *Magistrates* of *Athens* are divided by *Æschines* (a) into Three sorts, the Ground of which Distinction, is taken from the different methods of their Election, and Promotion.

1. *Χερσπονηται*, were such as receiv'd their Dignity from the People, met together in a Lawful Assembly, and were so call'd from the manner of their Election, in which the People gave their Votes by holding up their Hands.

2. *Κληρωτοι*, were those that ow'd their Promotion to Lots, which were drawn by the *Thesmothete*, in *Theseus's* Temple.

3. *Αιγροι*, were extraordinary Officers, appointed by the whole People, or particular *Tribes*, to take care of any Business; such were the Surveyors of the publick Works, and such like.

According to *Solus's* Constitutions, no Man was capable of being a *Magistrate*, except he was possess'd of a considerable Estate; but by *Aristides's* means, the Poorer sort were admitted to a share in the management of the Government, and every Free *Demizoa* rendred capable of appearing for the highest Preferments. Yet such was the Modesty of the Commons, that they left the chief Offices, and such as the care of the Common-wealth depended upon, to Persons of superiour Quality, aspiring no higher, than the management of petty and trivial Businesses (b).

But tho' no Man's Quality, or Condition, could exempt him from bearing publick Offices, yet his course of Life, and Behaviour might; for if any Man had liv'd a Vitious, and Scandalous Life, he was thought unworthy of the meanest Office; it being improbable that a Person, that could not behave himself so as to gain Reputation in a private Capacity, should be able to demean himself Prudently and Wisely in a publick Station; or that he, who had neglected his own Concerns, or fail'd in the management of them, should be capable of undertaking publick Business, and providing for the Common-wealth. And therefore before any Man was admitted to a publick Employ, he was oblig'd to give an account of himself, and his past Life, before certain Judges in the *Forum*, which was the Place appointed for this Examination, which they call'd *Δοκιμωσια* (c). Nor was this alone thought sufficient, for tho' at this time they pass the Tryal with Credit, yet in the first Ordinary Assembly after their Election, they were a second time brought to the Test, when, if any thing Scandalous was alledg'd, and made out against them, they were depriv'd of their Honours (d).

(a) Orat. in Ctesiphont. Ulpian. in *Androtiana*. (b) Xenophon de Rep. *Athen.* (c) *Lyfia* Orat. in *Evandr.* *Æschines* contra *Timarchium*. (d) *Demosthen.* in *Theocr.*

And

And when their Offices were expir'd, they were oblig'd to give an account of their Management to the *Prætor*, and the *Logista*, which was call'd *Ευδη*, and if any neglected to do it, or, had not undergone the former Probation, the People were forbidden, by an express Law, to present him with a Crown, which was the usual Reward of such as had gain'd themselves Honour and Reputation, by the careful and wise Management of publick Employments. Also till their Accounts were pass'd, they were not permitted to Sue (a) for any other Office, or Place of Trust, or to Travel into any Forreign Country, or to dispose of their Estates, or any part of them, whether by Will, or Consecrating them to Pious uses, or any other way; but the whole was to remain entire, that in case they should be found to have embzzl'd the Publick Revenues, the City might not loose by them (b).

The Day in which the *Magistrates* entred upon their Offices, was the first of *Hecatombæon*, the first Month in the *Athenian* Calendar; it was a Solemn Festival, which from the occasion had the Name of *Εισαγωγία*, and was celebrated with all the expressions of Mirth, and Joy us'd at such publick Days. Also Sacrifices were Offer'd to the Gods by the Senators, and most of the other *Magistrates*; and Prayers made for the Prosperity of the City, in the Chappel of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, the *Comptrollers* (c).

## CHAPTER XII.

## Of the Nine Archons, &amp;c.

THE chief of *Magistrates* of *Athens* were Nine in Number, and had all the common Name of *Archontes*, or Rulers. They were elected by Lots, but were not admitted to their Offices, till they had undergone a two-fold Tryal, one in the Senate-house, call'd *Ανακρισις*, and a second in the *Forum*, call'd *Δοκιμωσια*. The Questions which the Senate propos'd to them, were such as these, Whether they were descended from Ancestors, that had been Citizens of *Athens* from three Generations? Of what *Tribes*, and Hundred they were, and whether they bore any Relation to *Apollo*, and *Jupiter Hercules*? Whether they had been Dutiful to their Parents, had Serv'd in the Wars, and had a competent Estate (d)? And, as some are of Opinion, the same Questions were demanded of all the other *Magistrates* (e).

But what was more peculiar to these *Magistrates*, was the Oath required of them, before their Admission, in the *Portico*, call'd *Βασιλειος*

(a) *Suidas*, *Hesychius*, *Æschin.* Orat. de *Ewent. Legat.* (b) *Æschin.* in *Ctesiphont.* (c) *Suidas*, *Ulpian.* in *Melitimam*, *Antiphon.* Orat. de *Lybia*. (d) *Demosthen.* in *Eubulid.* *Pellux* *Orat.* l. VIII. c. XIII. (e) *Dicaearchus* contra *Aristogiton*.

to this Effect; That they would observe the Laws, and administer Justice without partiality, would never be corrupted by Bribes, or if they were, would dedicate a Statue of Gold to the *Delphian Apollo*: From thence they went into the Citadel, and there repeated the same Oath.

This done, they undertook their Charge, some parts of which were to be executed by them separately, according to their respective Offices, others equally concern'd them all. They had all the Power of Punishing Malefactors with Death, were all Crown'd with a Garland of Myrtle; they had a joyn't Commission for appointing the *Δικασται*, and *Αλλοτριται* by Lots, Electing out of every Tribe one; as also of Constituting the *ἑπταρχαι*, *Φύλαρχαι*, and *Στρατηγοί*, of inquiring into the Behaviour, and Management of other Magistrates, and disposing such as were by the Suffrages of the People declar'd to be unworthy of bearing the Office, that had been committed to them (a). And as a recompence for their Services, they were free from all Taxes, and Contributions exacted of other Citizens for the Building of Men of War, which was an immunity never granted to any besides themselves.

And thus much of the Nine *Archons* in common, I shall now speak of them in particular; only first begging leave to tell you, that concerning the first Original of their Names nothing certain is recorded; but *Sigonius* conjectures, that the Names of *Βασίλειος*, and *Ἀρχων*, were in imitation of the chief Magistrates of former Ages, wherein the City was first Govern'd by Kings, and then by *Archons*; and that of *Πολύμαχος*, in memory of the General of the Army, an Officer usually created by the first Kings to assist them in times of War. And the *Θισμοβίται*, as their Name imports, seem to have been constituted in behalf of the People, to protect them in the possession of their Laws and Liberties, from the usurpation of the other *Archons*, whose power before *Solon's* regulation of the Common-wealth seems to have been far greater; and more unbounded, than afterwards; for by that Law-giver it was Order'd, that their Offices should consist chiefly in these Things, that follow.

*Ἀρχων*, so call'd by way of Eminence, was Chief of the Nine, and is sometimes nam'd *Ἐπιπρύμνης*, because the Year took it's denomination from him. His Jurisdiction reach'd both Ecclesiastical, and Civil Affairs. It was his Business to determine in all Causes betwixt Men and their Wives; concerning Wives brought to Bed after the Death of their Husbands; concerning Wills and Testaments; concerning Dowries, and Legacies; to take care of Orphans, and provide Tutors, and Guardians for them; to hear the Complaints of such as had been injur'd by their Neighbours; and to Punish such as were addicted to Drunkenness; also to take the first cognizance of some publick Actions, such were those they call'd *Εἰσπραγίαι*, *Φάπαι*, *Εὐδελείαι*, *Εφηνόσεις*, of which in their place. He kept a Court of Judicature in the O-

(a) *Tollux* ibid. Idem ubique laudatur in his capitibus.

deum,

deum, where Tryals about Victuals, and other Necessaries were brought before him. It was his Duty also to appoint *Curators*, call'd *Επιμύληται*, to make Provision for the Celebration of the Feasts, call'd *Διόνυσια*, and *Θαγγίλια*, with some other Solemnities; to take care for the regulation of Stage-plays, and provide Singers, Choristers, and other Necessaries for them (a).

*Βασίλειος*, had a Court of Judicature in the *Royal Portico*, where he decided all Disputes that happen'd amongst the Priests, and the Sacred Families, such as were the *Ceryces*, *Ετεοβουαδαι*, &c. to whom certain Offices in the Celebration of Divine Worship belong'd by Inheritance. Such also, as were accus'd of Impiety, or Prophanation of any of the Mysteries, Temples, or other Sacred things were brought before him. It was his Business to assist in the celebration of the *Eleusian*, and *Lenaean* Festivals, and all those, in which they ran Races with Torches in their hands, viz. *Panathenaea*, *Hephestia*, and *Promethea*; and to Offer publick Sacrifices for the Safety, and Prosperity of the Common-wealth; in several of which Duties, he had the Assistance of his Wife, whom they call'd *Βασίλισσα*, who, if not descended from a Family that was of the whole Blood of *Athens*, or had been Marri'd to another Husband before the *Βασίλειος*, was not duly qualified for her Place by Law. Beside this, he had some concernment in Secular Affairs, for Disputes about inanimate things were brought before him; as also accusations of Murder, which it was his Business to take an Account of, and then refer them to the *Areopagites*, amongst whom he had a right of Suffrage, but was oblig'd to lay by his Crown, (which was one of the Badges of his Office) during the Tryal (b).

*Πολύμαχος*, had under his care all the Strangers, and Sojourners in *Athens*, and exercis'd the same Authority upon them, that was us'd by the *Archon* towards the Citizens. It was his Duty to Offer a Solemn Sacrifice to *Enyalios*, (who is by some taken for *Mars*, by others for one of his Attendants) and another to *Diana*, Sirnam'd *Ἀρτεμις*, from one of the *Athensian* Burroughs; to celebrate the Exequies of the famous Patriot *Harmodius*; and to take care, that the Children of those Men that had lost their Lives in their Countrey's Service, should have a competent Maintenance out of the publick Exchequer.

But because these three Magistrates were often, by reason of their Youth, not so well skill'd in the Laws, and Customs of their Countrey, as might have been wish'd, that they might not be left wholly to themselves, it was Customary for each of them, to make choice of two Persons of Age, Gravity, and Reputation to sit with them upon the Bench, and direct them as there was Occasion. These they call'd *Πάριδοι*, or Assessors, and oblig'd them to undergo the same Probation in the Senate-house, and publick Forum, with the other

(a) *Tollux* Onomastic. hic & ubique, *Lipsius* in *Alcibiadem*, *Demosthen.* in *Maeciat.* *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, & ubique in his capitibus. (b) *Demosthenes* in *Lacritum*, & *Nearam*.

K

Magistrates,

*Magistrates*, and like them too, to give an Account how they had be-  
hav'd themselves in their respective Trusts, when their Offices were  
expir'd.

The six remaining *Archons* were call'd by one common Name, *Thesmothesæ*. They receiv'd Complaints against Persons Guilty of false Ac-  
cusations, of Calumniating, of Bribery, of Impiety, which also was  
part of the King's Office, but with this difference, that the Accusers  
did only φαίνειν τὸν ἀσέβη, inform against the Impious, by word  
of Mouth at the King's Tribunal, whereas before the *Thesmothesæ*, they  
did χαίρειν, deliver in their Indictment in Writing. Also all Causes,  
and Disputes between the Citizens, and Strangers, Sojourners, or  
Slaves, and Controversies about Trade and Merchandize were brought  
before them. Appeals to the People were Preferr'd, the publick Exa-  
mination of several of the *Magistrates* perform'd, and the Suffrages in  
publick Assemblies taken by them. They ratified all publick Con-  
tracts, and Leagues, appointed the Days upon which the Judges were  
to sit, and hear Causes in their several Courts of Judicature, took  
care that no Laws should be establish'd, but such as conduc'd to the  
Safety, and Prosperity of the Common-wealth, and Indicted those,  
that endeavour'd to seduce the unwary Multitude, and perswade them  
to give their Consent to what was contrary to the Interest of the  
Common-wealth.

*Εὐθύναι*, were Ten Officers appointed to assist the *Archons*, and pass  
the Accounts of the *Magistrates*, and to set a Fine upon such as they  
found to have imbezzl'd the publick Treasure, or any way injur'd the  
Common-wealth by their male-administration. *Aristotle* (a) tells us,  
they were sometimes call'd *Εξετάται*, and *Συνήγοροι*, and others will  
have them to be the same with the *Λογισταί*; but these are by *Aristotle*  
said to be distinguish'd from them.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### Of the Athenian Magistrates.

**O**Ι ἑνδεκά, the Eleven, so call'd from their Number, were elected  
out of the Body of the People, each of the Ten Tribes sending  
one; to which there was added a Γραμματεὺς, or Register, to  
make up the Number; sometimes they were call'd Νομοφύλακες, Keepers  
of the Laws, which appellation was taken from their Office, being  
in some things not unlike that of our *Sheriffs*; for they were to see  
Malefactors put to Execution, and had the Charge of such as were  
committed to the publick Prison. They had also Power to seize Thieves,  
Kidnappers, and Highway-robbers upon Suspicion, and, if they confess'd

(a) *Polit. l. VI. cap. ultimo.*

the

the Fact, to put them to Death; if not, they were oblig'd to Prose-  
cute them in a Judicial Way.

*Φύλαρχοι*, were *Magistrates* that presid'd over the *Athenian Tribes*, one  
of which was allotted to each of them. Afterwards, this Name became  
peculiar to a Military Command, and the Governours of Tribes were  
call'd Επιμηληταὶ φύλῳ. Their Business was to take care of the publick  
Treasure, that belong'd to each Tribe, to manage all their Concerns,  
and call them together to Consult, as oft as any thing happen'd, that  
required the presence of the whole Body.

*Φυλοκόμοι*, seem to have had, in most things, the same Office, with  
respect to particular Tribes, that the *Βασιλεὺς* had, with respect to the  
Common-wealth. They were chosen out of the *Εὐπατριδαί*, or Nobili-  
ty, had the care of publick Sacrifices, and other Divine Worship pec-  
uliar to their respective Tribes, and kept their Court in the Portico  
call'd Βασιλείον, and sometimes in the Βακχλείον.

*Φωστρίαρχοι*, and *Τεταπίαρχοι*, had in the several *Φρεντίαι*, and *Τετα-  
πύς* the same Power, that the *Φύλαρχοι* Exercis'd over the whole  
Tribe.

*Δήμαρχοι*, had the same Offices in the *Δῆμοι*, took care of their Re-  
venues, out of which they paid all the Duties required of them, assem-  
bled the People in the Burroughs under their Jurisdiction, all whose  
Names they had written in a Register, and presid'd at the Election of  
Senators, and other *Magistrates* chosen by Lots. Sometimes we find  
them call'd *Ναύαρχοι*, and the Burroughs *Ναυαρχεῖαι*, because each  
of them was oblig'd, besides two Horse-men, to furnish out one Ship  
for the publick Service.

*Ληξιαρχοι*, were Six in Chief, but were assisted by Thirty inferior  
Officers, in laying Fines upon such as came not to publick Assem-  
blies, and making Scrutiny amongst those that were present; such  
also as were busy in the Market they compell'd to leave their Buying  
and Selling, and attend on the publick Business, and this they did by the  
help of the *Τοξίται*, who were certain petty Officers, or rather Ser-  
vants, much like the *Roman Lictors*, and our *Sheriff's Livery-men, Bay-  
liffs*, &c. the City of Athens had a Thousand of them, that liv'd in  
Tents, erected in the middle of the Forum, and were afterwards remov'd  
to the *Areopagus*. Their name seems to have been taken from the  
Arms they usually carried with them, in the same manner that the  
Life-guards of Kings are call'd *Δορυφόροι*. Sometimes they are call'd  
*Ληξιστοὶ Ἐπόπται*, a Name, that was taken from their Offices; sometimes  
*Παισίνιοι*, from *Peisnius*, one of the Primitive Athenians, that either first  
instituted this Office, or gave rules for the Ordering of it; and some-  
times *Σκύθται*, from the Countrey of *Scythia*, for generally Men of that  
Countrey were chosen into this Place, as being Brawny, Sturdy Fel-  
lows; and therefore one of them is introduc'd by *Aristophanes*, speak-  
ing in an uncouth and Barbarous manner (a). But to return to the

(a) *Aristophanes, ejusque Scho'iaſt. Acharn. & Thelimoph.*

*Lexiarchi*, They were the Persons that had the keeping of *λεξιμαρτυρία*, or *λεξωμια*, or publick Register of the whole City, in which were written the Names of all the Citizens, as soon as they came to be of Age to enter upon their paternal Inheritance, which they call'd *Δίεξις*.

*Νομοφύλακες*, were Officers, whose Business it was to see that both the *Magistrates*, and Common People liv'd conformably to the *Laws*, and to Punish the Stubborn and Disobedient (a). To this End in publick Assemblies they had Seats appointed with the *Πεσίδροι*, that they might be ready to Oppose any Man that should Act contrary to the *Laws*, and receiv'd Customs, or Promote any thing against the publick Good. As a Token of the Honourable Station they were plac'd in, they always wore a white Ribband in the Solemn Games, and publick Shows, and had Chairs erected for them, over-against those of the Nine *Archons*.

*Νομοδίται*, were a Thousand in Number, their Office was not (as the Name seems to imply) to enact new *Laws* by their own Authority, for that could not be done without the approbation of the Senate, and the People's ratification; but to inspect the old, and if they found any of them useles, or prejudicial, as the State of Affairs then stood, or Contradictory to another, they caus'd them to be abrogated by an Act of the People. Beside this, they were to take care that no Man should Plough, or Dig deep Ditches within the *Pelasgian* Wall, to apprehend Offenders, and send them to the *Archon*.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### Of the Athenian Magistrates.

THE *Treasurers*, and *General Receivers* of *Athens* were of several Sorts; but before I proceed, to give an Account of their Offices, it will be necessary to premise a word or two concerning the publick Revenues; which are by the Accurate *Sigonius* divided into these four following Sorts;

1. *Τίλη*, signifie those Revenues that were brought in by Lands, Mines, Woods, and other publick Possessions, set apart for the use of the Common-wealth; and the Tributes paid by the *Sojourners*, and the *Free'd-Servants*; as also the Customs required of certain Arts, and Trades, and particularly of Merchants for the exportation, and importation of their Goods.

2. *Φόροι*, were the annual Payments exacted of all their Tributary Cities, which after *Xerxes's* Overthrow, were first levy'd by the *Athenians*, as Contributions to enable them to carry on the War, in case, as was fear'd, the Enemy should make a new Invasion upon them. The first

(a) Cicero de Legib. lib. III. Columella de Re Rust. lib. XII. cap. III.

Collector of this Tax was *Aristides*, who (as *Plutarch* reports in his Life) assess'd all particular Persons, Town by Town, according to every Man's Ability; and the Sum rais'd by him, amounted to Four-hundred, and Sixty Talents. To this *Pericles* added near a Third part, (proceeds my Author) for *Thucydides* reports, that in the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, the *Athenians* had coming in from their Confederates Six-hundred Talents. After *Pericles's* Death the *Orators* and Men Powerful amongst the People, proceeded to encrease it by little and little, till it amounted to One-thousand, and Three-hundred Talents; and that not so much because of the extraordinary Expensiveness of the Wars, as by exciting the People to Largeesses, Play-house-expences, and the erecting of Statues, and Temples.

3. *Εισφοραί*, were Taxes laid upon the Citizens, as well as *Sojourners*, and *Free'd-Servants*, by the Order of the Assembly, and Senate, for the defraying of extraordinary Charges, occasion'd by long and unsuccessful Wars, or any other Means.

4. *Τιμήματα*, were Fines and Amercements, all which were carried into the Exchequer, except the Tenth part, that was given to *Minerva*, and the Fiftieth part, which belong'd to the rest of the Gods, and the Heroes call'd *Επίθυμοι*. Having said thus much of the publick Money, I shall now proceed to the Persons, that had the Disposal, and Management of it.

*Επιτάκται*, was elected by Lot out of the *Prytanes*, and had in his Custody the Keys of the publick Exchequer, which Trust was thought so great, that no Man was permitted to enjoy it above once. Of the rest of the Honours and Offices of this *Magistrate* I shall speak in another place.

*Πωληταί*, were Ten in number, and, together with those that had the care of the Money design'd to be expended upon publick Shows, had the Power of letting out the Tribute-money, and all the Revenues, and Selling Estates that were Confiscated; all which bargains were ratified in the name of their *Presidents*. Beside this, it was their Office to Conviſt such as had not paid the Tribute, call'd *Μετάνκτοι*, and Sell them by Auction. Under these were certain inferiour Officers, call'd *Εκλογαίς*, whose business it was to Collect the publick Money, for such as had Leases of the City's Revenues, whom they call'd *Τελεται*; these were always Persons of good Credit themselves, and beside their own Bonds, were oblig'd to give other Security for the payment of the Money due according to their Leases, in which if they fail'd any longer than till the Ninth *Prytanea*, they were under a Forfeiture of twice the Principal, to be paid by themselves, or their Sureties, upon neglect of which they were all cast into Prison, and their Estates confiscated (a). After the expulsion of the *Thirty Tyrants*, certain Officers, call'd *Συνδικοί*, were Created, with power to take cognizance of all Complaints about the confiscation of Goods, as appears from an Oration of *Lyſias* in behalf of *Nicias*.

(a) Suidas, Ulpianus in Demosthen. &c.

*Επιμετρηταί*, were Officers that Rated all those, of whom Taxes and Contributions were requir'd, according to every Man's Ability, kept the publick Accounts, and Prosecuted such as were behind hand with their Contributions.

*Αποδίκται*, were Ten General Receivers, to whom all the publick Revenues, Contribution-money, and Debts ow'd to the publick, were paid, which done, they Register'd all their Receptions, and cross'd out of the publick Debt-book, such as had discharg'd their Debts, in the presence of the whole Senate. If any Controverlie happen'd about the Money, or Taxes, they had power to decide it, except it was a difficult and knotty Point, or of high Concern, for such they refer'd to the hearing of some of the Courts of Judicature.

*Αντιρρηφός* ἢ *Βαλὺς*, was a publick *Νομιστής*, appointed, at the first institution of the Office, by Election, and afterwards by Lot, to take a Counter-pain of the Accounts of the *Αποδίκται*, for the prevention of all Deceit, and Mistakes.

*Εκλωσταιμαί*, or *Εκλωσταιμαῖοι*, had the same Offices in the Tributary Cities, that belong'd to the *Αποδίκται* in their own Territories.

*Πράκτορες*, were those that receiv'd the Money due to the City, from Fines laid upon Criminals.

*Ταμίαι* ἢ *Θεοὶ*, ἢ *Θεῶν*, were those that receiv'd that part of the Fines, which was due to *Athena*, and the rest of the Gods, which was done before the Senate. They were Ten in Number, were chosen by Lots out of the *Πεντακισιομήδισμοι*, or Nobles, and had power of remitting any Man's Fine, if it was made appear to them, that the *Magistrates* had unjustly impos'd it. *Pollux* tells us, they were the same with those they call'd *Κωλακισταί*, and these, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* reports, us'd to receive not only the Money due to the Gods from Fines, but other Incomes design'd for Civil Uses, and particularly the *Τελείωλα*, distributed amongst the Judges, and therefore call'd *Δικαστικὸς μισθός*. They were so nam'd q. *Κωλαρεῖ*, because they were a kind of Priests, and us'd to claim as their Due the Reliques of Sacrifices, amongst which were the Skins, and the *Κωλαί* (a).

*Ζητηταί*, were Officers appointed upon extraordinary Occasions to enquire after the publick Debts, when thro' the neglect of the *Receivers*, or by other means they were run up to large Sums, and began to be in danger of being lost, if they were not call'd in.

The distinction of the Officers hitherto mention'd, has been taken chiefly from the different Receptions of the publick Money; I shall proceed in *Sigonius's* method, and give you an account in the next place of those, that were distinguish'd by the different manners of disbursing it. And to this End, you must know the Publick Treasure was divided into Three sorts, according to the various Uses in which it was employ'd, the First, they call'd

(a) *Aristoph. Scaur. Av. 1028, Vespis.*

1. *Χεῖματα* ἢ *διοικήσις*, being such as were expended in civil Uses.

2. *Στρατιωτικὰ*, those that were required to defray the Charges of the War.

3. *Θιωμακά*, such as were consecrated to pious Uses; in which they included the Expences at Plays, publick Shows, and Festivals, because most of them were celebrated in Honour of some of the Gods, or in Memory of some deceas'd Heroe; and *Pollux* tells us, the Money given to the Judges, and the People, that met in the publick Assemblies, was call'd by this Name.

*Ταμίης* ἢ *διοικήσις*, otherwise call'd *Επιμελητής* ἢ *κρητὸν ἀρετῆς*, was the principal Treasurer, being far superiour to all the rest in Honour, and Power, created by the People, and continu'd in his Office for Five Years, after which, if he had behav'd himself with Honesty and Integrity, it was an usual thing for him to be elected a Second and Third time.

*Αντιρρηφός* ἢ *διοικήσις*, seems to have been one that kept a Counterpain of the chief *Treasurer's* accounts, to preserve them from being falsified, or corrupted.

*Ταμίης* ἢ *Στρατιωτικῶν*, was the *Pay-master General* of the Army.

*Ταμίης* ἢ *Θιωμακῶν*, or *ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Θιωμακῷ*, had the disposal of the *Θιωμακὰ χεῖματα*, for the Uses above mention'd. But the greatest and most troublesome part of his Office consisted in distributing them to the Poor Citizens, to buy Seats in the Theater; which Custom was first begun and enacted into a Law by *Pericles*, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty (a); for, as *Libanius* observes, in the Primitive Ages of the Common-wealth, when the Theaters were compos'd of Wood, the People, being eager of getting places, us'd to quarrel among themselves, and sometimes Beat and Wound one another; to prevent which inconvenience, it was order'd that every one, before he enter'd into the Theater, should pay two *Oboli*, or a *Drachm*, according to *Hierocles*, for admittance; and least by this means the Poorer sort should be depriv'd of the pleasure of Seeing, every Man was allow'd to demand that Sum of the publick Exchequer (b).

## CHAPTER XV.

### Of the Athenian Magistrates.

*Σιτῶναι*, were so call'd from their Office, which was to lay in Corn for the use of the City, and to this end the *Ταμίης* ἢ *διοικήσις*, was to furnish them with as much Money, as they had occasion for.

(a) *Plutarch, Pericle.* (b) *In Olynthiac.*

*Athen* was Seated in a barren and unfruitful Countrey, that was not able to furnish it's own Inhabitants with necessary Provisions, whereby they were forc'd to fetch Corn from Foreign Nations, and supply their own Wants by the Superfluities of others, and this it was, that caus'd them to institute this Office.

*Σιτοφύλακες*, were Fifteen in Number, Ten of which Officiated in the City, and Five in the *Piræus*; their business was to take care, that Corn and Meal should not be Sold at too dear a Price, and to appoint the size of Bread. Nearly related to these were the *Σιτομέτραι*, or *Ληπιδικταίαι*, whose Office was to see, that the Measures of Corn were just and equal.

*Ἀγοράνομοι*, were Ten in Number, Five belonging to the City, and as many to the *Piræus*. Their business lay in the Market, where they had the care of all Vendibles, except Corn; and were especially oblig'd to see that no Man wrong'd, or any way circumvented another in Buying, or Selling (a).

*Μετρήνιοι*, were Officers that inspected all sorts of Measures, except those of Corn; there were Five of them in the City, and double that number in the *Piræus*, in which the greatest Mart in *Africa* was kept.

*Εμπορίαι ἐπιμεληταί*, were Officers that belong'd to the Haven; they were Ten in number, and the Chief part of their business was, to take care, that two parts, at least, of all the Corn, that was brought into the Port, should be carry'd into the City, and that no Silver should be exported by any Private person, except such as design'd to Trade in Corn (b).

*Ναυτοδίκαι*, or *Υδριανδίκαι*, had Cognizance of Controversies that happen'd between Merchants, and Mariners, and examin'd Persons, that, being the Children of Strangers both by the Father, and Mother's side, had by fraud inserted their Names into the publick Register, thereby claiming the Privileges of Free-born Citizens; this they did upon the Twenty-sixth of every Month. Not much different from these were the *Επιχωρίαι*, according to *Sigonius*, and *Erasmus's* account of them, only they were to hear such Causes in matters of Trade, as requir'd dispatch, and could not be differ'd to the Monthly Sessions of the *Ναυτοδίκαι*. But *Pollux* tells us, that, beside those Tryals, they had Cognizance of Controversies about Feasts and publick Entertainments.

*Ἀσπίοι*, were publick Scavengers.

*Ὀδοποιοί*, were the Surveyors of the Ways.

*Επιτάται* ἢ *ὕδατον*, were those that took care of the *Aqua-ducts*, and other Conveyances of Waters. But the Fountains belong'd to other Officers, call'd *Κεραυφύλακες*. And the Offices of these Four are by *Aristotle* comprehended under the name of *Ἀστυνομία*.

*Επιστάται* ἢ *δημοσίων ἔργων*, were Officers, with whom was entrusted the Care, Contrivance, and Management of all publick Edifices, except the City-Walls, for which there were peculiar Curators, call'd

(a) *Theophrast. de Legibus.* (b) *Demosthen. in Lacertum.*

from

from their Offices *Τεχονοίαι*, whose number was usually the same with that of the Tribes, every one of which had the choice of one *Τεχονοίης*, as often as Occasion requir'd.

*Σωφρονισταί*, were in number Ten, and, as their Name imports, took care that the Young-men behav'd themselves with Sobriety and Moderation (a). For the same end, the *Thesmophetae* us'd to walk about the City in the Night-time, and correct such as they found committing any Disorder (b).

*Οἰόπται*, were Three Officers, that provided Lights and Torches at the publick Entertainments, and took care that every Man drunk his due Proportion (c).

*Γυμνασιόνομοι*, also had an Office at publick Feasts, Sacrifices, Marriages, and other Solemnities, and took care that nothing should be done contrary to Custom (d).

*Γυναικονόμοι*, were Magistrates, whose business it was to Regulate the Women's Apparel, according to the Rules of Modesty and Decency; and set a Fine upon such as were too Nice, and Phantastical in their Dresses, which they expos'd to publick View in the *Ceramicus*.

*Λογισταί*, were Persons of considerable Estates, who by their own Tribe, or the whole People, were order'd to perform some publick Duty, or supply the Common-wealth with Necessaries at their own Expences. Of these there were divers Sorts, all which were elected out of Twelve-hundred of the richest Citizens, which were appointed by the People to undergo, when they should be requir'd, all the burdenson and chargeable Offices in the Common-wealth, every Tribe electing an Hundred and Twenty out of their own Body; tho', as *Sigonius* has observ'd, this was contrary to *Solon's* Constitution, by which every Man of what Quality soever, was oblig'd to serve the Publick, according to his Ability.

These Twelve-hundred were divided into two Parts, one of which consisted of such as were possess'd of the greatest Estates, the other of Persons of meaner Abilities. Each of these were divided into Ten Companies, call'd *Συμμελειαί*, which were distinct Bodies, and had distinct Governours, and Officers of their own. They were again subdivided into two Parts, according to the Estates of the Persons that compos'd them; and thus out of the first Ten *Συμμελειαί*, were appointed Three-hundred of the most wealthy Citizens in *Athen*, who upon all Exigences were to furnish the Common-wealth with necessary supplies of Money, and, together with the rest of the Twelve-hundred, were requir'd to perform all extraordinary Duties in their Turns (e).

*Χορηγοί*, were at the expence of Players, Singers, Dancers, and Musicians, as oft as there was Occasion for them at the celebration of their publick Festivals, and Solemnities (f).

(a) *Æschin. in Axioco.* (b) *Ulpian. in Orat. advers. Mediam.* (c) *Athenaus lib. X.* (d) *Idem lib. VI.* (e) *Ulpian. in Olynthiac. II. & Aprob. I.* (f) *Lysias Orat. de Muneribus, Plutarchus de Prudentia Atheniensium.*

L

Γυμνα-



Γυμνασῆται, were at the charge of the Oil, and such like necessities for the Wrestlers, and other Combatants (a).

Ἑσπέρησι ἢ Φυλαῖς, were such as upon publick Festivals made an Entertainment for their whole Tribe (b).

Τελημεχίαι, were oblig'd to provide all sorts of Necessaries for the Fleet (c).

Εισφίροντες, were requir'd, according to their Abilities, to supply the Publick with Money for the payment of the Army, and other Occasions (d).

Beside these, upon extraordinary Occasions, when the usual supplies were not sufficient, as in Times of long and dangerous Wars, the Rich Citizens us'd generously to Contribute as much as they were able to the publick Necessities, beside what was requir'd of them, and could not be avoided. These are by Pollux call'd ἐπιδιδόντες ἐπιδοσίαι, εἰσφίροντες ἰκόνται, ἰθιλονταί, &c.

Others there were, that were not properly Magistrates, yet, because they were employ'd in publick Business, must not be omitted in this Place.

Such were the Συνδικοί, or Orators appointed by the People, to Plead in behalf of any Law, that was to be abrogated, or enacted, of which I have spoken in another place.

Γέροντες, were Ten in number, elected by Lots, to Plead publick Causes in the Senate-house, or Assembly, and for every Cause wherein they were retain'd, they receiv'd a Drachm out of the publick Exchequer. They were sometimes call'd Συνήγοροι, and their Wages τὸ σὺνηγορικόν (e).

Πρεσβύται, were Embassadors chosen by the Suffrages of the People to treat with Foreign States. Sometimes they were sent with full Power to act according as themselves should judge most conducive to the Safety and Honour of the Common-wealth, and then they were Πρεσβύται αὐτοκράτορες, or Plenipotentiaries, and were not oblig'd, at their return home, to render an Account of their Proceedings; but their Power was usually limited, and they liable to be call'd in Question, if they exceeded their Commission, by concluding any Business, besides what they were sent about, or in any other Manner, than what was prescribed them.

The Πρεσβύται were usually attended by a Κήρυξ, or Herald; and sometimes the Κήρυκες were sent upon Embassies by themselves, as Sigonius observes, especially in the primitive Times, when all Embassies were perform'd by these Men, who were accounted Sacred and Inviolable, not only as being descended from Mercury, and employ'd in his Office, but because they were publick Mediators, without whom all Entercourse, and hopes of Reconcilement between Enemies must be at an End. Therefore, as Eustathius observes (f), whenever Ulysses

(a) Ulpianus in Leptinian. (b) Demosthen. Meliana, & Leptiniana. (c) Plutarch loc. citato. (d) Iysius Orat. de Muneribus. (e) Aristophan. Scholiast. in Vespiis. (f) Iliad α' p. 183. Edit. Basil.

in his Travels dispatch'd his Scouts to discover what sort of Countrey and People, the Winds and Seas had brought them to, he always sent a Κήρυξ along with them, whereby they were secur'd from receiving any harm in all parts of the World, whither they were driven, except in the Countries of the Lastrygones, Cyclopes, and such Savages, as were altogether Barbarous, and void of Humanity.

Beside the fore-mention'd Magistrates and Officers, there were several others, as the Πρυτανεῖς, Πρωτοδοί, &c. But of these, and such as had Military Commands, or were employ'd in the divine Service, I shall give an Account in their own places.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### Of the Council of the Amphictyones.

**B**EING, in the next place, to speak of the Athenian Councils, and Courts of Justice, I cannot omit the famous Council of the Amphictyones; which, tho' it sat not at Athens, nor was peculiar to that City, yet the Athenians, and almost all the rest of the Grecians were concern'd in it.

It is commonly thought to have been first instituted, and receiv'd it's Name from Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion (a); but Strabo is of Opinion, that Acrisius, King of the Argives, was the first that founded, and gave Laws for the Conduct and Management of it (b); and then it must have it's Name from Αμφικτιον, because the Inhabitants of the Countries round about met in that Council (c); and Androtion in Pausanias tells us, that the primitive Name of those Senators was Amphictiones, however in later Ages it hath been chang'd into Amphictyones. But the former Opinion receives confirmation from what Herodotus reports of the Place, where this Council was Assembled, viz. That in it was a Temple Dedicated to Amphictyon, and Ceres Amphictyonis (d); and Strabo also reports, that this Goddess was Worshipp'd by the Amphictyones.

The Place, in which they Assembled, was call'd Thermopylae, and sometimes Pyle, because it was a strait, narrow Passage, and, as it were, a Gate, or Inlet into the Countrey. Hence these Councillors are often call'd Πυλωνάρχαι, and the Council Πυλάρχη (e); But the Scholiast upon Sophocles tells us, that this Name was given them from Pylades, the Friend of Orestes, who was the first that was arraign'd in this Court, having assisted in the Murder of Clytemnestra. Sometimes they met at

(a) Pausanias Phocicis, Suidas, &c. (b) Geogr. l. IX. (c) Suidas. (d) Lib. VII. cap. CC. (e) Herodot. Hefych. Suidas, Harpocration, Strabo, Pausanias Achaicis.

Delphi, where they were entrusted with the care of *Apollo's* Temple, and the *Pythian* Games, which were celebrated in that Place (a), the Situation of which rendred it very commodious for them to Assemble in, for it was Seated in the midst of *Greece*, as the *Geographers* tell us.

The Persons, that compos'd this Assembly, were, according to *Pausanias*, the Representatives of the *Ionians*, amongst whom the *Athenians* were included, *Dolopeans*, *Thessalians*, *Ænianians*, *Magnesiens*, *Melians*, *Phthians*, *Dorians*, *Phocians*, and the *Locrians*, that Inhabited near Mount *Cnemis*, and were call'd, upon that account, *Epimenidii*. *Strabo* reports, that, at their first Institution, they were Twelve in Number, and were delegated by so many Cities. *Harpocration* also, and *Suidas* reckon up Twelve Nations, of which this Council consisted, viz. *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Perrhæbians*, *Boeotians*, *Magnesiens*, *Acheans*, *Phthians*, *Melians*, *Dolopians*, *Ænianians*, *Delphians*, *Phocians*. *Æschines* reckons only Eleven, instead of the *Acheans*, *Ænianians*, *Delphinians*, and *Dolopians*, placing these Three only, viz. *Thessalians*, *Oeseans*, *Locrians* (b).

Afterwards, in the Time of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, and Father of *Alexander the Great*, the *Phocians*, having ransacked and spoil'd the *Delphian* Temple, were by a Decree of the *Amphictyones* Invaded by the rest of the *Grecians*, as a Sacrilegious and Impious Nation, and after a Ten-Years War, depriv'd of the Privilege of sitting amongst them, together with their Allies, the *Lacedæmonians*, who were one part of the *Dorians*, and, under that Name, had formerly Sate in this Assembly; and their vacant Places were supply'd by the *Macedonians*, who were admitted, in return of the good Services they had done in the *Phocian* War. But about Sixty-eight Years after, when the *Gauls*, under the Command of *Brennus*, made a terrible Invasion upon *Greece*, Ravaging and Destroying all before them, sparing nothing Sacred or Prophane, and with a Barbarous and Sacrilegious Fury, Robb'd and Despoil'd the *Delphian* Temple; the *Phocians* behav'd themselves with so much Gallantry, signalizing themselves in the Battel above the rest of the *Grecians*, that they were thought to have made a sufficient Atonement for their former Offence, and restor'd to their Ancient Privilege and Dignity (c).

In the Reign of *Augustus Caesar* they suffer'd another Alteration, for that Emperour, having worsted *Antony* in a Sea-fight at *Actium*, in Memory of that Victory Founded a new City, call'd it *Nicopolis*, and was desirous that it's Inhabitants should be admitted into this Assembly, and to make Way for them, ordered, that the *Magnesiens*, *Melians*, *Phthians*, and *Ænianians*, who till that Time had distinct Voices, should be number'd with the *Thessalians*, and send no Representatives, but such as were common to them all; and that the Right of Suffrage, that formerly belong'd to those Nations, and the *Dolopians*,

(a) *Pausan. Phocicis, & Achaicis*, aliiq. (b) *Orat. Nicol. Παρπαριστ.* (c) *Pausanias Phocicis*.

(a People whose State and Name were extinct long before) should be given to the *Nicopolitans* (a).

*Strabo*, who flourish'd in the Reigns of *Augustus*, and *Tiberius*, reports that this Council, as also the general Assembly of the *Acheans*, was at that Time dissolv'd; but *Pausanias*, who liv'd many Years after, under *Antoninus Pius*, assures us, that in his Time it remain'd entire, and that the number of the *Amphictyones* was then Thirty, being delegated by the following Nations, viz. the *Nicopolitans*, *Macedonians*, *Thessalians*, *Boeotians*, (who in former Times were call'd *Æolians*, and Inhabited some Parts of *Thessaly*) *Phocians*, *Delphians*, *Locrians*, call'd *Ozele*, with those that lie opposite to *Eubæa*, *Dorians*, *Athenians*, and *Eubæans*.

This Assembly had every Year only two set Meetings, one in the beginning of Spring, the other in Autumn (b), except some extraordinary Occasion called them together. The Design of their Meetings, was to determin publick Quarrels, and decide the Differences that happen'd between any of the Cities of *Greece*, when no other Means were left to compose them. Their Determinations were always receiv'd with a great deal of Respect and Veneration, and held inviolable, the *Grecians* being always ready to joyn against those that rejected them, as common Enemies.

An Assembly of Neighbouring Cities, met to Consult about the common Good, seems usually to have been call'd *Amphictyonia*, and, beside the Famous one already spoken of, *Strabo* mentions another held in the Temple of *Neptune*, at *Træzen*, at which the Delegates of the Seven following States were present, viz. *Hermione*, *Epidaureus*, *Ægina*, *Athens*, the *Præsiens*, *Nauplians*, and the *Orchomenians* of *Boeotia* (c).

## CHAPTER XVII.

### Of the Athenian *Εκκλησία*, or Publick Assemblies,

*ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ*, was an Assembly of the People met together according to Law, to Consult about the Good of the Commonwealth. It was of two sorts, the First of which they call'd *Κυβία*, the other *Σύνκλητος*.

*Κυβία*, were so call'd, διὰ τὴν κυρεῖν τὰ ψηφίσματα, because in them the People confirm'd and ratified the Decrees of the Senate; or rather, because they were held upon ἡμερὰ κυβία, or ἀερομίνη ἢ νημερὶς, Days constant, and appointed by Law (d).

They were held four Times in Five and Thirty-days, which was

(d) *Idem ibid.* (b) *Strabo. loc. cit.* (c) *Geogr. lib. VIII.* (d) *Suidas, Aristoph. Schol. Acharn.*



the time that each *Πρυτανία*, or Company of *Prytanes*, presided in the Senate. The first *Assembly* was employ'd in approving, and rejecting *Magistrates*, in hearing Actions call'd *Εισπραξίαι*, and proposals concerning the publick Good; as also in hearing the Catalogue of such Possessions, as were confiscated for the Service of the Common-wealth, and several other things. The second made Provision both for the Community, and Private Persons; and it was permitted every Man to prefer any Petition, or speak his Judgement concerning either of them. In the third, Audience was given to the Embassadors of Foreign States. The fourth was wholly taken up with Religion, and matters relating to the Divine Worship (a). The First *Assembly* was upon the Eleventh Day of the *Prytanea*; the second, upon the Twentieth; the third, upon the Thirtieth; the fourth, upon the Thirty-third. Some there are, that reckon by the Month, and tell us, that they had three *Assemblies* every Month, upon the First, Tenth, and Thirtieth Days; or upon the Tenth, Twentieth, and Thirtieth (b). But the former Computation seems to be more agreeable to the Custom of the Ancient *Athenians*, amongst whom were Ten *Πρυτανίαι*, according to the number of their *Tribes*, each of which Rul'd Thirty-five Days, in which they had Four *Assemblies*. Afterwards, the number of the *Tribes* being encreas'd by an Accession of two New ones, the *Πρυτανίαι* were also Twelve in number, each of which rul'd a Month, and then perhaps *Ulpian's* Computation might take place.

*Συγκλητικὴ Ἐκκλησία*, were so call'd διὰ τὴν συγκαλεῖν, because the People were summon'd together, whereas in the *Κυβέαι*, they met of their own Accord, without receiving any Notice from the *Magistrates*, as *Ulpian* observes (c). The Persons, that summon'd the People, were commonly the *Στρατηγῶν*, or the *Κήρυκες* in their Names, because the Occasion of these extraordinary *Assemblies* was, for the most part, the coming on of some sudden, unexpected, and dangerous War; sometimes the *Prytanes*, if the Senate so order'd it, as they usually did, when any Civil Affairs, in which the *Στρατηγῶν* were not concern'd, requir'd a quicker Dispatch, than could be given them in the *Κυβέαι*.

*Κατακκλησία*, as *Pollux*, or *Κατακλήσια*, as *Hesychius* calls them, were *Assemblies* held upon some very weighty and momentous Affair, to which they summon'd not only those *Citizens*, that resided in the City, but all that liv'd in the Countrey, or were in the Ships, then at Anchor in the Haven.

The places, where the *Ἐκκλησίαι* were Assembled, were several, as First, *Ἀγορὰ*, or the Market-place; and there, not the *Athenians* only, but most other Cities, had their publick Meetings, because it was usually very capacious. Hence the *Assemblies* themselves came to be call'd *Ἀγοραί*, and to make a Speech, *ἀγορεύειν*, as *Harporation* observes.

*Πύξ*, was a Place near the Cittadel, so call'd διὰ τὸ πιπυκνῶσαι τοὺς λίθους, ἢ τοὺς κρηίδρας, ἢ διὰ τὸ πιπυκνῶσαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς βουλὰς.

(a) *Pollux* l. VIII. c. VIII. (b) *Ulpian* in *Demosthen*. *Aristoph. Schol.* (c) In *Orat. de falsa Legit.*

because

because it was fill'd with Stones, or Seats set close together, or from the Crowds of Men in the *Assemblies*, and therefore *πιπυκνῶσι*, is by the *Comedians* taken for the Thronging and Pressing of a Multitude (a). It was remarkable for nothing more, than the meanness of it's Buildings, and Furniture, whereby in Ages, that most affected Gaiety and Splendor, it remain'd a Monument of the Ancient Simplicity (b).

The Theater of *Bacchus*, in later Times was the usual place, in which the *Assemblies* were held (c), but even then *Phyx* was not wholly forsaken, it being against Law to Decree any Man a Crown, or Elect any *Magistrates* in any other Place, as *Pollux*, or, at least, the *Στρατηγῶν*, as *Hesychius* reports.

The Ordinary *Assemblies* were held in the fore-mention'd Places, but such as were call'd upon extraordinary Occasions, were not confin'd to any certain Place, being sometimes held in the *Piræus*, where there was a Forum, call'd *Ἰσπιδάμεια ἀγορὰ*, *Munychia*, or any other Place capacious enough to contain the People.

The *Magistrates*, that had the care and management of these *Assemblies*, were the *Prytanes*, *Epistata*, and *Proedri*.

The *Prytanes* sometimes call'd the People together, and always before their meeting set up a *Πρόδρομος* in some place of general Concourse, in which was contain'd the Matters to be consulted upon in the following *Assembly*, to the end that every Man might have time to consider of them, before he gave his Judgment (d).

*Πρόδρομοι*, were so call'd from the first places, which they had in the *Assemblies*. Whilst the *Tribes* of *Athens* were no more than Ten, the *Proedri* were Nine in number, being appointed by Lots out of the Nine *Tribes*, which at that time were exempted from being *Prytanes*. Their Business was to propose to the People the Things they were to deliberate upon, and determin in that Meeting (e), at the End of which their Offices expir'd.

*Επιστάτης*, the President of the *Assembly*, was chosen by Lots out of the *Proedri*; the chief part of his Office seems to have consisted, in granting the People Liberty to give their Voices, which they were not permitted to do, till he had given the Signal (f).

If the People were remiss in coming to the *Assemblies*, the *Magistrates* us'd their utmost Endeavours to compel them; they shut up all the Gates, that only excepted, thro' which they were to pass to the *Assembly*, they took care that all Vendibles should be carried out of the Market, that there might be nothing to divert them from appearing; and if this was not sufficient, the *Logistæ* (whose business this was) took a Cord dy'd with Vermilion, with which they detach'd two of the *Toks* into the Market, where one of them standing on one side, and another on that which was opposite, pursu'd all they found there, and mark'd with the Cord as many as they caught,

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Acharn. Equit. &c.* (b) *Pollux* lib. VIII. c. VIII. (c) *Demosthen. Medianæ.* (d) *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. VIII. (e) *Ulpianus* in *Timocrat.* (f) *Harporation, Demosthenes Androtiana, Aeschines* in *testibunt.*

all

all which had a certain Fine set upon them, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* observes at this Verse,

Οἷδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλῶσι, κᾶναι καὶ κάτω  
Τὸ χοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμλτωμένον (a).

They in the *Forum* chat, and up and down  
Scamper t'avoid the Cord Vermilion-dy'd.

Mr. *Abell*.

If any Boisterous and Tempestuous Weather, or sudden Storm, which they call'd *Διοσημεία* (b), or Earth-quake happen'd, or any Inauspicious Omen appear'd, the *Assembly* was immediately adjourn'd. But if all things continu'd in their usual Course, they proceeded in this Manner.

First, the place, where they were appointed to meet, was purified by killing young Pigs, which, as was usual in such *Lustrations*, they carried round about the utmost Bounds of it; on the outside of which no Man was permitted to stand, because those places were accounted Prophane and Unsanctified, and therefore unfit for the transacting business of so great consequence, as that in which the Welfare and Safety of the State was nearly concern'd; this we learn from *Aristophanes*, in whom the publick *Cryer* warns the People to stand on the inside of the *κρήνη*, for so they call'd the Sacrifices Offer'd at Expiations,

Πδεῖθ', ὡς ἂν ἐντὸς ᾗτε τῆ κρήνης (c).

The Person, that Officiated in the *Lustration*, was call'd *Καθάρτης*, and *Περίσμενος*, from *Περίσιν*, another Name for *Καθάρματα* (c), and *Επίσμενος*, according to *Pollux*.

The *Expiatory* Rites being ended, the publick *Cryer* made a Solemn Prayer for the Prosperity of the Common-wealth, and the good Success of their Counsels and Undertakings (d). For amongst the Primitive Heathens, all things were carried on with a great shew of Piety and Devotion; and so great a share they thought their Gods had in the management of Human Affairs, that they never undertook any thing of Weight or Moment, especially in publick Business, without having first invok'd their Direction, and Assistance.

Then he pronounc'd a bitter Execration against such, as should endeavour any thing in that *Assembly* to the Prejudice of the Common-wealth, praying, That he, and his whole Family might be made remarkable examples of the Divine Vengeance (e).

Then the *Proedri* propos'd the things, that were to be Consulted about, and repeated the Decree of the Senate, which, in most businesses of Importance, took care that nothing should be propos'd to

(a) *Achvsn.* (b) *Aristophan. Schol. ibid.* (c) *Aristoph. Schol. ibid. & Concionatric. &c. Suidas, Harpocratton.* (d) *Demosthen. Timocrat.* (e) *Demosthen. Περὶ Περικλέους.*

the

the *Assembly*, before it had pass'd their House. Then the People were ask'd, whether the Senate's Decree should pass into a Law; and this they call'd *Προχειρισμός*, as being antecedent to the final determination. If they approv'd it, Good; if not, a Consultation was to be held about it, in this Method;

The *Proedri* having given the Command, the *Cryer* proclaim'd with a loud Voice, *Τίς ἀρεσέει βύλειται*; Who will make an Oration? Then first those, that were above Fifty Years of Age, rose up, and ascending the *Suggestum* deliver'd their Opinions, after them the next in Years, and so on to the Youngest (a). For as they judg'd it unreasonable, that any Man's Quality or Age (so he were not under Thirty) should debar him from uttering what he had conceiv'd for the good of the Common-wealth, so on the other Hand, it was thought very undecent, and unbecoming for Young-men to give their Opinions, before they had heard what were the Sentiments of such, as Years and Experience had render'd more fit and able to judge.

But the Wisdom of the Law-giver thought it not expedient to permit every Man without distinction to deliver his Opinion; for such as were convicted of any heinous Crime, of Impiety, Prophaneness, or Debauchery, had Fled from their Colours, or were deeply Indebted to the Common-wealth, he excluded from having any thing to do in such Consultations (b); it being scarce probable that Persons of wicked Lives, or desperate Fortunes should endeavour any thing conducive to the Peace and Prosperity of the State, but rather that they should design the Confusion and Ruin of it, that themselves might be enrich'd with the Spoils of Honest Men, and be at Liberty to take their full Career in their unlawful Pleasures, without the restraint of Laws, and fear of Punishments.

When the debates were ended, the *Cryer* by the Command of the *Epistata*, or *Proedri* as others report, ask'd the People, *Whether they would Consent to the Decree*; permitting them to give their Voices, and thereby either establish, or reject it, the doing which they call'd *Επιψηφίζειν τὸ ψήφισμα*, or *Διδόναι Δεχειρισμένον τὸ δῆμα*.

The manner of giving their Suffrages, was by holding up their Hands, and therefore they call'd it *Χειροτονία*; and *Χειροτομεῖν* signifies to Ordain, or Establish any thing; *ἀπαχειροτομεῖν*, to disannull by Suffrage. This was the common Method of Voting, but in some Cases, as particularly when they depriv'd *Magistrates* of their Offices for Male-administration, they gave their Votes in private, least the Power and Greatness of the Persons accus'd, should lay a restraint upon them, and cause them to act contrary to their Judgments and Inclinations.

As soon as the People had done Voting, the *Proedri*, having carefully examin'd the number of the Suffrages, pronounc'd the Decree ratified, or thrown out, according as the Major-part had approv'd, or

(a) *Aristophan. Achvsn. Demosthenes, & Eschines in Crisiphont.* (b) *Demosthen. in Aristogit. Eschines in Crisiphont.*

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rejected

rejected it. The Business being over, the *Prytanes* dismiss'd the *Assembly*, as we read in *Aristophanes* (a),

Οἱ δὲ Πρυτάνεις λύουσι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### Of the Senate of the Five-hundred.

**B**y *Solon's* Constitution the whole Power and Management of Affairs were plac'd in the People, it was their Prerogative to receive Appeals from the Courts of Justice, to abrogate old Laws, and enact new, to make what Alterations in the State they judg'd convenient, and, in short, all Matters, whether Publick or Private, Foreign or Domestick, Civil, Military, or Religious were determin'd by them.

But because it was dangerous, that Things of such vast Moment, and Concern should be without any farther care committed to the Disposal, and Management of a giddy and unthinking Multitude, that every cunning and subtil Fellow might impose upon by smooth Words, and fair Pretences, and perswade to enact Things contrary to their own real Interests, and destructive of the Common-wealth; the wise Law-giver to prevent such pernicious Consequences, judg'd it absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the State, to institute a great Council, consisting only of such as were Persons of the best Credit and Reputation in the City, whose business it should be to inspect all Matters before they were propounded to the People; and take care that nothing, but what had been diligently examin'd, should be brought before the general *Assembly* (b). At the same time he instituted, at least, regulated another Council, I mean that of the *Areopagites*, which, tho' inferiour to the former in Order and Power, yet was superiour to it in Dignity and Esteem, and therefore was call'd *ἡ τῶν Βελῶν*, or the upper Council; to this he gave the Inspection and Custody of the Laws, supposing that the Common-wealth being held by these two, as it were by firm Anchors, would be less liable to be tost by tumults, and made a prey to such as had Knavery enough to design, and Cunning and Eloquence to entice the People to their own Destruction (c).

At the first Institution of the former Council, it consisted only of *Four-hundred Senators*, one *Hundred* of which were appointed out of each *Tribe*, for the *Tribes* in *Solon's* time were only *Four* in Number (d).

They were elected by Lots, in drawing of which they made use of

(a) *Acharnens*. (b) *Plutarch*, *Solone*. (c) *Idem*. (d) *Idem*.

Beans

Beans, and therefore *Thucydides* calls them *Βελόταις* ἀπὸ κυάμους, and the *Senate*, *Βελῶν δὲπὶ κυάμους*. The manner of their Election was thus: On a certain Day before the beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, the *President* of every *Tribe* gave in the Names of all the Persons within his District, that were capable of this Dignity, and had a mind to appear for it; these were engraven upon Tablets of Brass, call'd *Πινάκεις* (a), and cast into a Vessel set there for that purpose; into another Vessel were cast the same numbers of Beans, an Hundred of which were White, and all the rest Black. Then the Names of the *Candidates*, and the Beans were drawn, one by one, and those, whose Names were drawn out together with the White Beans, were receiv'd into the *Senate* (b).

About Eighty-six Years after *Solon's* regulation of the Commonwealth, the number of *Tribes* being increas'd by *Clisthenes* from *Four* to *Ten*; the *Senate* also receiv'd an Addition of one Hundred, which being added to the former, made it to consist of *Five-hundred*, and from that Time, it was call'd *Βελή* ἢ *πενταχόσιον*.

Afterwards, two new *Tribes* were added to the former in Honour of *Amigonius*, and his Son *Demetrius*, from whom, they receiv'd their Names; and then the Number of the *Senators* was augmented by the accession of another Hundred (c); for in both these last Alterations, it was order'd, that out of every *Tribe* Fifty should be elected into the *Senate*. As to the manner of Election, that continu'd the same, excepting only, that instead of an Hundred White Beans drawn by each *Tribe*, they had now only Fifty, according to the Number of their *Senators*.

After the Election of *Senators*, they proceeded in the next place to appoint Officers to preside in the *Senate*, and these they call'd *Πρυτάνεις*. The manner of their Election was thus; The names of the *Tribes* being thrown into one Vessel with Nine Black Beans, and a White Bean cast into another, the *Tribe*, whose Fortune it was to be drawn out together with the White Bean, presided first, and the rest in the Order, in which they were drawn out of the Vessel; for every *Tribe* presided in it's Turn, and therefore, according to the Number of *Tribes*, the *Atick* Year was divided into Ten parts, each of which consisted of Thirty-five Days; only the Four first Parts contain'd Thirty-six, thereby to make the *Lunar* Year compleat, which, according to their Computation, consisted of one Hundred and Fifty-four Days (d). Others are of Opinion that those four Supernumerary Days were employ'd in the Creation of *Magistrates*, and that, during that Time, the *Athenians* had no *Magistrates* at all (e), and therefore they call'd them *Ἀνεκχοί* ἡμέρας, and *Ἀεχχοῦσις*. Afterwards, when the *Tribes* were increas'd to Twelve, every one of them presided a Full Month in the *Senate*, as we learn from *Pollux* (f). The Time, that every Compa-

(a) *Harpocrat*. (b) *Sigonius* & *Emmius* de Rep. *Athen* & ubique in hac parte hujus libri. (c) *Stephan*, *Byzant*, de Urbib. & Populis. (d) *Harpocrat*. (e) *Liban*, Argument. in *Adrian*. (f) *Lib*. VIII. cap IX.

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ny of *Prytanes* continu'd in their Office, was term'd *Πρυτανεία*, during which they were excus'd from all other publick Duties (a).

Beside these, there were other Officers in the *Senate*, all which were elected by Lots. The first was *Επιστάτης*, or President of the *Prytanes*, who had the Custody of the publick Seal, and Keys of the publick Exchequer; which was accounted a Trust so great, that no Man was permitted to enjoy it above one Day, or to be elected into it a second Time (b).

Every Time the *Senate* was assembled, the *Επιστάτης* appointed Nine *Πρόδοι* by Lots, electing one out of every *Tribe*, except that which had the Honour of Presiding (c). Both of these were different from the *Επιστάτης*, and *Πρόδοι* in the Popular Assemblies.

One thing more there is remarkable in the Election of *Senators*, that beside those, who were immediately admitted into the *Senate*, they chose Subsidiaries, who, in case any of the *Senators* were depos'd for Male-administration, or died before the expiration of their Offices, should without any farther trouble supply their Places; and these they call'd *Επιπλοῦντες* (d).

The Authority of the *Prytanes* consisted chiefly in assembling the *Senate*, which, for the most part, was done once every Day, (Festivals only excepted) and oftner if occasion requir'd. And that they might be ready to give Audience to all such as had any thing to propose, that concern'd the Common-wealth, they constantly resorted to a Common-hall near the *Senate-house*, call'd *Prytaneum*, in which they offer'd Sacrifices, and had their Diet together (e).

If any Man offer'd any thing, that deserv'd to be taken into Consideration, they engrav'd it upon Tablets, that all the *Senators* might before-hand be acquainted with what was to be discuss'd at their next Meeting; in which, after the *Prytanes*, or *Epistata* had propounded the Matter, every Man had liberty to declare his Opinion, and give his Reasons either for, or against it. This they did standing, for it is every where observable in ancient Authors, that no Person, of what Rank or Quality soever, presum'd to speak sitting, and therefore whenever a Poetical *Heroe* makes an Oration, he is always first said to rise,

Τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενός μετέφη πένθις ὡκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς,

Saith *Homer*; and *Ovid*, to trouble you with no more Instances, mentions the same Custom,

*Stargie ad hos clypeis Dominus semperimplexis Ajax.*

When all had done speaking, the Business design'd to be pass'd into a Decree, was drawn up in Writing by any of the *Prytanes*, or other *Senators*, and repeated openly in the *House* (f); after which, leave

(a) Ibid. cap. ult. (b) Ibid. l. VIII. c. VIII. (c) Ibid. & Harpocr. (d) Harpocr. (e) Pausanias. (f) Demosthen. Orat. in Cræphont. & in Neæram.

being

being given by the *Epistata*, or *Prytanes*, the *Senators* proceeded to Vote, which they did in private, by casting Beans into a Vessel plac'd there for that purpose. The Beans were of two Sorts, Black, and White, and if the Number of the sonner was found to be greatest, the Proposal was reject'd; if of the latter, it was enact'd into a Decree (a), which they call'd *Ψήφισμα*, and *Προβουλεύμα*, because it was agreed upon in the *Senate* with a design to have it afterwards propounded to an Assembly of the People, that it might receive from them a farther Ratification, without which it could not be pass'd into a Law, nor have any Force or Obligatory Power, after the end of that Year, which was the Time that the *Senators*, and almost all the other *Magistrates* laid down their Commissions.

The Power of this *Council* was very great, almost the whole care of the Common-wealth being devolv'd upon them; for the Commonalty being by *Solon's* Constitutions invested with supreme Power, and entrusted with the Management of all Affairs, as well publick, as private, it was the peculiar charge of the *Senate* to keep them within due Bounds, to take cognizance of every thing before it was refer'd to them, and to be careful that nothing should be propounded to them, but what they upon mature Deliberation had found to be conducive to the publick Good. And beside the care of the Assembly, there were a great many things, that fell under the cognizance of this Court, as the Accounts of *Magistrates* at the expiration of their Offices (b), and the care of poor Persons, that were maintain'd by an Allowance out of the publick Exchequer (c). It was their business to appoint Gaolers for the publick Prisons, and to examine and punish Persons accus'd of such Crimes, as were not forbidden by any positive Law (d), to take care of the Fleet, and look after the Building of new Men of War (e), with several other Things of great Consequence.

Now because these were Places of great Trust, no man could be admitted to them, till he had undergone a strict *Δοκιμασία*, or Probation, whereby the whole Course of his Life was enquir'd into, and found to have been manag'd with Credit and Reputation, else he was reject'd (f).

And to lay the greater Obligation upon them, they were required to take a Solemn Oath, the substance whereof was this; That they would in all their Counsels endeavour to promote the publick Good; and not advise any thing contrary to the Laws. That they would sit as Judges in what Court soever they were elected to by Lots, for several of the Courts of Justice were supply'd with Judges out of the *Senate*. That they would never keep an *Athenian* in Bonds, that could give Three Sureties of the same Quality, except such as had bought or collected, or been engag'd as a Surety for the publick Revenues, and did not pay the Common-wealth, and such as were guilty of treasonable Practices against the Government. But this (as *Demosthenes* interprets it) must

(a) Ulpianus. (b) Pollux lib. VIII. cap. VIII. (c) Harpocraton. (d) Pollux. (e) Aristoph. Avidus, & Libanius Argument. in Androtianam. (f) Æschines in Timotheo.

be understood only of Criminals before their Condemnation (a), for to put them in Fetters after Sentence pass'd upon them, was no breach of the Law.

If any of the *Senators* was convicted of breaking his Oath, committing any Injustice, or behaving himself otherwise, than as became his Order, the rest of his Brethren expell'd him, and substituted one of the *Ασπασίτες* in his place. This they call'd *Εκφυγάσις*, from the *Leaves*, which they made use of in giving their Suffrages, in the same manner that the *Ospreys* were us'd by the Commonalty in decreeing the *Ostracism*. But this Custom was not very ancient, being invented upon the account of one *Xenotimus*, an Officer, that by charging the Beans (which till that time were always made use of) was found to have corrupted the Suffrages (b).

On the contrary, such as had behav'd themselves with Justice and Integrity, were rewarded with an Allowance of Money out of the publick Exchequer (c). And if any Men of War had been built during their Regency, the People in their publick Assembly Decree'd them the Honour of wearing a Crown; if not, the Law prohibited them from Suing for this Privilege, as having been wanting to the Common-wealth, whose Safety and Interest depended upon nothing so much, as the Strength and Number of their Ships (d).

## CHAPTER XIX.

### Of the Senate and Court of Areopagus.

THE Name of this Senate was taken from the place, in which it was wont to be assembled, being an Hill not far distant from the Cittadel (e), call'd *Αρεοπιτάς*, or *Αρεοπιτάς*, that is, *Mars's Hill*, from *Mars*, the God of War and Blood, because all wilful Murders came under the cognizance of this Court (f); Or, as Fables tell us, from the arraignment of *Mars*, who was the first Criminal that was Try'd in it (g); Or, lastly, because the *Amazons*, whom the Poets feign to have been the Daughters of *Mars*, when they besieg'd *Athens*, pitch'd their Camps, and offer'd Sacrifices to the God of War in this place (h).

When this Court was first instituted it is uncertain, some there are, that make it as ancient as *Cecrops*, the first Founder of *Athens*, others think it was begun in the Reign of *Cranæus*; and lastly, others

(a) Demosthen. Timocrat. (b) Pollux lib. VIII. cap. V. Harpocration. Etymolog. Suidas. (c) Demosthen. Timocrat. (d) Idem Antiochiana. (e) Herodotus lib. VIII. (f) Suidas. (g) Pausan. Aristides Panathen. Suidas. (h) Aeschylus Eumœidib. Etymologici Auctor.

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bring it down as low as the times of *Solon*. But this Opinion, tho' defended by Authors of no less Credit than *Plutarch* (a), and *Cicero* (b), is in express terms contradicted by *Aristotle* (c), and one of *Solon's* Laws cited by *Plutarch* himself, wherein there is mention of Judgments made in this Court, before *Solon* had reform'd the Common-wealth. What seems most probable, is, that the Senate of *Areopagus* was first instituted a long time before *Solon*, but was continued, regulated, and augmented by him; was by him made superiour to the *Ephetae*, another Court instituted by *Draco* (d), and invested with greater Power, Authority, and larger Privileges, than ever it had enjoy'd before.

The number of the Persons that compos'd this venerable Assembly is not agree'd upon, by some it is restrain'd to Nine, by others enlarg'd to Thirty-one, by others to Fifty-one, and by some to more. *Maximus* tells us, it consisted of Fifty-one, *καὶ ἐς ὅταν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρεοπιτάῳ ἐβίβαντο ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ*, beside such of the Nobility, as were eminent for their Vertue, and Riches; by which Words he seems to aim at the *Nine Archons*, who were the constant Seminary and Nursery of this great Assembly, and, having discharg'd their several Offices, pass'd every Year into it (e). This was the reason, why their Number was not always the same, but more, or less, according as those Persons happen'd to continue a greater, or lesser Time in the Senate. Therefore when *Socrates* was condemn'd by this Court, (as the nature of his Crime makes it evident he was) we find no less than Two-hundred-four-score and one giving their Votes against him, besides those who Voted for his Absolution: And in an Ancient Inscription upon a Column in the Cittadel at *Athens*, erected to the Memory of *Rufius Festus*, Pro-consul of Greece, the Senate of *Areopagus* is said to consist of Three-hundred.

All, that had undergon the Office of an *Archon*, were not taken in to this Senate, but only such of them, as had behav'd themselves well in the discharge of their Trust; and not they neither, till they had given an account of their Administration before the *Logistæ*, and obtain'd their Approbation, after an enquiry into their Behaviour, which was not a bare piece of Formality, and a Thing of Course, but extremely severe, rigorous, and particular (f). This being done, after the performance of certain Sacrifices at *Lionne*, a place in *Athens* Dedicated to *Bacchus*, they were admitted upon set Days (g). Thus it was order'd by *Solon's* Constitutions, which were nicely and punctually observ'd for many Ages; but towards the Declination of the *Athenian* Grandeur, together with many other useful and excellent Ordinances, were either wholly laid aside and abrogated, or, which was all one, neglected and not observ'd. And then, not the *Archons* only, but others, as well those of loose Lives, and mean Fortunes, as Persons of high Quality, and strict Vertue, nay, and even

(a) Solon. (b) De Offic. I. I. (c) Polit. I. II. (d) Pollux lib. VIII. cap. X. (e) Plutarch. Solone, & Pericle. (f) Plutarch. Pericle. Pollux I. VIII. c. X. Demosthen. Timocrat. (g) Demosthen. in Nearam.

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Forreigners too were taken into this Assembly, as appears by several Instances produc'd by the Learned *Memius*, and particularly that of *Rufus Feslus*, mention'd in the afore-said Inscription, as a Member of it.

*Aristides* tells us, this Court was *ἡ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δικαστήριον πρῶτον & ἀγίατον*, the most sacred and venerable Tribunal in all Greece; and if we consider the Justice of all their Sentences, and judicial Determinations, the unblameableness of their Manners, their wise and prudent Behaviour, and their high Quality, and Station in the Common-wealth, it will easily appear, that this Character was not unreasonable, or undeserv'd. To have been sitting in a Tavern, or publick House, was a sufficient Reason to deny an *Archon's* admission into it (a); and tho' their Dignity was usually continu'd to them as long as they liv'd, yet if any of the Senators was convicted of any Immorality, he was without Mercy or Favour presently expell'd. Nor was it enough that their Lives were strictly innocent and unblameable, but something more was requir'd of them, their Countenances, Words, Actions, and all their Behaviour must be compos'd, serious, and grave to a Degree beyond what was expected from other (the most virtuous) Men. To laugh in their Assembly, was an unpardonable piece of Levity (b), and for any of them to write a Comedie, was forbidden by a particular Precept of the Law (c).

Nay, so great an Awe and Reverence did this solemn and grave Assembly strike into those that sat in it that *Isocrates* (d) tells us, That in his Days, when they were some-what degenerated from their primitive Vertue, however otherwise Men were Irregular and Exorbitant, yet once chosen into this Senate, they presently ceas'd from their vicious Inclinations, and chose rather to conform to the Laws and Manners of that Court, *ἢ τὰς αὐτῶν ἡλικίας ἑμμεναι*, than to continue in their wild and debauch'd Course of Life. And so exactly upright and impartial were their Proceedings, that *Demosthenes* (e) tells us, that to his Time there had never been so much as one of their Determinations, that either Plaintiff or Defendant had any just reason to complain of. This was so eminently remarkable in all Parts of Greece, that even Foreign States, when any Controversies happen'd among them, would voluntarily submit to their Decision: *Pausanias* (f) reports in particular of the *Messenians*, that, before their first Wars with the *Spartans*, they were very desirous that their Quarrel should be referr'd to the *Arcopagites*, and both Parties stand to their Determination.

It is reported that this Court was the first, that sat upon Life and Death (g); and in later Ages, a great many capital Causes came under it's Cognizance; before it were brought all Incendiaries, all such as Deserted their Countrey, against whom they proceeded with

(a) *Atheniens. lib. XIV.* (b) *Æschin. in Timarch.* (c) *Plutarch. de Gloria Atheniens.* (d) *Arcopagitica.* (e) *Aristocratea.* (f) *Messeniacu.* (g) *Etymolog. V. Ἀπὸς πάρος.*

no less Severity, than was us'd to those that were convicted of Treason, for both were alike punish'd with Death (a); such also as had laid wait for any Person's Life, whether their wicked Contrivances were Successful, or no, for the very designing to murder any Man was thought to deserve no less than Capital Punishment; others are of Opinion, that such Causes were try'd at the Tribunal of the *Palladium* (b). However that be, it is certain, that all Wounds given out of Malice, all wilful Murders, and particularly such as were effected by Poyson, came under the Cognizance of this Court (c). Some say that there was no appeal from the *Arcopagites* to the People; but others, amongst whom is *Memius*, are of a contrary Opinion, and assure us, that not only their Determinations might be call'd in Question, and, if need was, retracted by an Assembly of the People (d), but that themselves too, if they exceeded the due Bounds of Moderation in inflicting Punishments, were liable to Account for it to the *Logistæ* (e). The same Author tells us afterwards, that this Court had power to cancel the Sentence of an Assembly, if the People had acquitted any Criminal that deserv'd punishment (f), and to rescue out of their hands such innocent Persons, as were by prejudice or mis-information condemn'd by them. Perhaps in both these Opinions there is something of Truth, if you understand the former of the *Arcopagus* in it's primitive State; and the other, when it's Power was retrench'd by *Pericles*.

Their Power in the Common-wealth was very great, for by *Solon's* Constitution, the Inspection, and Custody of the Laws were committed to them (g), the publick Fund was dispos'd of and manag'd according to their Discretion (h), the Care of all Young-men in the City belong'd to them, and it was their Business to appoint them Tutors, and Governours (i), and see that they were educated suitably to their several Qualities (k). Nor did they only superintend over the Youth, but their Power was extended to Persons of all Ages, and Sexes; such as liv'd disorderly, or were guilty of any Impiety, or Immorality, they punish'd according to the merit of their Offences; and such as were eminent for a virtuous course of Life they had Power to reward. To this End, they went about with the *Gynaeconomi* to all publick Meetings, such as were Marriages, and solemn Sacrifices, which were usually concluded with a Banquet, to see that all things were carried on with Decency, and Sobriety (l). Idleness was a Crime that came more especially under their Cognizance, and (which seems to have been an Institution peculiar to *Solon*) they were impower'd and commanded to enquire strictly after every Man's course of Life, and to examine by what means he maintain'd himself in the Station he was in, that so there might be no Room for such as liv'd by unlawful Arts, by

(a) *Lycurgus in Leocratem.* (b) *Harpocrat. Suidas.* (c) *Demosthen. Aristocrat. Pollux lib. VIII. cap. X. aliique.* (d) *Dinarchus Orat. in Aristogiton.* (e) *Demosthen. in Nearam.* (f) *Æschin. in Ctesiphont.* (g) *Demosthen. pro Corona.* (h) *Plutarch. Solone.* (i) *Plutarch. Themistocle.* (j) *Æschines Philocephus in Aristarch.* (k) *Isocrates Arcopagitic.* (l) *Atheniens. l. VI.*



Cheating and Cozenage, or Theft and Rapine (a). Beside this, matters of Religion, Blasphemy against the Gods, Contempt of the Holy Mysteries, and all sorts of Impiety, the Consecration also of new Gods, erection of Temples and Altars, and introduction of new Ceremonies into Divine Worship, were refer'd to the Judgment of this Court; therefore *Plato*, having been instructed in the knowledge of one God in *Agypt*, was forc'd to dissemble or conceal his Opinion, for fear of being call'd to an Account for it by the *Areopagites* (b); and *Saint Paul* was arraign'd before them, as a *seer forth of strange Gods*, when he preach'd unto them *Iesus*, and *Resurrection* (c). These were the chief Businesses that this Senate was employ'd about, for they seldom intermeddled in the Management of publick Affairs, except in cases of great and imminent Danger, and in these the Common-wealth usually had recourse to them, as their last and surest Refuge (d).

They had three Meetings in the *Areopagus* every Month, upon the Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, and Twenty-ninth Days (e). But if any Business happen'd that required dispatch, it was usual for them to assemble in the *Βασιλική Στόα*, or *Royal Portico*, which they encompass'd with a Rope, to prevent the Multitude from thronging in upon them (f), as was usual also in other Courts of Justice.

Two things are very remarkable in their Judgments; First, that they sat in the open Air (g), a Custom practis'd in all the Courts of Justice, that had Cognizance of Murder; partly, because it was unlawful for the Accuser and Criminal in such Cases to be under the same Roof; and partly, that the Judges, whose Persons were esteem'd Sacred, might contract no Pollution from conversing with Men prophane and unhallowed, for such they were accounted, that had been guilty of so black and heinous a Crime (h). Secondly, they heard and determin'd all Causes at Night, and in the Dark, to the End, that having neither seen the Plaintiff, nor Defendant, they might lye under no Temptation of being byass'd or influenced by either of them (i).

Actions about Murder were usher'd into the *Areopagus* by the *Βυσιλευς*, who was allow'd to sit as Judge amongst them, laying aside his Crown, which was one of the Badges of his Office (k).

The common Method, they proceeded in, was this: The Court being met, and the People excluded, they divided themselves into several Committees, each of which had their Causes assign'd to be heard and determin'd by them severally, if the multitude of business was so great, that the whole Senate could not take Cognizance of them singly. Both these designations were perform'd by Lots, to the End, that every Man coming into the Court before it was determined

(a) *Plutarch. Solone, Valer. Max. l. II. c. VI.* (b) *Justinus Martyr.* (c) *Ag. Apostol. XVIII. 13, 19.* (d) *Argument Orat. Andree.* (e) *Follux lib. VIII. cap. X.* (f) *Demosthen. Orat. I. in Aristot.* (g) *Tollux loc. citat.* (h) *Antiphon. Orat. de caede Herodoti.* (i) *Lucian. Hermotimo.* (k) *Follux.*

what Causes would fall to his Share, none of them might lye under any Temptation of having his Honesty corrupted with Bribes (a).

Before the Tryal began, the Plaintiff and Defendant took solemn Oaths upon the Testicles of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull, by the *Συμῆθες*, or *Furies*. The Plaintiff (in case of Murder) swore that he was related to the deceased Person, (for none but near Relations, at the farthest a Cousin, were permitted to prosecute the Murderer) and that the Prisoner was the cause of his Death. The Prisoner swore that he was innocent of the Crime laid to his charge. Both of them confirm'd their Oaths with direful Imprecations, wishing, That, if they swore falsely, Themselves, their Houses, and their whole Families might be utterly destroy'd and extirpated by the Divine Vengeance (b), which they look'd upon to be so dreadful, and certain, that the Law inflict'd no Penalty upon those that at such a Time were guilty of Perjury, remitting them, as it were, to be punish'd by an higher Tribunal.

Then the two Parties were plac'd upon two silver Foot-stools; the Accuser was plac'd upon the Stool of *Υβρις*, or Injury; the Prisoner upon the Stool of *Αναδεία*, or Impudence, or, according to *Adrian Junius's* Correction, of *Αναιμία*, or Innocence; these were two Goddesses, to which Altars, and afterwards Temples, were erected in the *Areopagus* (c). The Accuser in this place propos'd three Questions to the Prisoner, call'd by *Aeschylus*, *τρία πηλοίσματα* (d), to each of which he was to give a distinct Answer. The first was, *ὡς κατέκτανε*; Are you guilty of this Murder? to which he made answer, *ὡς κατέκτανε*, or *ὡς ἔκτανε*, Guilty, or, Not guilty. Secondly, *ὡς κατέκτανε*; Why did you commit this Murder? Thirdly, *Τὸν δὲ βεβλήμενον κατέκτανε*; Who were your Partners and Accomplices in the Fact?

In the next place the two Parties impleaded each other, and the Prisoner was allow'd to make his Defence in two Orations, the first of which when he had ended, he was permitted to secure himself by Flight, and go into voluntary Banishment, if he suspected the goodness of his Cause; which Privilege if he made use of, all his Estate was confiscated, and expos'd to Sale by the *Πωληταί* (e). In the primitive Times both Parties spoke for themselves (f), but in later Ages they were permitted to have Counsel to plead for them. But whoever it was that spoke, he was to represent the bare and naked Truth, without any Preface, or Epilogue, without any Ornaments, Figures of Rhetorick, or any other insinuating Means to win the Favour, or move the Affections of the Judges (g).

Both Parties being heard, if the Prisoner was resolv'd to stand the Tryal, they proceeded to give Sentence, which they did with the

(a) *Lucian. Bis accusato.* (b) *Demosthen. Aristocrat. Dinarchus in Demosthen. Iysias in Theomnestum, Pollux l. VIII. c. X.* (c) *Pausanias, Cicero de Legib. l. II.* (d) *Eumenitibus.* (e) *Demosthen. in Aristocrat. Pollux. l. VIII.* (f) *Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathematic. l. II.* (g) *Aristoteles Rhetoric. l. I. Isidorus Anacharside, Demosthen. Quintilian. aliique innumeri.*

most profound Gravity and Silence; hence *Αρειοπαγίται σιωπηλότατοι*, and *Αρειοπαγίται σεβαστότατοι* came to be proverbial Sayings; tho' some derive them from their Reservedness, and severe Gravity, and therefore *Αρειοπαγίται*, is usually taken for a grave, majestick, rigid Person; and others, from the great care they took to conceal the Transactions of their Senate, of which the Poet speaks,

*Ergo occulta reges, ut Curia Martis Athenis (a).*

The manner of giving Sentence was thus; There were plac'd in the Court two Urns, one of which was of Brass, and they call'd it *ὁ ἑμπροσθεν*, from the place it stood in; *κρυπτή*, because the Votes cast into it pronounc'd the Accusation valid; and *θλαστή*, because they decreed the death of the Prisoner. The second Urn was of Wood, being plac'd behind the former, into it they, that acquitted the Prisoner, were to cast their Suffrages; for which reasons it was call'd *ὁ ὑστερὸς*, or *ὁ ὀπίσσω*, *ὁ ἀκυρὸς*, and *ὁ ἰλιθ* (b). Afterwards the Thirty Tyrants, having made themselves Masters of the City, order'd them to give their Voices in a manner more publick and open, by casting their *Calculi* upon two Tables, the former of which contain'd the Suffrages, that acquitted, the latter those, that condemn'd the Prisoner, to the End, that it might be known, which way every Man gave his Voice, and how he stood affect'd to their Interest and Proceeding. (c).

Beside the Crimes that came peculiarly under their Cognizance, there were sometimes others brought before them, in which their Sentence was not final or decretory, for there lay an Appeal to the Court, to which they properly belong'd, as *Sigonius* observes.

The Senators of *Areopagus* were never rewarded with Crowns for their Services, being not permitted to wear them (d); but receiv'd a sort of Maintenance from the Publick, which they call'd *Κεῖμα*. (e); and, *Menisius* has observ'd out of *Lucian* (f), that they had the same Pension, that was allotted to some other Judges, viz. three *Oboli* for every Cause, they gave judgment upon.

Their Authority was preserv'd to them entire, till the time of *Pericles*, who, because he could not be admitted amongst them, as never having born the Office of an *Archon*, employ'd all his Power and Cunning against them, and having gotten a great Interest with the Commonalty, to embroil'd and routed their Senate by the assistance of *Ephialtes*, that most of the Causes and Matters, which had been formerly try'd there, were discharg'd from their Cognizance (g). From this time the *Athenians*, being, in a great measure, free'd from the restraint, that had been laid upon them, began sensibly to degenerate from their ancient Virtue, and in a short time let loose the Reins to all manner of Licentiousness (h), and therefore are compar'd by

(a) *Juvenal. Sat. IX.* (b) *Aristophan. Schol. Vesp. Equit.* (c) *Lysias in Areopagit.* (d) *Æschines in Ctesiphont.* (e) *Hesychius in Κεῖμα.* (f) *Bis accusato.* (g) *Plutarch. Peric. c.* (h) *Lysias in Areopagit.*

*Plutarch* to a wild unruly Horse, that, having flung his Rider, would be govern'd and kept in no longer. The same Vices and Excesses, that were practis'd in the City, crept in by degrees amongst the *Areopagites* themselves; and therefore *Demetrius*, one of the Family of the *Phalerean*, being censur'd by them as a loose Liver, told them plainly, that if they design'd to make a Reformation in the City, they must begin at Home, for that even amongst them there were several Persons of as bad, and worse Lives, than himself, and (which was a more unpardonable Crime, than any that he had been guilty of) several, that debauch'd and corrupted other Men's Wives, and were themselves corrupted and seduc'd by Bribes (a).

## CHAPTER XX.

### Of some other Courts of Justice.

*ΕΠΙ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΕΩΣ*, was a Court of Judicature instituted in the Reign of *Demophoon*, the Son of *Theseus*, upon this Account: Some of the *Argives* under the Conduct of *Diomedes*, or, as others say, of *Agamemnon*, being driven in the Night upon the Coasts of *Attica*, land'd at the Haven of *Phalerus*, and, supposing it to be an Enemies Country, went out to spoil, and plunder it. The *Athenians* presently took the Alarm, and having united themselves into one Body under the Conduct of *Demophoon*, repuls'd the Invaders with great Loss, killing a great many of them upon the place, and forcing the rest to retire into their Ships; but upon the approach of Day, *Atamas*, the Brother of *Demophoon*, finding amongst the dead Bodies the *Palladium*, or Statue of *Athena* brought from *Troy*, discover'd that the Persons, they had kill'd, were their Friends, and Allies; whereupon (having first advis'd with an Oracle) they gave them an honourable Burial in the place where they were slain, consecrated the Goddess's Statue, erecting a Temple to her, and instituted a Court of Justice, in which Cognizance was taken of such as were indicted for involuntary Murders. The first that was arraign'd in it, was *Demophoon*, who, in his return from the fore-mention'd Conflict, kill'd one of his own Subjects by a sudden turn of his Horse. Others report, that *Agamemnon* being enrag'd at the loss of his Men, and dissatisfied at *Demophoon's* rash and hasty Attempt upon them, referr'd the Quarrel to the decision of Fifty *Athenians*, and as many *Argians*, whom they call'd *Εφῆρες*, *ἡ δὲ τι παρ' ἀμφότερων ἐπιβλήσας αὐτοῖς ὁ δὲ κρατερός*, because both Parties committed the Determination of their Cause to them.

(a) *Athenians Δικασταί.*



Afterwards, the *Argians* were excluded, and the number of the *Ephese* reduc'd to Fifty-one by *Draco*, whom some affirm to have been the first Instituter of them; but others with more probability report, that he regulated and reform'd them, augmented their Power, honour'd them with many important Privileges, and made them Superior to the Senate of *Arcopagus*. In this State they continu'd till *Solon's* Time, by whom their Power was less'n'd, and their Authority restrain'd, the Causes which had formerly been try'd by them, were discharg'd from their Cognizance, and only those about Man-slaughter, and Chance-medly, and, as some say, Conspiracies against the Lives of Citizens, that were discover'd before they took effect, left to them.

Fifty of them were appointed by Election, Five being chosen out of every *Tribe*, but the odd Man was appointed by Lots; all of them were Men of good Characters, and virtuous Lives, of severe Manners, and a settled Gravity, for no Person under the Age of fifty Year was admitted into their Number.

Causes were entred in this Court by the *Βασιλεύς*, and the Proceedings were in some things agreeable to those of the *Arcopagus*, for both Parties, the Plaintiff, and Defendant, were oblig'd to confirm their Allegations by solemn Oaths, and Curses, and then, the Orators having perform'd their parts, the Judges proceeded to give Sentence (a).

*Ἐπὶ Διῶνιῳ*, was a Court of Justice in the Temple of *Apollo Delphinus*, and *Diana Delphinia*. Under it's Cognizance came all Murders, wherein the Prisoner confess'd the Fact, but pleaded that it was committed by permission of the Laws, as in the case of self-preservation, or adultery, for it was allow'd any one to kill an Adulterer, if he caught him in the Act (b). The first Person that was try'd in this Court, was *Theseus*, who, in his Journey to *Athens*, had slain the Robber, that infested the Ways between *Træzen* and that place; and afterward the Sons of *Pallas*, that rais'd a Rebellion against him (c).

*Ἐπὶ Περικλειῶν*, was a Court of Judicature, which had Cognizance of Murders committed by Things without Life, or Sence, as Stones, Iron Timber, &c. which, if they kill'd a Man by Accident, or by the direction of an unknown Hand, or of a Person that had escap'd, had Judgment pass'd upon them in this place, and were order'd to be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* by the *Φυλοκαπιλαίς*. This Court was as ancient as *Ereclheus*, and the first thing, that was brought to Trial in it, was an Ax, wherewith one of *Jupiter's* Priests kill'd an Ox, (an Animal accounted very sacred in those Days) that had eaten one of the consecrated Cakes, and as soon as he had committed the Fact, secur'd himself by Flight (d). This place also was the Common-Hall, in which publick Entertainments were made, and the sacred Lamp, that burn'd

(a) *Pausanias*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas*, *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. X. (b) *Plutarch*. *Solone*. (c) *Pollux* loc. cit. *Pausanias*. (d) *Iidem*. *Ælian*. V. H. lib. VIII. cap. III. *Harpocration*.

with a perpetual Fire, was kept by Widows, that had pass'd the years and delires of Marriage, and were devoted to the Mother of the Gods, which Lamp, as *Plutarch* in the Life of *Numa* tells us, was extinct under the Tyranny of *Aristion*; it was always manag'd with the same Rites and Ceremonies, that were us'd at *Rome*, about the *Vestal* Fire, which he saith was ordain'd and instituted after the Pattern of this, and another holy Fire of the same Nature among the *Delphians*.

*Ἐν Θηιατοῖς*, *Ἐν Θηιατῷ*, was seated upon the Sea-shore in the *Piræus*, and receiv'd it's Name *ἐπὶ τῷ θηιατῷ*, because it stood in a Pit, and therefore *Pollux* calls it *Ἐν Θηιατῷ*, or, as is more probable, from the Heroe *Phreus*. The Causes heard in this Court, were such as concern'd Persons that had fled out of their own Country for Murder, or, those that fled for involuntary Murder, and had afterwards committed a wilful and deliberate Murder. The first Person, that was try'd in this Place, was *Tæucer*, who, as *Lycophron* reports, was banish'd out of *Salamis*, by his Father *Telamon*, upon a groundless suspicion, that he had been accessory to *Ajax's* Death. The Criminal was not permitted to come to Land, or so much as to cast Anchor, but pleaded his Cause in his Bark, and if found guilty, was committed to the Mercy of the Winds, and Waves; or, as some say, suffer'd condign punishment: if innocent, was only clear'd of the second Fact, and (as 'twas customary) underwent a Twelve-month's Banishment for the former (a).

The Judges that presid'd in all these Courts, were (after *Draco's* Time) the *Ephese*, as *Harpocration* observes (b). The *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (c), speaks of other Judges that were elect'd by Lots to hear Causes in all the Courts of Justice, which, however it might be done in later Ages, it is certain was never practis'd among the primitive *Athenians*, except it may be understood of some of the inferior and less remarkable Courts, which I am inclin'd to believe. The Method of electing these Judges is describ'd in this Manner: At *Athens* there were Ten Courts of Justice, according to the Number of the *Tribes*, upon each of these were engraven large Capital Letters, all painted with Red, or, as others report, with different Colours, from some of which several of the Courts receiv'd their Names, as *Φοινικίων*, *Βατταρχίων*, &c. Now when Causes were to be heard, the *Thesmothetæ*, accompanied with a *Register*, appointed the Judges to take Cognizance of them by Lots, on which were inscrib'd the Letters belonging to the Courts; the Lots being drawn, the Judges took each of them his Chance, and went to the Court, on which the same Letter, which was upon his Lot, was engrav'd, where he receiv'd from the publick Cryer a Tablet, on which he was to write the Heads of the Orations of both Parties, and a Staff, which was in former Ages the constant, and perhaps only Badge of Judicial, and Sovereign Power, therefore the *Δικαστῆς* in *Homer* are accounted sacred, and the most solemn Oaths taken by them,

(a) *Demosthen*. in *Arist. Harpocrat.* *Idem* loc. cit. *Hieronym.* (b) *Voce Epist.* (c) *Plato*.

Αλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, καὶ ὅπῃ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμῶμαι,  
 Ναὶ μὰ τόδ' ἐσκήπτρον, τὸ μὲν ἔποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζυς  
 φύσει, ἐπειδὴ παρῶτα τομῶν ἐν ὄρεσσι λέλοιπεν,  
 Οὐδ' ἀναδιδύσκει, πρὶν γὰρ ἔα ἑ χαλκὸς ἐλίσσει  
 φύλλα τε, καὶ φλοιὸν· νῦν αὖτ' ἐμιν ἦεν Ἀχαιῶν.  
 Ἐν παλάμῃς φορέεσι δικάστοι, οἳ τε δέμισας  
 Περὶ Διὸς εἰρύαται. ——— (a)

But this I do with solemn Oath declare,  
 An Oath, which I'll by this same Scepter swear,  
 Which in the Wood hath left it's native Root,  
 And sapless n'ere shall boast a tender shoot,  
 Since from it's sides relentless Steel has torn  
 The Bark, but now by Grecian Chiefs is born,  
 Chiefs that maintain the Laws of mighty Iove  
 Committed to their Charge.

Mr. Hugh Huchin of Linc. Coll.

Sometimes we find the Scepters of Kings, and great Persons adorn'd  
 with Studs of silver, or gold,

————— Ἡστὶ δὲ σκήπτρον βάλε γαίῃ  
 Χρυσείοις ἥλοισι πεπαρμένον. ——— (b)

————— he cast his Scepter on the Ground  
 Emboss'd with Studs of Gold. ———

To return, the Athenian Judges, having heard the Causes, they were  
 appointed to take Cognizance of, went immediately and deliver'd back  
 their Scepter to the Prytanes, from whom they receiv'd the reward due  
 to them.

And thus much may suffice concerning the Courts for Capital Of-  
 fences; it remains that I give you an account of those, which had  
 the Cognizance of Civil Affairs.

(a) *Iliad*. α'. v. 233. (b) *Iliad*. α'. v. 245.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Of some other Courts of Justice, their Judicial Pro-  
 cesses, &c.

**Παραδουν**, was, as the Name seems to import, a Court of no great  
 Credit or Reputation, having Cognizance only of trivial Mat-  
 ters, whose value was not above one *Drachm*. *Pollux* reports, there  
 were two Courts of this Name, one of which was call'd *Παραδουν*  
*μίζων*, and the other *Παραδουν* *μισση*. The Persons, that sat as Judges,  
 were the Eleven Magistrates, call'd *οἱ Ενδίκαι* (a).

**Τετραγων**, was, in all probability, so call'd, because it was Tri-  
 angular (b).

**Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῃ**, receiv'd it's Name from the Temple of the Heroe  
*Lycus*, in which it was erected. The same Person had a Statue in all  
 the Courts of Justice, by which he was represented with a Wolf's  
 face, and therefore *Λύκῃ δικαί* signifies Sycophants, who by Tens,  
 that is, in great Numbers, frequented those Places (c).

**Τὸ Μητρίχῃ**, was so call'd from one *Metichus*, an Architect, by  
 whom it was built. It was a Court much frequented, and of better  
 Note than the Three former; and the Persons that sat as Judges were  
 required to be of good Birth and Credit, free from publick Debts, and,  
 at the least, thirty Years of Age (d).

The Judges in all these Courts were oblig'd to take a solemn Oath,  
 by the *Paternal Apollo*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter the King*, that they would  
 give Sentence uprightly, and according to Law; which Oath, as  
 also that which was taken by those that judg'd in the *Heliea*, was given  
 in a Place near the River *Ilissus*, call'd *Ardeus*, from a Heroe of that  
 Name, who in a publick Sedition united the contending Parties, and  
 engag'd them to confirm their Treaties of Peace by mutual Oaths in this  
 Place. Hence it was, that common and profane swearers were call'd  
*Αρδητται* (e).

Of all the Judicatories, that handled Civil Affairs, *Ηλιαία* was far  
 the greatest, and most frequented, being so call'd διὰ τὴν ἀλιζιότητα,  
 from the People's thronging together (f), or rather διὰ τὴν Ἥλιον, be-  
 cause it was an open place, and therefore expos'd to the Sun (g).

The Judges, that sat in this Court, were, at the least, Fifty, but the  
 more usual Number was Two, or Five-hundred, being appointed

(a) *Harpocrat. Suidas* &c. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. Zenobius*,  
*Harpocrat. Pollux, Suidas*, &c. (d) *Pollux* &c. (e) *Etymolog. Pollux, Suidas, Hesych.*  
*Harpocrat.* (f) *Ulpian. in Demosthen.* (g) *Idem. Aristoph. Schol. Nub Equit.*  
*Vesp. Suidas.*

by Lots out of the Body of the People ; but if the Exigency of the Causes required, they were increas'd to a Thousand, and then they were forc'd to joyn two Courts together, sometimes to Fifteen-hundred, or Two-thousand, and then Three, or Four Courts were united, to contain so vast a Multitude (a).

They had Cognizance of Civil Affairs of the greatest Weight and Importance, and were not permitted to give Judgment till they had taken a solemn Oath, the Form whereof was this, as we find it in *Demosthenes* (b); "I will give Sentence according to the Laws, and the Decrees of the People of Athens, and the Council of Five-hundred; I will not content to place the supreme Power in the hands of a single Person, or a Few; nor permit any Man to dissolve the Commonwealth, or so much as give his Vote, or make an Oration in defence of such a Revolution: I will not endeavour to discharge private Debts, nor to make a Division of Lands, or Houses: I will not restore Persons sent into Banishment, nor pardon those that are condemn'd to die, nor expel any Man out of the City, contrary to the Laws, and Decrees of the People, and Council of Five-hundred, nor permit any other Person to do it: I will not elect any Person into any publick Employ, and particularly I will not create any Man *Archon*, *Hieromonon*, *Embassador*, *publick Herald*, or *Syndrus*, nor consent that he shall be admitted into any of those Offices, that are elected by Lots upon the same Day with the *Archons*, who has undergone any former Office, and not given in his Accounts; nor that any Person shall bear two Offices, or be twice elected into the same Office in one Year: I will not receive Gifts myself, nor shall any other for me, nor will I permit any other Person to do the like, by any means, whether direct, or indirect, to pervert Justice in the Court of *Helica*: I am not under Thirty Years of Age: I will hear both the Plaintiff, and Defendant, without Partiality, and give Sentence in all the Causes brought before me: I swear by *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Ceres*; if I violate this Oath, or any part of it, may I perish with my whole Family, but if I religiously keep and observe it, may we live and prosper.

These seem to have been the Ten publick Courts in Athens; others there were of less Note, where particular Magistrates, or the *Διακτηται*, or the *Τρισυδνατοι*, took Cognizance of Causes belonging to their several Offices; such was the Court at *Cynosarges*, *Odeum*, *Theſeus's Temple*, *Bucolium*, and some others.

The method of Judicial Process was thus;

When any Man had receiv'd an Injury, for which he required satisfaction, he went to the Magistrate, whose business it was to take Cognizance of such Complaints, and report them to the Court; to him he deliver'd in a Tablet, wherein was written his own (the Plaintiff's) Name, and the Criminal's, together with an account of the Crime

(a) *Fellux* lib. VIII. cap. X. *Stephan.* Byzantin. V. *Ηρώδια*. *Harpecras.* (b) *Orat.* in *Timocras.*

laid to his charge, and the Name of the *Κλητήρ*, or Bayliff, by whom he was summon'd to make his appearance before the Magistrate, which was the first thing to be done in these Proceedings, and call'd *Κλητίζω* (a). But before this, the Magistrate ask'd the Plaintiff, Whether he was resolv'd to prosecute his Action, and had Witnesses that would swear to his Indictment; and whether he had all things in readiness to proceed to a Tryal: This Examination was call'd *Αίρεσις* (b).

The Person accus'd, being summon'd to appear before the Magistrate, had a certain Day appointed to answer for himself, and was oblig'd to give sufficient Bail, that he would make his appearance at the Time appointed (c).

This being done, the Magistrate proceeded to the election of Judges, which was perform'd by Lots; and they, upon the *κυρία ημέρα*, or appointed Day, came to the Tribunal, and took their Places; the publick Cryer having before commanded all those that had no Business to depart in these Words, *Μιτάσται ἔγω*. Then to keep the Crowds from thronging in upon them, the Court was surrounded with a Rope, by the command of the Magistrate, and Sergeants appointed to keep the Doors, which they call'd *Κιγκλιδες*, being the same with those which the Romans call'd *Cancelles* (d). Now least any of the Judges should be wanting, Proclamation was made in this manner, *Εἰ τις ὑπεραγοίῃ Ηλιασῆς, εἰσὶτω*, If any Judge be without the Door, let him enter; for if any Man came after the Cause began to be discuss'd, he could not have Admission, as not being capable of giving Sentence, because he had not heard all that both Parties could say for themselves (e).

Then the Magistrate propos'd the Cause to the Judges, and gave them Power to determine it; the doing which they call'd *εἰσαγαγεῖν τῷ δίκῳ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*, the Cause it self *Δίκη εἰσαγωγική*, and the Person that enter'd it *Εἰσαγωγός*. For by the Laws of Athens, there were certain Causes brought before several of the Magistrates, who had no Power to determine them by a final Decision, but were only to examine into the Matter, and, if it deserv'd to be heard in the Court, refer it to the Cognizance of Judges appointed for that purpose, upon a Day fix'd by himself, and this is what they call'd *Ηγμεσία δικαστική*.

Then the Indictment was read by the publick Cryer, in which were contain'd the reasons of the Accusation, with an account of the Injury said to be receiv'd, the manner also of it, and the damage suffer'd by the Plaintiff; the Heads of which the Judges took in writing (f).

If the Person accus'd did not make his appearance, Sentence was given against him without any farther trouble, and this they call'd *Ἐξ ἡμέτης καταδικασθῆναι*, and *ἐξήμῳ ἐφλοισχέσθαι*. But if in the space

(a) *Ulpian.* in *Demosthen.* *Aristoph.* *Scholiast.* (b) *Demosthen.* in *Olympiod.* Idem in *Nicostrat.* (c) *Aristoph.* *Concion.* (d) *Pol.* x. l. VIII. c. X. (e) *Aristoph.* *h.* *ejusque Schol.* *Vesp.* (f) *Demosthen.*

of Ten Days he came and presented himself, proving that he had been detain'd by Sickness, or any other extraordinary and unavoidable Necessity, the former Sentence was disannull'd, and therefore this Proceeding they call'd *Δίκη μὴ ὕστα*. Then the Tryal was to be brought on afresh within the space of two Months by the Defendant, and this they call'd *Ἀνάλυσις*, and the doing *ἀνάλυσις διέσω*; but if he neglected to have the Cause decided in that Time, the former Sentence was to stand good, and be put in Execution upon him (a).

Beside this, the Defendant was permitted to make three Pleas for himself, before the Cause was put to a final Decision:

1. *Παρεκκρησις*, or *Παραμεινέτω*, whereby he alledg'd that the accusation was not *Δίκη εἰσαγωγική*, or capable of being tryed at that time; as, for instance, if the Injury, said to be receiv'd from him, had been done so long before, that the Law could take no hold of him for it; or, if he had been before tryed, and acquitted, or condemn'd, and punish'd for it. This Plea the Defendant obviated by proving the contrary of what the Plaintiff objected; and this, with the *Παρεκκρησις*, was by one common Name call'd *Δικαιομενέτω* (b).

2. *Υπαμυσία*, whereby he desired the Judicial Process might be differ'd, giving in upon Oath, that some urgent Occasion, such as the sickness of himself, or Relations, hindered him from attending the Court at that Time (c).

3. *Ἀντρέκρησις*, whereby the Defendant turn'd Plaintiff, and retorted the Accusation upon his Adversary (d).

If the Defendant urg'd none of these Pleas, but was willing that the Tryal should immediately go forward, he was said *ἑθελούειν*, and the Process was call'd *ἑθελούειν*. Then both Parties took solemn Oaths; the Plaintiff swore, That he had been injur'd by the Defendant: the Defendant, That he had not injur'd the Plaintiff. The Plaintiff's Oath was call'd *Ἀντωμυσία*, the Defendant's *Πρωμυσία*, as most of the Grammarians are of Opinion, but in *Pollux*, the Defendant's Oath is *Ἀντωμυσία*, and Plaintiff's *Πρωμυσία*; and both of them were nam'd *Διωμυσίαι*. These Oaths, together with the allegations of the Witnesses, were deliver'd in writing to the Judges, by whose order they were put together into a Vessel of Brass, or sometimes of Earth, call'd *Εχθρὸς* (e). In Causes wherein the Publick was concern'd, the Plaintiff took a farther Oath, that he would accept no bribes, nor be by any means prevail'd upon to act treacherously in the Cause, or desist from the legal prosecution of it (f).

Before the Tryal began, both Parties were oblig'd to deposite a certain sum of money, which they call'd *Πενταμία*, into the hands of the Magistrate that enter'd their Cause into the Court, who, upon failure of the payment immediately expung'd the Cause out of the Roll,

(a) Ulpian. in *Demosthen.* *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. VI. (b) *Pollux* loc. cit. *Harpocrat.* &c. (c) *Harpocrat.* (d) *Hesych.* *Pollux* loc. cit. (e) *Pollux*, *Suidas*, *Harpocrat.* *Αἰσχύνη*. *Scholi.* *Vesp.* (f) *Æschines* in *Timarch.*

and

and hindered it from proceeding any farther. If the Cause in Debate was concerning the value of an Hundred *Drachms*, or upwards to a Thousand, they deposited three *Drachms*; if it's value was upwards of a Thousand, and not above Ten-thousand, they deposited Thirty, which, after the Decision of the Cause were divided among the Judges, and the Person, that was Cast, was oblig'd, beside the payment of other Charges, to restore the Money to his Adversary (a).

*Παραμεινέτω*, was a sum of Money deposited by those that sued the Common-wealth for confiscated Goods, or any others that were claim'd by the publick Exchequer, or private Persons for the inheritances of Heiresses; the former deposited the fifth; the latter the tenth part of the Estate contended for (b).

*Παράμυσσις*, was one *Drachm* deposited in Law-suits about small and private Matters, which were decided by the *Δικασταί* (c).

*Επωδία*, was a Fine laid upon those that could not prove the Indictment they had brought against their Adversaries, so call'd, because they were oblig'd to pay the sixth part of the Value of the thing they contended for, from *ἑξῶδες*, because out of every *Drachm*, they deposited one *Obolus*, which is the sixth part of a *Drachm* (d). Some of these summs were deposited in all Law-suits, a very few excepted, before the Tryal could proceed.

Then the Witnesses were produc'd, and if any of them refus'd to make his Appearance, he was summon'd by a Sergeant, whom they call'd *Κλητὴς*, and if he seem'd unwilling to be an Evidence, had three things propos'd to him, *νικῶ*. To swear to the Fact; To abjure it, or deny that he was privy to it; or, lastly, to pay a Mult of a Thousand *Drachms*; he that was fin'd for refusing the Oath, or that took it out of fear, was said *ἰκελητοῦσθαι*; he that was only summon'd, and took it voluntarily *κλητοῦσθαι* (e). The Oath was taken at the Altar with all the Solemnity imaginable, to which end they erected Altars in all the Courts of Judicature.

The Persons that gave Evidence, were Men of Credit, Free-born, and disinterested; for no Man's Oath was taken in his own Cause, and such as by their ill Behaviour had forfeited their Privileges, and were *ἄπρητοι*, or, disfranchis'd, had not Reputation enough to deserve belief; the Slaves were not permitted to have any Concern in publick Business, and therefore could neither be Evidences, except they were examin'd upon the Rack, nor plead in any Court of Justice (f).

There were two sorts of Evidences; the first of which they call'd *Μαρτυρία*, when the Person that swore, was an Eye-witness of the Fact: The other *Εκμαρτυρία*, when the Juror receiv'd what he testified from a third Person, that had been an Eye-witness of it, but was at that time either dead, or in a Foreign Countrey, or detain'd by Sickness, or hindered by some other unavoidable Accident from mak-

(a) *Pollux*, *Harpocrat.* (b) *Iidem.* (c) *Iidem.* (d) *Iidem.* (e) *Iidem.* (f) *Vide* *Petitum de Legibus Atticis.*

ing his Appearance; for, except in such Cases, the Allegations of absent Persons were never taken for Lawful Evidences (a).

When the Witnesses were sworn, the Plaintiff being plac'd upon the left hand of the Tribunal, and the Defendant upon the right (b); both of them spoke set Orations in their own behalf, that were, for the most part, compos'd, by some of the Orators, which Custom was first introduc'd by *Anisophon a Rhamnusian* (c). Sometimes, if they desired it, the Judges granted them *Συνήγοροι*, or, Advocates to plead for them, the doing which they call'd *ἐνὶ μισθῷ σωτηριεῖν*, to plead for a Fee (d). And lest by the length of their Orations they should weary the Judges patience, and hinder them from proceeding to other Business, they were limited to a certain Time, call'd *ὡραία* (e), which was measur'd by a *Κλεψύδρα*, or Hour-glass, differing from ours in this, that instead of Sand, they made use of Water; and to prevent all Fraud and Deceit, there was an Officer constituted on purpose to distribute the Water equally to both sides, whom, from his business, they call'd *Εφύδρ*, or *Εφ' ὕδωρ*. When the Glass was run out, they were permitted to speak no farther, and therefore we find them very careful not to loose, or mispend one drop of their Water, and whilst the Laws quoted by them were reciting, or if any other business happen'd to intervene, they gave order that the Glass should be stopp'd (f). Yet if any Person had made an end of speaking, before the Time allotted him was expired, he was permitted to resign the remaining part of his Water to any other that had Occasion, and this meant by the Orator when he saith, *πρὸ ὕδατος πρὸ ἑμῶν λαλεῖται*, let him speak till what remains of my Water be run out.

When both Parties had made an End of speaking, the public Cryer, by the Command of the Magistrate that presided in the Court, order'd the Judges to bring in their Verdict; and in such Cases, as the Laws had made Provision, and appointed Penalties for, (which were call'd *Ἀρῶνις ἀπάντη*) a single Verdict, whereby the Person was declar'd Guilty, or, not Guilty, was sufficient; but in those Cases, that the Laws were silent in, (which they call'd *Ἀρῶνις πρῶτης*) a second Sentence was required, if the accused Person was brought in Guilty, to determin what punishment was due to his Offence (g). And here, before they proceeded to give Sentence, the condemn'd Person was ask'd, What damage he thought his Adversary had receiv'd from him, and what recompence he ought in Justice to make him? And the Plaintiff's account, which, together with the Indictment he had deliver'd in before, was taken into consideration; and then, the circumstances on both sides being duly and impartially weigh'd, the final and decretory Sentence was given.

The most ancient way of given Sentence was by Black and White

(a) Harpocrat. Pollux. (b) Aristotel. Problem. (c) Idem Rhetor. lib. I. cap. XXXIII. (d) Clement Alexandrin. (e) Harpocrat. (f) Demosthen. (g) Harpocrat.

Sea-shells, call'd *Χαίμαι*; or Pebbles, call'd *Ψῆφοι*, Ovid hath taken notice of this Custom,

*Mos erat amicus, niveis atisque Lapillis,  
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa* (a).

Black, and White stones were us'd in ages past,  
These to acquit the Pris'ner, those to cast.

Mr. Hutchin.

After them, *σπίδουλοι*, which were pellets of Brass, came into use; which, when laid aside, *κύματα*, or Beans succeeded; they were of two sorts, White, and Black; the White were whole, and were made use of to absolve, the Black were bor'd through, and were the instruments of condemnation (b).

Hence it is, that in *Aristophanes* (c) Judges, that liv'd upon the Gifts they receiv'd for doing Justice, are call'd *Κυματωῆς*, Eaters of Beans; and *λοκὴ ψῆφου* is a Proverb, not much different from *εὐεργεσία*, or *Amalthea capra*, being usually applied to things that bring in large gains, and are a maintenance to their Masters (d).

These Beans the Judges took from the Altar, and two Urns, which they call'd *Κάδοι*, or *Καδοίχοι*, being plac'd, they cast in their Beans thro' a little Tunnel call'd *Κημὸς*, holding them only with three Fingers, *viz.* the Fore-finger, Middle, and Thumb, that it might be impossible for them to cast in above one at a Time. The rest of their customary Rites, are much-what the same with those I have already describ'd in the Judgments of the Court of *Areopagus*, except that in private Causes there were four Urns plac'd in the Court, as *Sizonius* has observ'd out of *Demosthenes* (e).

But this perhaps might be occasion'd by the Number of the Persons concern'd in the Tryal, for if there were more than two Competitors, that laid claim to an Estate, each of them had a distinct Urn, into which those, that pass'd Sentence on his side, were to cast their Beans, and he that had the greatest number, obtain'd the Victory, which *Sizonius* seems not to have observ'd.

When all had given over Voting, least any Man out of Favour should suspend his Suffrage, the Cryer made Proclamation in this manner, *Εἴ τις ἐψήφισται, ἀντίτατο*, If there be any that has not given his Voice, let him now arise, and give it.

Then the Urns were open'd, and the Suffrages number'd in presence of the Magistrate, who stood with a Rod in his Hand, which he laid over the Beans, as they were number'd, lest any Person should, thro' Treachery, or Mistake, omit any of them, or count the same twice. If the number of the Black Beans was greatest, he pronounc'd the Person guilty, and as a mark to denote his condemnation, drew a long Line, whence *ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους* in the Comedian, signifies

(a) Metamorph. lib. XV. (b) Pollux, Hesychius, Harpocrat. Aristoph. Schol. Ran. & Vesp. &c. (c) Equit. (d) Hesychius. Eustathius Iliad. γ'. pag. 884. Edit. Basil. (e) Orat. in Alceste.

to condemn All; on the the contrary, he drew a short Line in token of Absolution, if the white Beans exceeded, or only equall'd the number of the Black (a), for such was the Clemency of the *Athenian* Laws, that, when the case seem'd equally disputable on both sides it was provided, that the severe and rigorous Commands of Justice should give place to the milder Laws of Mercy and Compassion; and this Rule seems to have been ever observ'd in all the Courts of *Athens*. *Euripides*, to omit a great many others, has mention'd this Custom in several places,

Ισται δέ σ' ἐκπῶλον μὴ θανεῖν δίκῃ  
 Ὑπὸν πεθεῖται Λοξίας γὰρ αἰτίαν  
 Εἰς αὐτὸν εἶπει, μὴτέρος χήρας φόνον·  
 Καὶ τοῖσι λοιποῖς ὅδε νόμος πεθόντα,  
 Νικᾶν ἴσται ψήφισι τὸ φεύγον ἀεί (b).

Courage *Orestes*, if the Lots hit right,  
 If the Black pebbles don't exceed the White,  
 You'r safe; and since it awful *Phabus* was  
 The *Patricide* advis'd, your tottering cause  
 He'll on himself transfer: and hence shall be  
 This Law transmitted to Posterity,  
 That Lots, if equall, shall the Pris'ner free.

Mr. *Hutchins*

And again to the same purpose, in another Tragedy,

Γνώμης δίκας ἐνὶ ἐξέσωσά σι,  
 Καὶ πρὶν γ' Ἀρείοις ἐν πάγῳι ψῆφος ἴσας  
 Κεῖναι, Οἷόν τε, καὶ νόμισμα εἰς ταυτὸ γι  
 Νικᾶν, ἰσχύεις ὅστις ἂν ψῆφος λάβῃ (c).

Since you with equal Suffrages I free'd,  
 When Justice ample Vengeance had decree'd,  
 And once before when we debating sat  
 At *Arespagus* on your dubious Fate,  
 And there the dooming Sentence must have pass'd,  
 Had I not you with equal Lots releas'd;  
 On this account shall after-ages save  
 Such Criminals, as equal Voices have.

Mr. *Hutchins*

The Plaintiff was call'd *Διώκων*; the whole Suit, *Διώξις*; and the Defendant, *Φεύγων*. The Indictment before Conviction was nam'd

(a) *Aristophan.* ejusque *Schol.* *Ran.* & *Vesp.* (b) *Electra.* v. 1265. (c) *Iphigenia Taurica.* v. 1459.

Αἰτίαι

*Αἴτια*; after Conviction, *Εἰς ἔργον*; and after Condemnation, *Ἀδίκημα*. All the Time the Cause was in suspense and undetermin'd, it was expos'd to publick View, being engrav'd in a Tablet, together with the Name of the Person accus'd, and hung up at the Statues of the Heroes surnam'd *Επισημοί*, than which there was not a more publick place in the whole City; this they call'd *Εκκλήσις* (a), and it seems to have been done with a design, that all Persons, who could give any Information to the Court, having sufficient Notice of the Tryal, might come and present themselves.

If the convicted Person was guilty of a Capital Crime, he was deliver'd into the hands of the *Εἰδικαί*, to receive the punishment due to his Offence: but if a pecuniary Mulct was laid upon him, the *Ταμίαι* & *Οἰσ* took care to see it paid; but in case his Estate was not able to make payment, they issued out a Writ of Outlawry against him, and confin'd him to perpetual Imprisonment (b).

If, on the contrary, the Plaintiff had accus'd his Adversary unjustly, and produc'd false Evidence against him, he was, in some places, oblig'd to undergo the punishment due by Law to the Crime, of which he had falsly accus'd an innocent Person, but at *Athens* had only a Fine laid upon him. And both the Villain that had forsworn himself, and he that suborn'd him were severely prosecuted, the former by an Action of *ῥάδιμαρτυρία*, the latter, of *Κακοτεχνία*. Of these, and the punishments due to such Offenders, I shall speak more in another place.

When the Tryals were over, the Judges went to *Lycus's* Temple, where they return'd their *Ραβδοι*, or Staves, or Scepters, which were a badge of their Office, and receiv'd from certain Officers call'd *Κολακταί* a piece of Money for their service, which, at the first, was only one *Obolus*, afterwards it was increas'd to two, then to three, and at the length to a *Drachm*, which was six *Oboli*, as we learn from the *Scholias*t upon *Aristophanes* (c). And tho' these rewards may seem trifling and inconsiderable Expences, yet the troublesome temper of the *Athenians*, their nice and critical exaction of every little Duty, or Privilege, occasion'd so great a Number of Law-suits, that the frequent payment of these small summs by degrees so exhausted the Exchequer, that they became a burden to the Common-wealth, and are particularly reflected upon by *Aristophanes* (d), who takes occasion every where to ridicule, and expose this quarrellous, litigious Humour, which was grown to such a height amongst them, that every Corner of the Streets was pester'd with whole swarms of turbulent Rascals, that made it their constant business, to pick up petty Stories, and catch at every occasion to accuse Persons of Credit and Reputation; these they call'd *Συκοφανταί*, which word sometimes signifies False-witnesses, but is more properly taken for what we call common Barretors, being deriv'd *ἀπὸ τῆς συκοφαντίας*, from indisting

(d) *Demoſthen.* ejusque *Schol.* in *Median.* (b) *Demoſthen.* *Athenian.* *Conſel.* *Nep.* *Miltiade.* (c) *Ran.* *Vesp.* Item *Suidas*, *Pellax*, *Hesychian.* (d) *Ran.* pag. 280. Edit. *Amil. Porti*, & *Scholias.* *ibid.*

P

Persons,

Persons, that exported Figs; for amongst the primitive Athenians, when the use of that Fruit was first found out, or in the time of a Dearth, when all sorts of Provision were exceeding scarce, it was enacted that no Figs should be exported out of Attica; and this Law, not being actually repeal'd, when a plentiful Harvest had rendred it useless, by taking away the reason of it, gave occasion to ill-natur'd, and malicious Fellows, to accuse all Persons they caught transgressing the Letter of it, and from them all bulie Informers have ever since been branded with the Name of *Sycophants* (a).

## CHAPTER XXII.

Of the *Τεσσαράκοντα*, and *Διαίτηται*.

ΟΙ *Τεσσαράκοντα*, were Forty Men, that went their Circuits round the several Burroughs, and had Cognizance of all Controversies about Money, when the sum exceeded not ten *Drachms*; also, as *Demosthenes* reports (b), had Actions of Assault and Battery brought to their hearing. *Pollux* tells us, that, at their first Institution, they were no more than thirty in Number; but *Hesychius* reports, the Magistrates, or Judges call'd ΟΙ *Τεσσαράκοντα*, were those, that amerced the People for absenting themselves from the publick Assemblies.

*Διαίτηται*, or Arbitrators, were of two sorts,

1. *Κληρωτοι*, who were Forty-four Men, above the Age of sixty, as *Pollux*, or fifty, as *Suidas* reports, drawn by Lots out of each Tribe, to determine Controversies about Money, when the sum was above ten *Drachms*. Their Sentence was not final, so that if either of the contesting parties thought himself injur'd by it, he might appeal to the superiour Courts of Justice (c). At their first Institution, all Causes whatsoever that exceeded ten *Drachms* were heard by them, before they could be receiv'd into the other Courts (d). They pass'd Sentence without obliging themselves by any Oath, but in other things acted in the same manner with the rest of the Judges, they receiv'd a *Drachm* of the Plaintiff, which was call'd *Παράσησις*, and another of the Defendant when they administred his Oath to him; and in case the Parties did not appear at the appointed Time and Place, they staid expecting them till the Evening, and then laid a Fine upon them. Their Office continued a whole Year, at the end of which they gave up their Accounts, and if they were prov'd to have refus'd to give Judgment, or to have been corrupted (e), a Writ of Outlawry was issu'd out

(a) *Suidas*, *Aristoph. Schol.* *Pluto*, *Equit.* &c. (b) *Orat. in Pantanet.* (c) *Demosthen. Orat. in Aphobum.* (d) *Pollux, Ulpian.* (e) *Demosthen. & Ulpian. Median. Petrus. Misc. lib. VIII.*

against

against them. Under them were certain Officers call'd *Εισαγωγαι*, whose business it was, *εἰσάγειν τὰς δίκας*, to receive the Complaints that fell under the Cognizance of the *Διαίτηται*, and enter them into their Court (a).

2. *Διαλλακτήλαι*, or *Compromissarii*, were such, as two Parties chose to determine any Controverfie betwixt them; and these the Law permitted any Person to request, but oblig'd him to stand to whatever they determin'd, without any farther appeal, and therefore, as a greater obligation to justice, they took an Oath, that they would give Sentence without Partiality (b).

The determination of the *Διαίτηται*, was call'd *Δίαπτα*, and *ἀπὸ τῆς πῆλ*, and to refer any thing to them, *διδωται ἐπὶ τῇ ψυγῇ* (c).

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## Of the Publick Judgments, Actions, &amp;c.

THE Athenian Judgments were of two sorts, Publick, and Private, the former were about such Crimes, as tended to the prejudice of the State, and were call'd *Κατηγορίαι*; the latter comprehended all Controversies that happen'd between private Persons, and were call'd *Δίκαι* (d). Nor did they only differ as to their Matter, but in the whole Process, and Management of them, and particularly in this, that in private Actions, no Man could prosecute the Offender, beside the Party injur'd, or some of his near Relations, whereas in the Publick, the Laws encourag'd all the Citizens to revenge the publick wrong, by bringing the Criminal to condign punishment (e).

The publick Judgments were these,

1. *Γεράφη*, was an Action, laid upon such as had been guilty of any of the following Crimes (f),

*Φόνος*, Murder.

*Τραῦμα ἐκ πονείας*, a Wound given out of Malice.

*Πυρκαϊά*, Firing the City.

*Φάρμακον*, Poyson.

*Βέβησις*, a Conspiracy against any Person's Life; or, the Crime of the City-Treasurers, that enter'd into the publick Debt-book Persons not indebted to the City (g).

*Ιεροσυλία*, Sacrilege.

*Ασέβεια*, Impiety.

(a) *Pollux.* (b) *Demosthen.* (c) *Pollux.* (d) *Isocrates.* (e) *Tytarchus Solone.* (f) *Pollux. lib. VIII. cap. VI. Sigonius de Rep. Athen.* (g) *Harpocrat.*



Προδοσία, Treason.

Επιχευσις, Uncleanliness.

Μοιχεία, Whoredom.

Αζωγισμός, Celibacy.

Ασπκτεία, Refusing to serve in the Wars.

Λειπσρχοί, Desertion of the Army.

Λειπσιζιον, Desertion of a Man's Station, as when any Person refus'd to serve on Foot, and list'd himself amongst the Horse-men, which by Solon's Laws was esteem'd as great a Crime as a total Desertion of the Army.

Δειλία, Cowardice.

Λειπσιωτισμός, Desertion of the Fleet.

Ανωμολογησις, Refusing to Serve, and Fight in the Fleet.

Τορίψαι τ' ἀσπίδα, Looting a Man's Shield.

Ψεδογγραφή, was an Action, against those that falsely charg'd others, and sued them for publick Debts, which *Isapocratio* calls *ψευδέλκτεια*; but this seems rather to have been an Action for false Arrests, according to *Pollux*.

Συκοφαντία, Barrettry, or false Accusation.

Δόξα, taking Bribes to manage any publick Affair, or pervert Justice; nor was it thought enough to punish the Receiver, but the Person also that offer'd bribes was prosecuted, and the Action laid against him call'd *Δικαζόμεσι*. The same Action in Causes about Freedom of the City, was by a peculiar Name term'd *Δωροδοξία*.

Υἱεσις, Beating a Free-man, or binding him, as they us'd to do Slaves.

Αρεχρία, Erasing a Name out of the publick Debt-book, before the Debt was discharg'd.

Αρεχφον μιτωδον, Digging a Mine without acquainting the publick Officers; For before any Person could dig a Mine, he was oblig'd to inform certain Officers, appointed by the People, of his Design, to the end that the twenty-fourth part of the Metal might be reserv'd for the publick Use.

Αλεγεινός, was against Magistrates, that had neglected to give up their Accounts.

Παρατίμων γεφνή, against such as in proposing a new Law, acted contrary to the old and established Laws.

Εἰσβολή, was against Magistrates, Embassadors, or other Officers that had misemploy'd the publick Money, or committed any other Offence in the Discharge of their several Trusts. That against Embassadors was sometimes by a peculiar Name call'd *Παραπρεσβεία*.

Δικιμωχία, was a Probation of the Magistrates, and Persons employ'd in publick Business.

Προσβολή, was an Action against Persons disaffected to the Government, and such as impos'd upon the People; against Sycophants, and such as at the celebration of any Festival had caus'd an uproar, or committed any thing undecent, and unsuitable to the Solemnity.

Απογραφή,

Απογραφή, was when any Person, being sued for Debts said to be due to the Publick, pleaded that they were falsely charg'd upon him, withall producing all the Money he was possess'd of, and declaring by what means it came into his Hands. *Suidas* adds, that *Απογραφή* is sometimes taken for an Action against such as neither paid the Fines laid upon them, before the ninth *Prytanea* following their Sentence, nor were able to give sufficient Security to the City.

Απάρσις, was sometimes the same with *Απογραφή*, as we learn from *Suidas*; but was also usually taken for the Account of Estates given at the Exchange of them together with publick Employments. For when any Man would excuse himself from any troublesome and chargeable Trust, by casting it upon another richer than himself, the Person produc'd by him, had power to challenge him to make an Exchange of Estates, and thereby compell him to undergo the Office he had before refus'd.

2. Φάσις, was commonly taken for the discovery of any hidden and conceal'd Injury, but more peculiarly signified an Action laid against such as exported Corn out of *Africa*, imbezzled the publick Revenues, and converted them to their own private Use, or appropriated to themselves any of the Lands, or other Things, that of right belong'd to the Common-wealth. It is sometimes taken for an Action against those, that were Guardians to Orphans, and either wholly neglected to provide Tenants for their Houses, and Lands, or let them at too easie a rate.

3. Εἰσβολή, was against such, as committed any Action, or affected any Place, of which they were incapable by Law; as when a Person disfranchis'd, or indebted to the Publick sued for Offices in the State, or took upon him to determine Controversies in a judicial Way. Also against those, that confess'd the Crimes laid to their charge, without standing the Tryal.

4. Απαγωγή, was the carrying a Criminal taken in the Fact to the Magistrate. If the Accuser was not able to bring him to the Magistrate, it was usual to take the Magistrate along with him to the House, where the Criminal lay conceal'd, or defended himself, and this they call'd *Εφηνήσθαι*, and the Action *Εφηνήσις*.

5. Ανδρολήψιον, or *Ανδροληψία*, was an Action against such as protected Persons guilty of Murder, by which the Relations of the deceased were empower'd to seize three Men in the City, or House, whither the Malefactor had fled, till he were either surrendered, or satisfaction made some other way for the Murder.

6. Εισαγγελία, was of three sorts; the first was about great and publick Offences, whereby the State was brought into Danger, such Actions were not referr'd to any Court of Justice, but immediately brought before the Senate of *Five-hundred*, or the popular Assembly, where the Delinquent was severely punish'd, but the Plaintiff underwent no danger, altho' he could not prove his Indictment, except he fail'd of having the fifth part of the Suffrages, for then he was fin'd a thousand *Drachms*. The second sort of *Εισαγγελία*, was an Action of *Κακωσις*, of which I shall speak in another place; it was brought before the



*Archon*, to whom the Plaintiff gave in his Accusation, but was not liable to have any Fine laid upon him, tho' Sentence was given against him. The third was an Action against the *Διαγρηται*, prefer'd by Persons that thought themselves unjustly dealt with by them, who ran the hazard of being disfranchis'd, and forfeiting their Freedom, if they were not able to make good their Accusation. Indeed, in all the fore-mention'd Accusations, the *Επαγγελία* only excepted, this Penalty, together with a Fine of a thousand *Drachms*, was inflicted upon the Plaintiff, if he had not the fifth part of the Suffrages.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### Of the Private Judgments, Actions, &c.

**Κ** *Ακροβόλος δίκη*, was an Action of Slander, by which the Criminal was fin'd five-hundred *Drachms*.

*Αικτίας δίκη*, was an Action of Battery, in which case there was no set Penalty inflicted by the Laws, but the Judges took an account of the Damages suffer'd by the Plaintiff, and compell'd the Delinquent to make sufficient retribution.

*Βιαιών*, or, *Βίας δίκη*, was an Action against such as ravish'd Women, or had us'd Violence towards any Man's Person.

*Βλάβης δίκη*, was an Action of Trespass, being against those, that had endammag'd another man's Estate, Lands, Houses, Cloaths, &c.

*Κακώσεως δίκη*, *χράσθ*, or *είσαγγελία*, was an Action enter'd by Heiresses against their Husbands, by Parents against their Children, and Orphans against their Guardians, when they were ill us'd, or injur'd by them.

*Αποπομπής δίκη*, was an Action of Divorce, when the Husband had put away his Wife. On the contrary, when the Woman fled from her Husband, the Action was call'd *Απολείψεως δίκη*.

*Κοπής δίκη*, was against Theeves. *Demosthenes* (a) reports, that if any Man had stoln above fifty *Drachms* in the Day-time, he was to be indicted at the Tribunal of the *Eleven*. But if any Theft was committed in the Night, it was lawful to kill the Criminal, if he was caught in the Fact, or to pursue him, and, if he made any resistance, to wound him, and so hale him to the *Eleven*, by whom if he was convicted of any of those Crimes, that bore an Action of *Απαγωγή*, he was not not permitted to give Bail, but immediately suffer'd Death. If any

(a) *Timocrates*.

Person

Person surreptitiously convey'd any thing of the smallest value out of the *Lyceum*, *Academy*, *Cynosarges*, or any of the *Gymnasia*, or out of Havens above the value of ten *Drachms*, he was adjudg'd to dye. If any Man was convicted of Theft by a private Judgment, he was to make retribution to the Person he had injur'd, by paying him double the value of what he had depriv'd him of; nor was this punishment alone thought sufficient to expiate his Offence, but it lay in the Judges Power to keep him in Bonds five days, and as many nights, and expose him in that condition to the view of all the People.

*Παρακαταθήκης δίκη*, was against such as refus'd to restore any thing committed to their Charge.

*Χρέως δίκη*, was a Suit betwixt Debtors and Userers.

*Συμβολαίης δίκη*, was an Action against those that would not stand to their Contracts, or Bargains. Not much different from this was *Συνδικῶν δίκη*, only, *Συμβολαία* are distinguish'd from *Συνδικαίαι* in this, That these chiefly imply private Contracts about the Lone of Money, Division of Inheritances, and References to the *Διαγρηται*, whereas the other are extended, as well to publick Negotiations between Cities and Kingdoms, as to Bargains made by private Persons. Others there are, that acknowledge no such difference betwixt them.

*Εἰς διατητῶν αἰρίσιν δίκη*, was an Action against such Persons as would not consent to make a division of Goods, or Estates, wherein other Men were sharers with them.

*Διαδικασίας δίκη*, was about publick Duties, whereby it was required that the Person design'd to undertake them, should have a Time appointed, wherein he should enter upon his charge. It is also taken for *Αμφισβήτησις*, and *Ενεπίσκημμα*.

*Επίδικασίας δίκη*, when Daughters inherited the Estates of their Parents, they were oblig'd by Law to marry their nearest Relation. This was the occasion of this Suit, which was commenc'd by Persons of the same Family, each of which pretended to be more nearly allied to the Heiress than the rest. The Virgin, about whom the Relations contested, was call'd *Επίδικος*. *Επίκληρος* was a Daughter, that had no Brothers lawfully begotten, and therefore inherited her Father's whole Estate. *Επίπαροικος* was one that had Brothers, and shar'd the Estate with them.

*Αμφισβήτησις*, was a Suit commenc'd by one that made pretensions to the Estate of a deceased Person, as being his Son either by Nature, or Adoption.

*Παρακαταβολή*, was an Action enter'd by the Relations of the deceased, whereby they claim'd a right to the Estate, as belonging to them by reason of their Consanguinity, or bequeathed by Will. It was so call'd *ἐπὶ τῇ παρακαταβάλλειν*, because the Plaintiff deposited the tenth part of the Inheritance, if the Cause was private, and the fifth, if

if it was a publick Estate he contended for : this he was to forfeit, if he could not make his Plea good.

Αντιγραφή, was a Law-suit about Kindred, whereby any Person claim'd a Relation to such, or such a Family, and therefore it seems to have been of the same Nature with Παρακαταβολή.

Διαμαρτυρία, was a Protestation that the deceased Person had left an Heir, made to hinder the Relations from entering upon the Estate.

Επίσημις, was an Action, whereby the Διαμαρτυρία was prov'd to be false, and groundless.

Ενπίσημμα, was when any Person claim'd some part of another man's Goods, which were confiscated, and sold by Auction.

Σίτη δίκη, when a Husband divorc'd his Wife, the Law oblig'd him to restore her Portion, or, in case he refus'd that, to pay her for each Pound nine *Oboli* every Month, upon the failure of which he was liable to have this Action enter'd against him in the *Odeum* by his Wife's *Επίτροπος*, or, Guardian, whereby he was forc'd to allow her a separate Maintenance.

Μισθώσεως δίκη, &c. δίκη, sometimes call'd *Φάτις*, was an Action against Guardians, that were negligent in the management of the Affairs of their Pupils, and either let out their Houses, or Estates, at too small a price, or suffer'd them to lye void of Tenants. When any House was vacant, it was Customary to signify so much by fixing an Inscription upon the Door, or other part of it, as Mr. *Ross* has observ'd from these words of *Terence*,

————— *Inscripti illico*  
*Ædes mercede (a).* —————

Over the Door I Writ,  
*This House is to be Let.*

Επίτροπος δίκη, was an Action against Guardians, that had defrauded their Pupils. It was to be commenc'd within five Years after the Pupil was come to Age, otherwise it was of no Force.

Ενοικίς δίκη, when any Man laid claim to an House, he enter'd an Action against the Person that inhabited it, whereby he demanded the Rent of the House. If he claim'd an Estate of Land, the Action was call'd *Χωεύς δίκη*, or, *Καρπύς δίκη*, because the Fruits of the ground were demanded. If the Plaintiff cast his Adversary in either of the former Suits, he enter'd a second Action against him, whereby he laid claim to the House, or Land, as being a part of his Estate, for which reason it was call'd *Ουσίης δίκη*. After this, if the Person in possession continued obstinate, and would not deliver up

(a) *Heaut. Act. I. Scen. I.*

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the Estate to the lawful Owner, there was a third Action commenc'd, and a Writ of Ejection issued out against him, which was nam'd *Εξέλις δίκη*, from *ἐξίλλω*, to eject. The same Name is us'd for all Writs of Ejection upon what account soever.

*Βεβαιώσεως δίκη*, was an Action whereby the Buyer compell'd the Seller to confirm, or stand to his bargains.

*Εἰς ἱερῶν κατέσταιν δίκη*, was design'd as an enquiry into some thing that was conceal'd, as stoln Goods.

*Εξαιρέσεως δίκη*, was against a Free-man, that endeavour'd to give a Slave his Liberty, without his Master's consent.

*Απεστασίς δίκη*, was an Action against Sojourners, that neglected to choose a Patron, of which custom I have spoken in another place.

*Αποστασίς δίκη*, was an Action commenc'd by a Master, or Patron against his *Clients*, such as were the Free'd Slaves, when they refus'd to perform those Services, they were bound to pay to him.

*Αφορμῆς δίκη*, was a Suit about Money put into the Bankers hands, which the ancient *Athenians* call'd *Αφορμή*, and the modern *Ενδίκη*.

*Αρσις*, was, when a Person deeply indebted desired the People to remit part of his Debt, upon pretence that he was unable to make payment.

*Ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκη*, was against false Witnesses.

*Κακοτηχιῶν δίκη*, was against those that suborn'd false Witnesses.

*Λεπτομαρτυρίης δίκη*, was against such, as, having promis'd to give Evidence in a Cause, disappointed the Person that rely'd upon them.

Several other Judgments we meet with in ancient Authors, some of which I have already spoken of in other places, and the Names of the rest are so well known, that I need not give you any explication of them; such were *Βολίτης δίκη*, *Αχαιεῖας δίκη*, and some others (a).

## CHAPTER XXV.

### Of the Athenian Punishments, and Rewards.

THE most common and remarkable Punishments inflicted at *Athens* on Malefactors are these,

*Ζαμία*, which, tho' sometimes it be us'd in a large and general sence for any punishment, yet has often a more limited and restrain'd signification, being taken for a pecuniary Mulct, or Fine, laid upon the Criminal according to the merit of his Offence.

(a) *Hesychius, Harpocration, Suidas, Pollux, Ulpianus in Demosthen. Sigenius de Rep. Athen. & Rousau in Arch. Attic. Idemque ubique in his capitibus sunt consulendi.*

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ΑΤΙΜΙΑ,

**Ατιμία**, Ignominy, or publick Disgrace, whereby the Offender was render'd incapable of bearing any Office, pleading in the Courts of Judicature, or giving his Voice in the publick Assemblies, and depriv'd of all other Privileges of a Citizen, that gave him any Title to the management of the Common-wealth. Out of these Men, the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (a) tells us, they appointed whom they pleas'd to labour at the Oars, to which Drudgery, *Plutarch* reports, it was usual to put their Prisoners of War (b).

**Δουλεία**, Servitude, was a punishment, by which the Criminal was reduc'd into the condition of a Slave. It was never inflict'd on any besides the *Ατιμοί*, Sojourners, and Free'd-servants, because it was forbidden by one of *Solon's* Laws, that any Free-born Citizen should be treated as a Slave.

**Σπίγματα**, was a severity seldom exercis'd upon any but Slaves, or some very notorious Malefactors, of which before I have spoken more at large.

**Στήλη**, was, as the word imports, a Pillar, wherein was engraven in legible Characters an account of the Offender's Crime. The Persons thus expos'd to the laughter and reproaches of the World, were call'd *Στηλῖται*. Hence *σηλίστικος λόγος* is taken for any invective, or defamatory Oration.

**Δέσμος**, was a punishment, by which the Criminal was condemn'd to Imprisonment, or Fetters. The Prison was call'd by a lenitive Name *Οἴκημα*, or House; for the *Athenians* us'd to mitigate and take of from the badness of things, by giving them good and innocent appellations; as a Whore, they would call a Mistress; Taxes, Rates; Garrisons, Guards; and this (saith *Plutarch*) seem'd at first to be *Solon's* contrivance, who call'd the releasing the People from their Debts *Σεισάχθεια*, a throwing off a burthen (c). *Plato* tells us, the *Athenians* had three sorts of Prisons; The first was near the *Forum*, and was only design'd to secure Debtors, or other Persons from running away. The second was call'd *Σωφρονιστήριον*, or a House of Correction, such as our *Bride-well*. The third was seated in an uninhabited and lonesome place, and was design'd for Malefactors guilty of Capital Crimes (d). One of their Prisons was call'd *Νομοφυλάκιον*, and the Gate, thro' which Criminals were led to Execution, *Χαρωνεῖον*, from *Charon*, the infernal Ferry-man. At the Prison-door was erected the Image of *Mercury*, the Tutelar Deity of the place, call'd *Στεφραίος*, from *Στεφραῖος*, the hinge of a Door.

Of Fetters there were divers sorts, the most remarkable are these: *Κύρων*, a Collar usually made of Wood, so call'd from *κύβη*, because it constrain'd the Criminal to bow down his head. This punishment

(a) Ranis. (b) *Lyfandro*. (c) *Plutarch*. *Solone*. (d) *Plato de Legib. lib. X.*

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was call'd *Κύρωνισμός*, and hence pernicious Fellows, or Things, are sometimes nam'd *Κύρωνες* (a); others call it *κλοῖδες*, or *κλοῖδον*, or *κολοῖδες*, from *κλείω*, because the Criminal's Neck was shut, or enclos'd within it. Some *Grammarians* tell us, the Neck, Hands, and Feet were made fast in it, and therefore it is probable, it was the same with the *ξύλον παντεσείργον*, or Fetters with five holes, mention'd by *Pollux*, and seems to resemble the punishment of binding Neck and Heels, us'd amongst our Souldiers. *Aristophanes* calls it *ξύλον τετραπόδιον*, as his *Scholiast* informs us in his Comment upon these words in *Lyfistrate*,

——— τὰς δ' Ἀμαζόνας σκόπει,  
 Ἀς Μίκων ἐγχαΐεν ἐφ' ἵππων μαχηδύας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.  
 Ἀλλὰ τέπων χερσὶν ἀπασῶν ἐς τετραπόδιον ξύλον  
 Ἐγκαταρμόσαι λαβόντας τετογὶ τ' αἰχμένα.

Women must have their stiff and haughty Necks  
 With Fetters cramp't, lest they grow insolent  
 And us of our Authority divest,  
 For see here, in this Canva's-pourtraiture  
 By skillful *Micon* drawn, how th' *Amazons*  
 Mounted on prancing Steeds with burnisht spears engage.  
 Mr. *Abell*.

*Χοῖνιξ*, signifies Fetters in which the Feet, or Legs were made fast, as we are inform'd by *Aristophanes* in his *Plutus*, where speaking of an impudent, and insolent Slave, he saith, he deserves to be set in the *Stoeck*,

——— αἱ κνήμαι δὲ σε βούβῃ  
 Ἰκ, ἰέ· τὰς χοῖνικας, καὶ τὰς πέδας ποθῶσι.

You'r ripe, you Rogue, for Fetters, the *Stoeck* groan for you.

Not much unlike this seems to have been the *ποδοκνήκη*, *ποδοκνήκη*, or *ποδοσπάκη*, sometimes call'd *ξύλον*, from the matter it was made of (b). *Σάνις*, was a piece of Wood, to which the Malefactor was bound fast, as the same Poet reports (c),

——— δῆσον αὐτὸν εἰσάγων,  
 Ω τοξότ', ἐν τῇ σανίδι. ———

Here, *Lictor*, bring him in, and bind him to the Rack.

(a) *Aristophan. Schol. Pluto*. (b) *Aristophan. Schol. Equit*. (c) *Thesmophor.*  
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And a little after,

— ζυγὸν ἀποδύσαντά με  
κέλευε αἶψά τῃ σάβιδι δεῖν ἔπλεόντω.

Order the Executioner to strip  
Me naked, and to cord me to the Rack.

Mr. Abell.

Beside these, many others occur in Authors, which barely to mention would be both tedious, and unnecessary.

Φυγή, perpetual Banishment, whereby the condemned Persons were depriv'd of their Estates, which were publicly expos'd to Sale, and compell'd to leave their Countrey without any possibility of returning, except they were recall'd (which sometimes happen'd) by the same Power that expell'd them; wherein it differ'd from *Οστρακισμός*, which only commanded a Ten years absence, at the end of which, the banish'd Persons were permitted to return, and enjoy their Estates, which were all that time preserv'd entire to them (a). It was instituted not so much with a design to punish the Offender, as to mitigate and pacify the furie of the Envious, that delighted to depress those, who were eminent for their Virtues, and glorious Actions, and by fixing this disgrace upon them, to exhale part of the venomous rancour of their Minds. The first, that underwent this condemnation was, as *Plutarch* reports, *Hipparchus* the *Cholargian*, a Kinsman to the Tyrant of the same Name. *Eustathius* makes it much ancients, and carries it as high as *Theseus's* Time, who, he tells us out of *Theophrastus* and *Panfanias*, was the first that suffer'd it (b). *Heracleides* will have it to have been first instituted by *Hippias*, the Tyrant, a Son of *Pisistratus* (c): *Phoebus*, by one *Achilles*, the Son of *Lycus* (d); and *Ælian*, by *Clisthenes*, who also, as he tells us, was the first that underwent it (e). It was never inflicted upon any but great Persons; *Demetrius*, the *Phalerian*, (as *Plutarch* reports) will have it to have happen'd to none but Men of great Estates, and therefore as an argument to prove the plentiful condition of *Aristides*, (whom he maintains to have been possess'd of a large Fortune, contrary to the opinion of most other Writers) he alledg'd, that he was banish'd by *Ostracism*. But my Author is of another opinion, and not without reason, for all Persons were liable to the *Ostracism*, who for Reputation, Quality, Riches, or Eloquence, were esteem'd above the common level, and expos'd to the envy of the People, insomuch, that even *Damon*, Preceptor to *Pericles*, was banish'd thereby, because he seem'd a Man of more than ordinary Sense. Afterwards, when base, mean, and villainous Fel-

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit. & Vesp.* (b) *Iliad* i. (c) *Lib. de Rep.* (d) *Excerpt. ex Ptolem. Hierogl. l. VI.* (e) *Var. Hist. lib. XIV. cap. XXIV.*

lows

lows became subject to it, they quite left it off, *Hyperbolus* being the last, whom they banish'd by *Ostracism*. This *Hyperbolus* was a very rascally Fellow, who furnish'd all the Writers of Comedy in that Age with matter for their Satirical investives; but he was wholly unconcern'd at the worst things they could say, and being careless of glory was also insensible of shame; he was neither lov'd, nor esteem'd by any body, but was a necessary tool for the People, and frequently made use of by them, when they had a mind to disgrace, or calumniate any Person of Authority, or Reputation. The cause of his Banishment was this; *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Phæax* at that time were of different Factions, and each of them bearing a great sway in the City, lay open to the envy of the inferior Citizens, who, at *Hyperbolus's* persuasion, were very eager to decree the Banishment of some one of them. *Alcibiades* perceiving the danger they were in, consulted with *Nicias*, or *Phæax*, (for it is not agreed whether) and so contriv'd matters, that by uniting their several parties, the *Ostracism* fell upon *Hyperbolus*, when he expected nothing of it. Hereupon the People, being offended, as if some contempt or affront had been put upon the Thing, left off, and quite abolish'd it. It was perform'd, to be short, in this manner; Every one taking an *Οστρακον*, or Tyle, carried it to a certain part of the Market-place surrounded with wooden Rails for that purpose, in which were ten Gates, appointed for the ten Tribes, every one of which enter'd at a distinct Gate. That being done, the *Archons* number'd all the Tyles in gross, for if there were fewer than six-thousand, the *Ostracism* was void; then laying every name by it self, they pronounc'd him, whose name was written by the major part, banish'd for ten Years, enjoying his Estate (a). This punishment was sometimes call'd *Κεραμεὺν μάστιγ*, from *κεραμος*, because the *Οστρακα*, by which the People gave their Suffrages were Earthen Tyles, or pieces of broken Pots (b). The like was us'd at *Argos*, *Megara*, and *Miletiun* (c); and the *Syracusan* *Πεταλισμός* was instituted upon the same account, in the third Year of the eighty-sixth *Olympiad*, but differ'd from it in this, That this Banishment was but for five Years, and instead of *Οστρακα*, the People made use of *Πέταλα*, or Leaves, usually those of the Olive-tree, in giving their Voices (d).

Θάνατος, Death, was inflicted on Malefactors several ways, the chief of which were these,

Ξίφος, with which the Criminal was beheaded.

Βεζος, with which he was either strangled after the *Turkish* fashion, or hang'd in the manner usual amongst us, for that this was a very ancient, but withal a very ignominious Punishment, appears from *Homer*, in whom *Ulysses* and *Telemachus* punish the Men, that took part

(a) *Plutarch. Aristide, Alcibiade, Nicias, Themistocle.* (b) *Hesych. in V.* (c) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit.* (d) *Disloc. Sic. lib. XI.*

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with the young Gentlemen, who made love to *Penelope*, only with a common and ordinary Death; but the Maid-servants that had submitted to their Lust, and behav'd themselves with scorn and contempt towards their Masters, as being guilty of a more heinous and notorious Crime, they order'd to be hang'd; the manner of it the Poet has describ'd in these words (a),

πῆσιν νῆος κωανπεδῶριον  
 Κίον' ἐξάψας μεγάλῃς, πέλῃσιν δόλοιο,  
 Ὑψό' ἐπενταύσας, μή τις ποσὶ ἔδας ἵκη.  
 Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἢ κίχλαι πανυσιπῆροι, ἢ πέλειαι  
 Ἐρκεὶ ἐνιπλήξωσι, τό, θ' ἐσῆκει ἐνὶ δάμνῳ,  
 Ἀέλιον ἐσπέρνυλαι, συγχερὲς δ' ἐπεδέξατο κοῖτος.  
 Ὡς αἰ γ' ἐξείης κεφαλὰς ἔχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσας  
 Δεξιῶν βέρυχοι ἦσαν, ὅπως ἔκπῃσι δάνοιν.  
 Ἡσπαιεον δὲ πόδιον μίνωδά περ, ὅπ' μάλ' αἰ δῶ.

Then young *Telemachus* a cable ty'd  
 Hardned with pitch t'a lofty Pillar's side,  
 That he might there make swings above the floor  
 For all his nasty Queans, who'd play'd the Whore;  
 In hempen Twists they all hung in a Row  
 Tolling their Legs, and moving to and fro.  
 So have I seen the warbling Larks beset  
 With knotty mazes of the Fowler's net,  
 How they do make a flutter and a rout  
 With wings expanded, tho' they can't get out.

Mr. Abell

Φάρμακον, Poyson, of which there were divers sorts, yet what they most commonly made use of, was the juice of the Herb κώνειον, *Cicuta*, not much unlike *Hemlock*, which thro' it's extreme coldness is poisonous; it was a draught of this gave *Socrates* his death,

Rem populi trahas, barbatum hoc crede Magistrum  
 Dicere, sorbitio tollis quem dira cicuta.

You, who sustain the weight of Government,  
 To these prudential *Maxims* be attent,  
*Maxims*, not mine, but that grave Sir's, whose fate  
 A draught of *Hemlock* did precipitate. (Mr. Abell)

Saith *Perfius*, meaning *Socrates* (b).

Κρημνίς, a Precipice, from which the Malefactor was tumbled headlong.

(a) *Odyss.* x. v. 455. (b) *Satir.* IV. v. 1.

Τύμπανα,

Τύμπανα, or Τύπανα, were Cudgels of wood, with which Malefactors were beaten to death (a), being hang'd upon a Pole, which was also call'd Τύμπανον, and therefore τυμπανίζεῖν is by *Suidas*, and the *Etymologist* expounded κρέμα, and ἐτυμπανίδωσαν, ἐκριμάδωσαν by *Hesychius*; for their conceit is vain and ridiculous, that would thence infer it to have been a kind of Gallows, or Cross. No less groundless and frivolous is their opinion, that imagine it to have been an instrument, on which Criminals were distended, like the Covering of a Drum, which the *Greeks* call Τύμπανον, and to have been of the same nature with the *Roman* *Fidicula*, which were little Cords, by which Men were stretch'd upon the Rack, and seem to have resembled the *Greek* Σχοῖνοι, us'd in the punishment call'd Σχοινισμός.

Σταυρός, the Cross, mention'd in *Thucydides* (b), was us'd in *Greece*, but not so frequently as at *Rome*: it consisted of two Beams, one of which was plac'd cross the other; the figure of it was much what the same with that of the letter T, as *Lucian* tells us (c), differing only from it, because the transverse Beam was fix'd a little below the top of the straight one. The Malefactor was hang'd upon the Beam that was erect, his Feet being fix'd to it with Nails, and his Hands to each side of that which was transverse.

Βάραθρον, was a deep Pit belonging to the Tribe *Hippothoonis*, into which condemn'd Persons were cast headlong, it is sometimes call'd Ορυγμα, whence the publick Executioner receiv'd the appellation of ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ ορύγματι. It was a dark, noisome hole, and had sharp Spikes at the top, that no Man might escape out, and others at the bottom, to pierce and torment such as were cast in (d). From it's depth and capaciousness, it came to be us'd proverbially for a covetous, Miser, or voracious Glutton, that is always craving, and can never be satisfied; and such an one the *Latins* call'd *Barathro*, hence *Lucianus* (e),

Miser abhinc lacrymas, Barathro, & compeſce querelas.

Forbear thy sighs,

Thou Miser, cease complaints, and dry thine Eyes.

And *Horace*,

Mendici, mime, Barathrones, hoc genus omne (f).

Beggars, Jack-puddings, Rooksters, and such like.

A place of the same Nature was the *Lacedemonian* Κραδίσκος, into which *Aristomenes* the *Messenian* being cast, made his escape after a wonderful manner, as *Pausanias* reports (g).

(a) *Aristoph.* Schol. *Pluto.* *Suidas.* *Hesychius.* *Etymolog.* *Tollux.* &c ubique in hoc capite. (b) *Lib.* I. (c) *Διὰ τὴν φωνήν.* (d) *Aristoph.* *Pluto.* Schol. (e) *Lib.* III. (f) *Satir.* lib. I. *Sat.* II. (g) *Messeniac.*

Λιθοβολία,

*Λιθοβολία*, or Lapidation, was a common punishment, and usually inflicted by the primitive *Greeks* upon such as were taken in Adultery, as we learn from *Homer's* third *Iliad*, where *Hector* tells *Paris*, he deserves to dye this death,

Λάβον ἔσω χιτῶνα κακῶν ἔτι, ὅσα ἔοργας.

For all your villanies you shall be ston'd to death.

Many other punishments there were, which they inflicted for particular Crimes, some of which I shall treat of in their proper places.

As the Laws inflicted severe Penalties upon Offenders, thereby to deter Men from Vice and Wickedness, and from base and dishonourable Designs, so again they confer'd ample Rewards upon such as merited them, thereby to incite others to the practice of Virtue and Honesty, and the performance of good and glorious Actions; and upon the just and equal dispensation of these two Things, it was *Solon's* Opinion, that the Safety of any Common-wealth chiefly depended (a). Now not to mention publick Honours and State-preferences, to which even those of the inferiour Sort might not despair of advancing themselves in a popular State, if by their eminent Services they approv'd themselves to the People; beside these, I say, there were several publick Rewards, and Honours confer'd upon such as had merited enough to be thought worthy of them; The chief of which were these;

*Προεδρία*, or, the privilege of having the first place at all Shows, Sports, Banquets, and publick Meetings (b).

*Εἰκὼν*, or, the Honour of having their Pictures, or Statues erected in the Citadel, *Forum*, or other publick places of the City (c). With such monuments of Virtue *Athens* seems to have abounded more than any City in the World, as will evidently appear to any, that will be at the pains to peruse *Pausanias's* accurate description of them.

*Στέφανος*, or, Crowns, were confer'd in the publick Assemblies by the Suffrages of the People, or by the Senators in their Council; but of these, because they were for the most part bestow'd upon those that had signaliz'd themselves by their Valour, as also of other Military rewards, I shall give you an account of in another place.

*Ἀτέλεια*, was an immunity from all publick Duties, Taxes, and Contributions, except such as were requir'd for carrying on the Wars, which no man was excus'd from. This Honour was very rare, but yet there want not instances of it, as particularly those of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton's* whole Families, which enjoy'd it for a great many generations (d).

*Σίττα, παροσσία, σίτησις ἐν Πρωτανείῳ*, was a maintenance al-

(a) *Cicero*. *Epist. ad M. Brutum*. (b) *Aristoph. Equit.* (c) *Demosthen. Orat. de Falsa Legat. aliique.* (d) *Demosthen. Orat. in Leptinem. Ejusque Interpret.*

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low'd such as deserv'd well of the Common-wealth in the Common-hall, call'd *Prytaneum*. This Privilege was granted sometimes to whole Families for the Services of their Ancestors, as particularly to those of *Hippocrates*, *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*. Their common Fare was a sort of Cakes, or Puddings call'd *Μάζα*, upon Holy-days they had an allowance of Bread (a); and beside other provisions, the Tenth's of all the Bellies of Animals offer'd in Sacrifice were always reserv'd for them, which if any Man neglected to send, he was liable to be punish'd by the *Prytanes*, as we learn from *Aristophanes* (b),

Καί σε φανῶ τοῖς Πρυτάνισιν,

Ἀδικατοῦτος ᾧ θεῶν ἔσ.

ρὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

Your Frauds I'll to the *Prytanes* disclose,  
Since you with sacrilegious Stealth keep back  
The Tithes of sacred Victims Bellies.

A great deal more might be said about the Honours confer'd after Death upon such, as had been eminently serviceable to the Common-wealth, in the celebration of their Funerals, and the pious care of their Memories, but this I shall leave to be spoken of in another place, I shall only add that not themselves only, but their Posterity reap'd the fruits of their Virtues, for if any of their Children were left in a poor condition, they seldom fail'd of obtaining a plentiful provision from the Publick; Thus *Aristides's* two Daughters were publicly marry'd out of the *Prytaneum*, the City decreeing each of them three-hundred *Drachms* for her Portion. Nor is it to be wondred (saith my Author) that the People of *Athens* should take care of those that live in the City, since hearing that *Aristogiton's* Grand-daughter was in a low condition in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and, by means of her poverty, like to want Husband, they sent for her to *Athens*, marry'd her to a Person of considerable Quality, and bestow'd upon her a large Farm, as a Dowry. Of which Bounty, and Humanity (saith he) this City of *Athens*, even in this Age, hath given divers Demonstrations, for which she is deservedly had in great Honour and Admiration (c).

(a) *Demosthen. loc. cit. Tollux lib. IX. cap. V. Athenarum lib. IV. &c.* (b) *Equitibus.* (c) *Plutarch. Aristide.*

## CHAPTER XXV.

## Of the Athenian Laws.

IT was Tully's observation, that most of the Arts and Inventions, which are necessary to the management of Human life, owe their first Original to the *Athenians*, from whom they were deriv'd into the other parts of *Greece*, and thence carried into foreign Countreys, for the common benefit of Mankind. But of all the Inventions commonly ascrib'd to them, none has been of greater, or more general use to the World, than that of Laws, which, as *Ælian* (a), and others report, were first establish'd in *Athens*. Most other ingenious contrivances respect the conveniencies of Human life, but upon this depends the very foundation of all Civil Government, and of all mutual Society amongst Men; for by them the Magistrate is directed how to govern, and the People how far to obey; the Magistrate by them is settled in the possession of his Authority over the People, and the People too by them are secur'd from the arbitrary Power, and unreasonable demands of the Magistrate, as well as from the Fraud, Violence, and Oppression of each other.

The Poets tell us, that *Ceres* was the first, that taught the *Athenians* the use of Laws; in memory of which benefit, they celebrated the Festival call'd *Θαυροφεια*, in which she was Worshipp'd by the Name of *Θαυροφειά*, which exactly answers to the *Latin* Name of *Legifera* in *Virgil* (b),

maestans lætas de more bidentes  
Legiferæ Cerei.

To *Ceres*, who first shew'd the use of Laws,  
They offer Lambs cull'd out of bleating Flock.

Some of the Laws of her Favourite, *Triptolemus*, are still extant, and I have spoken of them in another place. But to pass by Poetical and groundless fictions, thus much is certain, and evident, viz. That the *Athenians* were govern'd by Laws before the dissolution of their Monarchy, as may be observ'd from what *Plutarch* relates of *Theseus*, viz. That when he divested himself of Sovereign Power, and establish'd a Common-wealth in *Athens*, one of the Prerogatives that he thought fit still to retain, was the Custody, or Protection of the Laws.

The first, that gave Laws to the *Athenians* after *Theseus's* Time, was

(a) Lib. III. cap. XXXVIII. (b) *Æneid*. IV. v. 57.

*Draco*,

*Draco*, who was *Archon* in the first Year of the thirty-ninth Olympiad. His Laws, *Ælian* (a) tells us, are properly call'd *Θαυροφεια*, but are remarkable for nothing but their unreasonable severity; for by them every little offence was punish'd with death, and he that stole an Apple was proceeded against with no less rigour, than he that had betray'd his Countrey. But these extremities could not last long, the People soon grew weary of them, and therefore, tho' they were not abrogated, yet by a tacit consent they were laid asleep till

*Solon*, the next Law-giver, repeal'd them all, except those that concern'd Murder, call'd *Φονικοί νόμοι*; and, having receiv'd from the People Power to make what alterations he thought necessary, new modell'd the Common-wealth, and instituted a great many useful and excellent Laws, which, to distinguish them from *Draco's* *Θαυροφεια*, were call'd *Νόμοι*. And least, thro' the connivance of the Magistrates, they should in time be neglected, like those of his Predecessor, He caus'd the Senate, to take a solemn Oath to observe them, and every one of the *Thesmothetæ* vow'd, that if he violated any of the Statutes, he would dedicate a golden Statue as big as himself to the *Delphian Apollo*, and the People He oblig'd to observe them for a hundred Years (b).

But all this care was not sufficient to preserve his Laws from the innovations of lawless, and ambitious Men; For shortly after, *Pisistratus* so far insinuated himself into the People's favour, that the Democracy instituted by *Solon* was dissolv'd, and himself invested with Sovereign Power, which at his Death he left in the possession of his Sons, who maintain'd it for some Years; and tho' *Pisistratus* himself, as *Plutarch* reports (c), and his Sons after him, in a great measure, govern'd according to *Solon's* directions, yet they follow'd them not as Laws, to which they were oblig'd to conform their Actions, but rather seem to have us'd them as wise and prudent Counsels, and vary'd from them, whenever they found them interfere with their interest, or inclinations.

*Pisistratus's* Family being driven out of *Attica*, *Clisthenes* took upon him to restore *Solon's* Constitutions, and enacted many new Laws (d), which continued in force till the *Peloponnesian War*, in which the Form of Government was chang'd first by the *Four-hundred*, and then by the *Thirty Tyrants*. These storms being over, the ancient Laws were again restor'd in the *Archonship* of *Euclides*, and others establish'd at the instance of *Diocles*, *Aristophan*, and other leading Men of the City. Last of all, *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, being intrusted with the Government of *Athens* by the *Macedonians*, was the Author of a great many new, but very beneficial and laudable Constitutions (e). These seem to have been the chief Legislators of *Athens*, before they submitted to the *Roman* yolk; two others are mention'd by *Suidas*, viz. *Thales*, and *Æschylus*, but are not taken notice of in other Authors.

(a) Var. Hist. lib. VIII. cap. X. (b) *Plutarch*, *Solone*, *Diogen. Laert.* *Ælian*. loc. cit. (c) *Solone*. (d) *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, *Tericle*, *Isocr.* *Areopagit.* (e) *Plutarch*, *Aristide*.

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Befide



Beside these, the Athenians had a great many other Laws, enacted upon particular occasions, and exigencies of the Common-wealth, by the Suffrages of the People; For I shall not in this place speak of the *ὑποτάγματα τῆς Βουλῆς*, the Decrees enacted by the Senate, because they were not settled and constant Laws, but only, as it were, so many Proclamations, which, being enacted by no greater Authority than that of the Senators, whose Power was only annual, lost all their force and obligation when their Offices expir'd. The manner of making a Law was thus; When any Man had contriv'd any thing, that he thought might conduce to the good of the Common-wealth, he first communicated it to the *Prytanes*, who were certain Officers appointed to receive all sorts of informations of things that concern'd the Publick; the *Prytanes* then call'd a meeting of the Senate, in which the new Project being propos'd, after mature deliberation was rejected, if it appear'd hurtful, or unserviceable; if not, was agree'd to, and then call'd *Περύλευμα*. Then the *Prytanes* took a Tablet, and wrote upon it the matter that was to be enacted into a Law, and the time in which the People were to meet in a publick Assembly, and determine it, and this was call'd *Περίφημα*.

No Law was to be propos'd to the Assembly, except it had been written upon a white Tablet, and fix'd up some Days before the Assembly at the Statues of the Heroes call'd *Επώνυμοι*, that so all the Citizens might read what was to be propos'd at their next Meeting, and be able to give a more deliberate judgment upon it. When the multitude was come together the Decree was read, and every Man had libertie to speak his mind about the whole, or any clause of it, and if, after due consultation, the Populacy thought it inconvenient, it was rejected; if they approv'd of it, it pass'd into a *ῥησιμα*, or *Νόμος*, which, as we learn from *Demosthenes*, were the same as to their obligation, but differ'd in this, that *Νόμος*, was a general, and everlasting Rule, whereas *ῥησιμα* respected particular Times, Places, and other Circumstances (a).

No Man without a great deal of caution, and a thorough understanding of the former Laws, and Constitutions durst presume to propose a new one, the Danger being very great if it suited not with the customs and inclinations of the People; *Eudemus* a *Cydiaethenian* is said to have lost his Life on that account, being made a Sacrifice to the rage of the Multitude. Not much unlike this severity was the ordinance of *Zaleucus*, the *Locrian* Law-giver, by which it was appointed, that whosoever propos'd the enacting of a new Law, or the abrogation of an old one, should come into the Assembly, with an Halter about his Neck, and in that dress give his reasons for what he propos'd, which if they were thought good and sufficient, his proposal was embrac'd; if not, he straight-way pour'd out his Soul under

(a) *Demosthen.* ejusque enarrator. *Ulpian.* in *Leptin.* & alibi.

the

the Hang-man's hands. But the Athenians were not quite so rigid, except upon some extraordinary occasion, when the giddy Multitude was hurry'd on with unusual rage and vehemence, as happen'd in *Eudemus's* case; yet if any Man establish'd a Law, that was prejudicial to the Common-wealth, he might be call'd in question, and brought to Tryal for it any time within the space of one Year, but if he was let alone any longer, the Laws took no notice of him. In these cases especially, a writ for transgressing the Laws, call'd *Παρανομίας ρεαση*, might take hold of him; First, if he had not taken care to publish his Proposal in due time; Secondly, if he propos'd it in ambiguous and fallacious Terms; Thirdly, if he propos'd any thing contrary to any of the former and received Laws; and therefore if any of the old Laws were found to oppose what they design'd to offer, they always took care to have them repeal'd before-hand (a). Because, notwithstanding all this caution, it sometimes happen'd that new Laws were enacted contrary to the old, it was order'd that the *Thesmotheses* should once every Year carefully peruse the Laws, and if they found any of them oppose another, it was to be propos'd to the People, who were to proceed about it in the method that was us'd in abrogating other Laws, and so one of the Laws made void. In other cases it was unlawful for any Man to endeavour to have any Law repeal'd, without preferring a new one in it's place.

Now because the change of Time, and other Circumstances might make a great many alterations in Affairs, and Ordinances, that had formerly been useful and necessary, by the different State of Things become unprofitable, and perhaps inconvenient, and prejudicial; it was ordain'd by *Solon* that once every Year the Laws should be carefully revis'd and examin'd, and if any of them were found unsuitable to the present State of Affairs, it should be repeal'd; this was call'd *ἑτησιεργασία τῶν νόμων*, from the manner of giving their Suffrages by holding up their hands. The method of doing it was thus; On the eleventh Day of the month *Hecatombeon*, after the *Kleues* had, according to custom, made a solemn Prayer before the Assembly, the Laws were read over in this Order, first those, that concern'd the Senate; then those that respected the People, the nine *Archons*, and then the other Magistrates in their Order. This being done, it was demanded, Whether the Laws then in being were sufficient for the Common-wealth; and if it seem'd necessary to make any alteration in them, the consideration was differ'd till the fourth of *Metagitnion*, upon which Day, was the last Ordinary Assembly, under the first Rank of the *Prytanes*, as the Repetition of the Laws had been at the first. In all this, the *Θισμοι*, or Laws concerning such matters, were nicely and punctually observ'd, and the *Prytanes*, and *Proedri* severely punish'd, if any thing was omitted. Upon the first of *Metagitnion*, another Assembly was call'd, and the *Proedri* reported the matter to the People, who did not

(a) *Iidem.*

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proceed

proceed to the determination of it themselves, but substituted the *Nomothetæ* to do it; and appointed five Orators, call'd *Συνήγοροι*, to Patronize the ancient Laws in the Name of the People. If the calling of this Assembly was neglected, the *Prytanes*, by *Solon's* Command, had a Fine of a thousand *Drachmæ* laid upon each of them, and the *Proedri* one of four-hundred; all which the *Thesmothetæ* were oblig'd to see paid into the Treasury of *Minerva's* Temple in the Citadel, but in case they refus'd, the *Thesmothetæ* were to bring an Indictment against them at the Court of *Heliea*; which if they neglected to do, themselves were to be deny'd admission into the *Areopagus*. To return, the *Nomothetæ*, having heard what the Orators could say in defence of the old Law, gave their Opinions accordingly, and their Sentence was ratified by the People in the following Assembly (a).

*Solon*, and after his example, the rest of those that enacted Laws in *Athens*, committed their Laws to writing, differing herein from *Lycurgus*, and the Law-givers of other Cities, who thought it better to imprint them in the minds of their Citizens, than to engrave them upon Tablets, where it was probable they might lye neglected and unregarded, as *Plutarch* hath inform'd us in his Life of *Numa Pompilius*; "It is reported (saith he) that *Numa's* Body by his particular command was not burn'd, but that he order'd two stone Coffins to be made, in one of which he appointed his Body to be laid, and the other to be a Repository for his sacred Books and Writings, and both of them to be interr'd under the Hill *Ianiculum*; imitating herein the Legislators of *Greece*, who having wrote their Laws in Tablets, which they call'd *Κύβηται*, did so long inculcate the contents of them, whilst they liv'd, into the Minds and Hearts of their Priests, that their Understandings became, as it were, living Libraries of those sacred Volumes, it being esteem'd a profanation of such Mysteries to commit their secrets unto dead Letters". In some places, especially before the invention of Letters, it was usual to sing their Laws, the better to fix them in their memories; which custom, *Aristotle* tells us, was us'd in his Days amongst the *Agathyrsi*, a people near the *Scythians*; and this he phantasies was the reason, why the Musical rules for keeping Time were call'd *Νύμφοι* (b).

But *Solon* was of a contrary Opinion, esteeming it the safest way to commit his Laws to writing, which would remain entire, and impossible to be corrupted, when the unwritten Traditions of other Law-givers, thro' the negligence and forgetfulness of some, and the cunning and knavery of others, might either wholly perish in oblivion, or by continual forgeries and alterations be rendred altogether useless and unprofitable to the Publick, but abundantly serviceable to the designs and innovations of treacherous and ambitious Men. The Tables in which *Solon* penn'd his Laws, *Plutarch* tells us, were of wood, and call'd *Αξογες*, and so fashion'd that they might be turn'd round

(a) *Iidem*. (b) *Problema*. Sect. X. cap. XXIX.

in

in oblong Cases, some of them, he saith, remain'd till his Time, and were to be seen in the *Prytaneum* at *Athens*, being (as *Aristotle* affirms) the same with the *Κύβηται*. But others are of Opinion, that those are properly call'd *Κύβηται*, which contain the Laws concerning Sacrifices, and the Rites of Religion, and all the rest, *Αξογες*. Thus *Plutarch* (a). But *Apollodorus*, as he is quoted by the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (b), will have *Κύβηται*, to be of Stone, and to signifie any Tablets, wherein Laws, or publick Edicts were written, and to have receiv'd their Name *ὅτι τὸ κεκορυμμένον ἐστὶν ὕψος*, because they were erected up on high; or from the *Corybantes*, the first inventors of them, as *Theopompus* reports in his Treatise of Piety. *Aristotle* adds, that they were triangular, in his Treatise about the Republick of *Athens*, and is seconded herein by *Pollux* (c), who farther remarks, that the *Αξογες* were quadrangular, and made of Brass. *Ammonius* (d), to trouble you with no more Opinions about them, will have the distinction to consist in this, That the *Αξογες*, were four-square, containing the Laws that concern'd civil Affairs; whereas the *Κύβηται*, were Triangular, and contain'd Precepts about the publick Worship. What number there was of them, it is impossible to divine, since none of the ancient Authors have given us any light in this particular. They were kept in the Citadel, but afterwards were remov'd to the *Prytaneum*, that all Persons might have recourse to them upon any occasion (e); tho' some report that only Transcripts of them were carried thither, and that the Original, written by *Solon's* own hand, remain'd still in the Citadel. Hence, as *Pollux* is of Opinion, came the Laws to be distinguish'd into *τὰς ὑψιστάς*, and *τὰς ἀνωτάτας νόμους*, the former signifying the Laws that were in the *Prytaneum*, which was in the lower City; the latter, those that were kept in the Citadel, or upper City. Others are of Opinion, that by *ὁ κατωτάτης νόμος*, *Demosthenes*, whose expression it is, meant no more, than the lower part of the Tablet, but then, without dispute, he would have mention'd the number of the Tablets, as in other places He, and others usually do, and not have left us in the dark which of the Tablets he meant; Again, the lower part of the Tablet might sometimes happen to contain the first part of the Law, which it is improper to call *ὁ κατωτάτης νόμος*, because that word seems to import something beneath the rest, and towards the latter End; for one Tablet was not always large enough to contain a whole Law, as appears from *Plutarch* (f), in whom we find that the eighth Law was engrav'd in the thirteenth Tablet. *Petit* will have *Demosthenes* to mean no more by *ὁ κατωτάτης νόμος*, than the Law, which beneath, or, afterwards in the same Oration is cited by him. Others understand it of the lower Line, because the Laws are said to have been written *βασπερὶς*, that is, as *Pausa-*

(a) *Solone*. (b) *Nubibus*, &c. *Avibus*. (c) *Lib. VIII. cap. X.* (d) *Lib. de Different. Voc.* (e) *Pollux* *ibid.* (f) *Solone*.

*nias* explains it (a), when the second line is turn'd on the contrary side, beginning at the end of the former, as the Husband-men turn their Oxen in ploughing, in this manner,

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ-  
ΥΘΖΗΥΥΧ

It was against the Law for any Man to erase a Decree out of any of the Tablets, or to make any alterations in them; and for the greater security of them, there were certain Persons call'd from their Office *Γραμματεῖς*, whose business it was to preserve them from being corrupted (b), and, as their Name imports, to transcribe the old, and enter the new ones into the Tablets; they were elected by the Senate, and, to render their Office more creditable, had several badges of Honour conferr'd upon them, of which in their proper place. Thus much of the *Athenian* Laws in general; their particular Laws have been with great Industry collected by *Peit*, and are now english'd from the Original Greek by Mr. *Abell*.

## Attick LAWS.

### Laws relating to Divine Worship, Temples, Festivals, and Sports.

LET Sacrifices be perform'd with fruits of the Earth. Let it be a Law among the *Athenians* for ever sacred and inviolable, always to observe due Homage in publick towards their Gods, and native-Heroes, according to the usual Customs of their Country; and with all possible sincerity to offer in private First-fruits with anniversary Cakes.

One *Drachm* shall be the price of a Sheep, eighteen of a *Medimn*.

Cattle design'd for Sacrifice shall be cull'd.

It's order'd, that the Sacrificer carry part of his oblation home to his Family.

All the remains of the Sacrifice are the Priest's Fees.

Whosoever easeth Nature in *Apollo's* Temple, shall be Indicted, and Sentenc'd to Death.

All Slaves and Forreigners are permitted to come to the publick Temples, either out of curiosity of seeing, or devotion.

They, who survive the report of being Dead, are prohibited entrance into the *Furies* Temple.

Let no violence be offer'd to any one, who flies to the Temples for succour.

While the Celebration of the monthly Festival continues at *A-*

(a) *Eliac.* (b) *Tollux*, lib. VIII. cap. VIII.

*then*, it's order'd, that no one be defam'd or affronted in Private or Publick, and that no business be carry'd on, which is not pertinent to this Feast.

All, who frequent the *Panathenaea*, are forbid the wearing of gaudy and foppish Apparell.

It's enacted that at the institution of *Panathenaea* *Majora* *Homer's Rhapsodies* be repeated.

*Sojourners* are commanded to carry about at publick Processions little Vessels fram'd after the model of a Boat, and their Daughters Water-pots with Umbrellas.

No Forreigner is to be initiated into the *Holy Mysteries*.

Death shall be his penalty, who divulges the *Mysteries*.

The Persons initiated shall dedicate the Garments they were initiated in, at *Ceres* and *Proserpina's* Temple.

No Woman shall go in her Chariot to *Eleusis*, and whoever commits Theft, during the Feast kept at that place, shall be fin'd 6000 *Drachms*.

Let no petitionary Address be made at the *Mysteries*.

No one shall be Arrested, or Apprehended, during their Celebration.

An Assembly of the Senate shall convene in the *Eleusinian* Temple, the day following this Festival.

The Festival call'd *Θαιμωρθεα* is to be annual, at which time there's to be a Gaol-delivery.

*Evagoras* hath caus'd it to be enacted, that when there's a Procession in the *Piræus* to the honour of *Bacchus*, and likewise at the *Lenæan* Procession, Comedies shall be acted, and that during the celebration of the *Διονυσιακὰ* in the Cittadel, Young-men shall dance, and Tragedians with Comedians act, and that at these times, and while the *Θαργήλια* continue, no suit of Law, Bailment, or Suretyship shall be made; if trespass be made against any one of these particulars, let the Person herein offending be prosecuted in the usual manner at the popular Assembly held in *Bacchus's* Theater.

It's establish'd, that the *Prytanes* the day subsequent to these observances call a Senate in the Theater of *Bacchus*, upon the *Πανδία*, where the first thing in debate shall be touching the sacred Rites, after that, the drawing up all the Indictments to be executed on the fore-mention'd Criminals at the Feasts.

No Arrestment shall be attempted on the *Διονυσιακὰ*.

Execution of condemn'd Prisoners shall be deferr'd till the *Θωγεῖ* return from *Delos*.

No oblation of Victims shall be on the *Ἀλφειά*.

He, who comes off Conqueror at the *Olympick Games*, shall receive as his reward 500. *Drachms*, at the *Isthmick*, an 100.

Fifteen shall go to the constitution of a Tragick Chorus.

It's forbid that *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides* be brought on the Stage, wherefore License is given, that the City-clerk read them publicly.

An emulatory performance among the Tragedians is order'd to be in the Theater, on the Feast call'd *Χυττα*, and that he, that acts his part best, shall be chosen *Denizon*.

No one under 30 Years of age shall be an Actor.

Let no *Archon* be expos'd by any malignant aspersion in a Comedy.

If any reflections are design'd, let them be palliated under a feign'd Name.

Let all the different Airs, and specifick kinds of Musick be observ'd, and each of them be made use off at it's peculiar Festival.

All spectators shall sit with due Attention and Decorum in the Theatre, and the Beadles are hereby impower'd to turn him out, who shall cause any noise or disturbance, but if any one contradict their commission, and persevere in his rudeness, a Fine shall be his punishment.

Sports exhibited in Honour of Neptune are to be in the *Piræus*, grac'd with three Dances perform'd in a ring, where the reward to them who come off best shall be ten *μναι*, to them whose performance is one degree below, eight, and six to the third rated Victors.

One day Yearly there's to be a publick Cock-fighting.

Sacrifices are required to be at the beginning of every Month.

### Laws concerning them who Officiate in holy Rites.

THE *Βασιλεύς* is to take care that the *Parasites* be created out of the People, whose duty 'tis, each of them to reserve out of his allowance an *Hectæum* of Barley without the least deceit, for the maintenance of the *Genuine Citizens* Feast, to be kept in the Temple, according to the custom of the Countrey. The *Acharnensian Parasites* are to lay up an *Hectæum* of their dole in *Apollo's* Reservatory, to which Deity they are to Sacrifice; their Chief likewise, the Old men, and Women who have had but one Husband, are oblig'd to joyn in the Sacrifices.

Out of those of spurious Birth, or their Children, the *Parasites* shall elect a Priest, who shall officiate in the *Monthly* Sacrifices, and against him who declines it an Action shall be enter'd.

Two of the sacred *Ceryces* must undergo *Parasitship*, for the space of one Year in *Apollo's* Temple at *Delos*.

The third part of the choicest of the Oxen is to be conferr'd on the Victor of a prize, the two remaining shall be divided between the Priests and *Parasites*.

Let there be given a just value of Money, to be disburs'd by the Priests for the reparation of the *Αρχεῖον* (or Treasury) of the Temple, and the *Παράσιον*, or place set apart for the *Parasites* Executing of their Office.

Out of the most vigorous of the Old men, there are to be created

Θαλδο.

Θαλδοῖροι, i. e. Persons to carry sprigs of Olive in the *Panathenæa*, in Honor of *Minerva*.

It is hereby appointed that the Consort of the *Βασιλεύς* shall be a Citizen of *Athens*, and never before Marri'd.

Not the Priests only shall give an account of their demeanour in the Priest-hood, but likewise the *sacred Families*.

No impure Person shall be elected into the Priest-hood.

### Laws relating to the Laws.

As for the Review of the Laws, I have purposely omitted it, as being spoken of in the foregoing sheets.

### The Decree.

*Tisamenus* hath establish'd with the consent, and by the Authority of the People that *Athens* shall keep her ancient Form of Government, and make use of *Solon's* Laws, Weights, and Measures, with *Draco's* Sanctions, as hitherto; if new ones shall seem requisite, the *Nomothetæ* created by the Senate for that purpose, shall engross them on a Tablet, and hang 'em up at the Statues of the *Eponymi*, that they may be expos'd to the publick view of all Passers by; The same Month they are to be given up to the Magistrates, after they have past the Estimation of the Senate of Five-hundred, and the delegated *Nomothetæ*. Be it also farther enacted, that any private Man may have free access to the Senate, and give in his Sentiments concerning them, after their promulgation; the Senate of *Areopagus* is required to take care that the Magistrates put these Laws in Execution, which for the conveniency of the Citizens are to be engrav'd on the Wall, where before they had been expos'd to publick view.

He that propounds a Law not conducing to the common Good, shall be indicted as a Pesterer of the Common-wealth.

The proposer of a Law after the Year's end shall be accus'd, if his Law be pernicious, but yet shall be liable to no Penalty.

No Law shall be repeal'd, before reference be made of it to the *Nomothetæ*, which being done, any *Athenian* may endeavour it's repeal, supplanting he substitutes a new Law in it's stead. Both these the *Proedri* shall refer to the Votes of the People; the first proposal shall be concerning the Old Law, whether it be any longer conducing to the publick Good, then the new one shall be propos'd; now which of the two the *Nomothetæ* shall judge best, that shall be in force; yet this caution must be observ'd, that no Law shall be enacted which gainsays any of the rest, and the Person, who shall give in a Law inconsistent with the former constitutions, shall be dealt with according to the rigour of the Act against those, who promote prejudicial Laws.

He, who to abrogate an old Law promiseth to make a new one, and doth not, shall be Fin'd.

The *Thesmotheae* shall Yearly assemble in the Repository of the Laws, and cautiously examine whether one Law bears any contradiction to another, whether there be any Law unratified, or duplicates about the same thing; if any of these shall occur in their examination, it shall be written on a Tablet, and read at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Which done, by the *Epistata's* Order, the People shall vote which of them shall be made void, or ratified.

### Laws referring to Decrees of the Senate, and Commonalty.

† *Heisuxta*, or Decrees of the Senate, are to be but of one Year's continuance.

No *Psephism* shall pass to the Commons before the Senate's supervisal.

The Tablets, on which the *Psephisms* are engrav'd, are by no means to be remov'd.

Let no *Psephism*, either of the Senate, or People, be of greater Authority than the Laws.

No Sophistication is to be contain'd in a *Psephism*.

### Laws concerning Native, and Enfranchis'd Citizens.

ALL Laws are to be alike Obligatory towards the whole Body of the People.

All Priests, and *Archons* are to be elected out of the Nobility, whose duty 'tis to interpret all Laws both Civil, and Divine.

The *Θῆτες*, or those of the meaner sort, shall be capable of no Magistracy.

The *Θῆτες* shall have right of Suffrage in publick Assemblies, and of being elected Judges.

Let all the Citizens have an equal share in the Government, and the *Archons* be indifferently elected out of them all.

No Persons, but such as have suffer'd perpetual banishment, or those, who with their whole Families come to *Athen* for the conveniency of Trade, shall be enroll'd among the *Denizens*.

Let no Person, that's a Slave by birth, be made free of the City.

No one shall be admitted Citizen, unless a particular eminency of Virtue entitle him to it, yet if the People do conferr a Citizenship on any one for his merits, he shall not be ratified, before the *Athenians*, the next meeting of the Assembly, honour him with six-thousand private Votes, the *Proctores* likewise shall give them, before the entrance of the Strangers, the Boxes with the *Calent*, and take away the Largeſſes, which

which were the *Persian* Bucklers. Now these Persons after Enfranchisement shall be altogether incapable of being *Archons* or Priests; as for their Children, they may officiate, if born of a Free-woman; if the persons made Free presume the taking up of any Office, any Free-born Man may bring an Action against them, as Interlopers on his Privileges.

There shall be a disquisition made, whether they, who are inserted in the Register of Citizens, be so, or no; they who shall not be found Citizens on both sides, let them be eras'd out; the determination of this shall be by their own Burrough, by whom if they be cast, and acquiesce in their Sentence without any farther Appeal to an higher Court, they shall be rank'd among the Sojourners; but they, that after Appeal shall be condemn'd by the higher Court, shall be sold for Slaves; or, if acquitted, shall continue in their Freedom.

It's permitted any *Athenian* to leave the City, and take his Family and Goods along with him.

### Laws appertaining to Children legitimate, Spurious, or Adopted.

THEY only shall be reckon'd Citizens, whose Parents are both so. He shall be lookt on as a Bastard, whose Mother is not Free.

Let none of Spurious birth, whether male, or female intermeddle with either sacred, or civil Affairs from the time of *Euclides* being *Archon*.

That inheritance shall pass for good, which is given by a childless Person to an adopted Son.

Adoption must be made by Persons living.

No one, except the Person who adopted shall have a legitimate Son, shall relinquish the Family into which he is adopted, to return into his Natural.

Parents may give their Children what Names they will, or change those they have for others.

Whenever Parents come to enroll their Children, whether genuine, or adopted in the publick Register, they are oblig'd to profess by Oath, that they were lawfully begotten of a Free-woman.

Beasts design'd at this time for the Altar are to be of a certain weight, a Goat to weigh fifty *μυᾶν*, and two Sheep fourty-eight.

### The Oath to be taken by the Ephebi.

I'LL never do any thing to disgrace this Armour; I'll never fly from my Post, or revolt from my *General*, but I'll fight for my Countrey, and Religion in an Army, or single Combat; I'll never be the Cause of weakning or endammaging my Countrey, and if it be my fortune to sail on the Seas, my Countrey thinking fit to send me in a Colony,

Colony, I'll willingly acquiesce and enjoy that Land which is allotted me, I'll firmly adhere to the present constitution of Affairs, and whatsoever enactments the People shall please to pass, I'll see no body violate or pervert them, but I'll, either singly by my self, or by joining with others, endeavour to revenge them, I'll conform to my Country's Religion: I swear by these following Deities, *viz.* the *Agrauli*, *Enyalios*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, the *Earth*, and *Diana*.

I'll stand so much up for the Honour of my Country, that, if occasion require, I'll lay down my Life for it.

My endeavours to extend the Dominions of *Athens* shall never cease, while there are Wheat, Barley, Vine-yards and Olive-trees without it's Limits.

Parents shall have full right to disinherit their Children.

No one shall sell his Daughter, or Sister, unless he can prove her to be a Whore.

The first institution of Youth is to be in swimming, and the rudiments of Literature; as for those, whose Abilities in the world are but mean, let them learn Husbandry, Manufactures, with Trades; but they, who can afford a gentile Education, shall learn to play on Musical Instruments, to ride the great Horse, shall study Philosophy, learn how to Hunt, and be instructed in the *Gymnical* exercises.

Let him be disfranchis'd who beats his Parents, or does not provide for them.

If any Man, being found guilty of abusing his Parents, frequent prohibited places, the *Eleven* shall Fetter him, and bring him to Tryal at the *Heliean* Court, where any one, who is empower'd thereto, may accuse him; if he's here cast, the *Heliean* Judges shall inflict upon him what punishment they please, and if they Fine him, let him be clapt up in Gaol till he pays the whole.

No Bastards, or such as have been brought up to no Employ, shall be oblig'd to keep their Parents.

If any one's Estate after his decease shall be call'd in question, the enjoyer of it is oblig'd to prove the Lawfulness of his Parent's getting it, according to that Golden Precept, *Honour your Parents*.

He, that is undutiful to his Parents, shall be incapable of bearing any Office.

If, thro' the infirmity of old Age, or torture of a Disease, any Father be found craz'd and distemper'd in mind, a Son may forthwith have an Action against him, wherein if he be cast, he may keep him in bonds.

### Laws belonging to Sojourners.

EVERY *Sojourner* is to choose his Patron out of the Citizens, who is to pay his Tribute to the *Collectors*, and take care of all his other concerns.

Let

Let there be an Action against them, who don't choose a Patron, or pay Tribute.

In this Action no Forreigner shall appear as a Witness.

Let them be cast into Prison before Sentence is pass, without any grant of Bailment, on whom the Action of *ξῖνία* is laid, but if condemn'd, they shall be sold; whoever is acquitted of this imputation may accuse his adversary of Bribery.

### Laws relating to Slaves, and Free'd-servants.

HE that beats another Man's Servant, may have an Action of *Battery* brought against him.

No one may Sell a *Captive* for a *Slave*, without the consent of his former Master, if any *Captive* hath been sold, he shall be rescu'd, and let his rescuer put in Sureties for his appearance before the *Polemarchus*.

If any *Slave's* Freedom hath been unjustly asserted by another, the Assertor shall be liable to pay half the price of the *Slave*.

Any *Slave* unable to drudge under the Imperiousness of his Master, may compell him to let him quit his service for one more mild and gentle.

*Slaves* may buy themselves out of bondage.

No *Slaves* are to have their Liberty given them in the *Theater*; the Cryer, that proclaims it, shall be *Ἀτιμῶς*.

All emancipated *Slaves* shall pay certain services, and due Homage to the Procurers of their Liberty, choosing them only for their Patrons, and not be wanting in the performance of those Duties, to which they are oblig'd by Law.

Patrons are permitted to bring an Action of *Ἀποδοσίαν* against such *Free'd-Slaves*, as are remiss in the foremention'd Duties, and reduce them to their pristine state of Bondage, if the charge be prov'd against them; but if the accusation be groundless, they shall entirely possess their Freedom.

Any, who have a mind, whether Citizens, or Strangers, may appear as Evidence in the above-mention'd Cause.

He, that redeems a *Prisoner* of War may claim him as his own, unless the *Prisoner* himself be able to pay his own Ransom.

Maintenance is by no means to be given to a *Slave* careless in his Duty.

### Laws concerning the Senate of Five-hundred.

NO one is to be twice an *Epistata*.

The

*The Oath of the Senate I pass by, as before treated of.*

The Establishment of *Phocus* runs, That *Senators* with the rest of the *Athenians* shall keep the Feast call'd *Απαρτία*, as is usual by the custom of the Country, and that there shall be an *Adjournment* of the *Senate*, and *Vacations* of lesser Courts for five-days, from the time in which the *Protemiæ* begin to celebrate the Solemnity.

The Cryer shall pray for the good success of Affairs, and encourage all Men to lay out their endeavours on that design.

The Cryer shall curse him openly, with his Kindred, and Family, who shall appear at the *Sessions*, and plead Causes for Lucre.

Let the most grave of the *Senators*, having decently compos'd their Bodies, deliver their most prudent and wise thoughts to the People; and after them, let such of the rest as will, do the like one by one according to seniority.

In every Assembly let there be one *Tribe* elected to *preside*, and to look after the Laws.

The *Prytanes* are not to authorize the People to Vote twice for the same thing.

The *Senate* of *Five-hundred* may Fine as far as five-hundred *Drachms*.

Let the *Senate* of the *Five-hundred* build new Ships.

Such, as have not built any, shall be refus'd the donation of Crowns.

This *Senate* shall give account of their Administration, and they, who have executed their Offices well, shall be rewarded with Crowns.

### Laws which concern Magistrates.

**NONE** shall be *Magistrates* but they, who have competent Estates.

The Election of *Magistrates* shall be by *Beans*.

It shall be punishable with Death to pass two *Suffrages* for the same Candidate.

The *Archons* shall be created by the People.

No one shall bear the same Office twice, or enter on two several the same Year.

All *Magistrates*, that are elected by *Suffrages*, *Surveyors* of publick Works, and they, who have any Authority in the City upward of thirty days, with those, who preside over the Courts of Judicature, shall not enter on their respective Offices, till they have undergone the accustom'd Examination, and after the expiration of those Offices, they shall give an account of the discharge of their Trust before the *Scribe*, and *Logistæ*, as other *Magistrates* are oblig'd to do.

This

This shall be the manner: So much I receiv'd from the Publick, so much I laid out, or in the reverse.

Such, as have not made up their accounts, shall expend none of their money in Divine uses, nor be Patrons, or Witnesses; nor shall they have license to travel, bear another Office, or have the honour of a Crown conferr'd on them.

It's Death for any one in debt to be invested with a publick Trust.

It's also Death to attempt Usurpation.

Let him be out-law'd, who shall continue in his Magistracy after the dissolution of *Democratical* government, whereupon, it shall be lawful for any one to kill such a Person, and make seizure of his Goods.

### A Psephism.

**THIS** Decree was made by the *Senate* and *Athenian* State, the *Tribe Acanthis* being *Prytanes*, *Cleogenes* Clerk, *Boëthus* chief *President*, and *Demophantus* it's *Ingresser*; the date of this *Psephism* is from the election of the *Senate* of *Five-hundred*, and thus it runs: If any one levels at the ruine of the Common-wealth, or after it's subversion bears any Office, let that Man be centur'd as an Enemy to the State, and dispatch'd out of the way; let all his Goods, saving the tenth part to be confiscated to *Athenians*, be expos'd to Sale: he that kills him, with all his Assistants, shall be blameless herein, and free from the guilt of his Death; all *Athenians* likewise in their several Tribes are oblig'd by Oath to attempt the killing of that Man, who shall in the least seem to affect the Crimes here set down.

### The Oath.

**I'LL** endeavour with my own hands to kill that Man, who shall dissolve the *Athenian* Republick, or after it's subversion shall bear any Office, and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from guilt, either in respect of the Gods or *Demons*, who shall take away his Life, or encourage another so to do; farther, in the distribution of his Goods, I'll pass my Vote, that the *State* shall have half: and He, that in the attempt shall have the misfortune to lose his own Life, shall, with his Heirs, have due Respect and Honour from me, as *Harmedius* and *Aristogiton* with their Posterity.

All Oaths, that shall be taken in time of War or any other Juncture, if inconsistent with the *Athenian* Constitution, shall be null and void.

No Office, impos'd by the People, shall be refus'd by Oath before the *Senate*.

Whoever casts scurrilous abuses on a Magistrate while officiating, shall be Fin'd.

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### The Examination, and interrogatory Disquisition of the Archons.

**W**HETHER they are Citizens by a lawful lineage of Progenitors for three generations, and from what Family they assume their Pedigree, whether they derive their Progeny from *Paternal Apollo*, and *Jupiter Herceus*?

*Quest.* Heark you, Friend, who's your Father?

*Answ.* What Sir, d'ye mean my Father? *N* or *N*.

*Quest.* What Kindred can you produce to make Evidence?

*Answ.* Sufficient Sir, first of all these Cousins, then these Persons who have right to the same *Burying-place* with us, these here of the same *Phratia*, and these related to *Apollo Paurius*, and *Jupiter Herceus*, lastly, these Gentlemen of the same *Burrough*, who have repos'd the Trust and Management of Offices in me, and honour'd me with their Suffrages.

*Quest.* D'ye hear Friend? Who's your Mother?

*Answ.* What mine d'ye mean? *N*. or *N*.

*Quest.* What Kindred have you to show?

*Answ.* These first, and second Cousins, and those of the same *Phratia*, and *Burrough*.

*Then the Case is to be put.*

Whether they have { Honour'd their Parents?  
Fought for their Country?  
Possession of an Estate, and all their Limbs sound?

### The Archon's Oath.

**I**'LL be punctual in the observance of the Laws, and, for every default herein, I'll forfeit a Satue of Gold, of equal Proportion with my self, to the *Delphian Apollo*.

An *Archon*, that shall be seen overcharg'd with Wine, shall suffer Death.

If any one is contumeliously piquant, beats any *Thesmotheta*, or blasts his reputation, a crown'd *Archon's*, or any other's, whom the City privileges with an Office, or confers any dignity upon, let him be *Atimor*.

The *Areopagite Senate*, when Vacancies fall, shall yearly be recruited out of the *Archons*.

The *Areopagites* shall have inspection into the Deportment, and Behaviour of the *Athenians*.

Let no *Areopagite* make a Comedy.

The

The Senate of *Areopagus* shall give an Account of their Management before the *Logistæ*.

Let a *Στρατιγός* have Children lawfully begotten, and enjoy an Estate within the Confines of *Attica*.

### The Oath of the Στρατιγός.

**I**'LL twice a Year make an Incursion into the *Megarenian Territories*.

I'll inform against such of the *Στρατιγοί*, as shall endamage the Fleet of their Allies.

No one shall be created *Syndic*, or *Asynomus* above once.

The *Questors* shall be chosen by Suffrages.

A *Questorship* must not be kept above five Years.

It's Death to go an Embassie without Commission from the Senate, or People.

No one shall be *Secretary* above once under the same Magistrate.

### Laws respecting Orators.

**N**O one under the Age of thirty Years shall speak an *Oration* in the Senate, or Popular Assembly.

### An Inspection into the Orators Lives.

**L**ET no one be a publick *Orator*, who hath struck his Parents, denied them maintenance, or shut them out of doors; who hath refus'd going into the Army in case of publick Necessity, or thrown away his Shield; who hath committed whoredom, or given way to effeminacy; who hath run out his Father's Estate, or any inheritance left him by a Friend; if, notwithstanding any of these heinous performances, any one shall dare to deliver a publick *Oration*, let those, who are Commission'd, bring him to the Test in open Court.

Let an *Orator* have Children lawfully begotten, and let him be master of an Estate within *Attica's* Borders.

If an *Orator*, either before the Senate, or People, hath not pertinent-ly and distinctly handled the thing propounded, or hath descanted twice on the same subject, hath been piquantly censorious, and hath abusively animadverted upon any one's behaviour, hath spoken incoherently to the *Proedri's* determination, or, hath encourag'd any one so to do, or if he hath abus'd the *Epistata* after the rising of the Assembly, or Senate; such an one's Insolence shall be punish'd by the *Proedri* with a

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mult of fifty *Drachms*, the *Hylarchus* shall have intelligence of his misdemeanours, and if his penalty shall seem too light for his Crimes, besides his Fine, let him be hal'd to the next convention of the *Senate*, or *Assembly*, where if condemn'd, the *Senate* passing private Votes, the *Procurator* shall exact a Fine from him to be paid to the *Hylarchus* for his *Procurator*, or breach of the Laws.

### Laws treating of Duties, and Offices.

THE *Archons* shall appoint in the Assembly by Lots a certain number of *Flute-players* to be at the *Agēs*, or publick Dancings.

No Stranger shall joyn in a Dance with a *Chorus*, if he do, the *Choragus* shall be Fin'd a thousand *Drachms*.

Let it be lawfull to inform against a Stranger to the *Archon* before his entrance into the Theater.

A stranger, if indicted by a *Xoragus* for dancing, shall be Fin'd fifty *Drachms*, and a thousand, if he persist after prohibition.

Those Dancers, who are disfranchis'd, are to be drove of the Stage.

Sixteen Men are to be chosen out of all the publick Companies, to contribute equally towards the building a Man of War, which service they are to engage in from twenty-five years of Age to forty.

The qualification for a *Trierarch* is, that he be worth ten *Talents*, according to which estimation he is to be chosen, but if his Estate is rated more, let him build Ships equivalent, yet at most but three, with a *Skiff*; they, who are not worth so much, shall be join'd together so many of them, till their Estates make up the sum.

The *Trierarch*, and *Overseers* of the Navy shall be commission'd to register their Names, who, being of the same *Supplies*, are indebted to the Common-wealth for Ship-rigging, for which they shall sue them.

He, that owes rigging, shall either give it, or be main-priz'd.

All *Trierarchs* elect shall betake themselves to the Ships, they are constituted over.

All *Trierarchs* are to render an account of their Administration.

There shall be yearly Appointments for the exchange of Offices, where he, that shall be design'd a *Actagoras*, shall be exempted from serving, if he can produce any vacant person richer than himself, and if the person produc'd confess that he is more wealthy than the other, he shall be put in the other's place among the *Three-hundred*, but if he denies it, let them change Estates.

His Lands and Tenements shall be inspected into, who shall offer himself in the Exchange.

They, who do quit their own Estates for those of their neighbours, shall be oblig'd by Oath to discover them in this Form.

I'll fairly and honestly make known the estimate of all my Possessions, except

except such, as consist in those silver Mines, that the Laws exact no Duties from.

Three days shall be allow'd for those, who are to make exchange of their Estates, to produce them.

No one shall be compell'd to exhibit his Estate, which lies in Mines.

### Laws about the Refusal of Offices.

NO Man, except the *Archons*, shall be excus'd from the *Trierarchship*.

No one shall be exempted from contributing to the Assessment for the levying of Souldiers.

### Laws concerning Honours to be conferr'd on those, who have deserv'd well of the Common-wealth.

NO Person shall make a custom of eating in the *Prytaneum*.

He, who shall be invited, and refuse to come, shall be Fin'd.

They, who are maintain'd in the *Prytaneum*, shall have *Maza*, and, on Festivals, bread.

All Crowns, if presented by the People, shall be given in the popular Assembly, if by the *Senators*, in the *Senate*, and in no other place shall any be presented.

None, except the whole body of the *Senate*, and popular Assembly, with particular *Tribes*, or *Boroughs*, shall be privileg'd to confer Crowns.

No *Tribes*, or *Borough* may presume on the Authority of bestowing Crowns in the Theater upon any of their own Members, if they do, the Crier that proclaims them shall be disfranchis'd.

No Stranger shall have a Crown given him in the Theater without the People's consent; when given, it shall be consecrated to *Minerva*.

Every Forreigner, who is honour'd with a Crown, shall bring Certificates of a regular and sober Life.

No one, tho' never so wealthy, except he be of the kindred of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, or an *Archon*, shall claim Immunity from serving in publick Offices; from this time hereafter the People shall gratifie no one without such an Exemption, but he, who supplicates for it, shall be disfranchis'd, together with all his House and Family, and shall be liable to the Actions of *Perjury*, and *Excess*, by which if convicted, he shall suffer the same Fate with those, who, tho' indebted to the Publick, officiate as Judges.

Honours conferr'd by the People shall stand good; but with this Proviso, that, if the Persons so dignified prove after examination to be unworthy of them, they shall be void.

## Laws referring to the Gymnasia.

**N**O School shall be open'd before Sun-rising, or kept open after Sun-set.

None, except the School-master's Sons, and Nephews, shall be permitted entrance into School, if beyond the customary age for sending Youth thither, but more especially if Lads frequent it at the same time; to the breach of this Law the penalty of Death is annex'd.

No School-master shall give any adult person leave to go to *Mercury's Festival*; if he transgress herein, and do not thrust him out of the School, the Matter shall suffer according to the Law enacted against the corruptors of Free-born Children.

Let all *Choragi* elected by the People be above forty years of Age.

No Slave shall presume to anoint, or perform exercises in the *Palaestra*.

## Laws relating to Physicians and Philosophers.

**N**O Slave, or Woman shall study, or practice *Physick*.

All Free-born Women have liberty to learn, and practise *Physick*.

Let no one teach *Philosophy*. This Law was made when the thirty Tyrants had the dominion of Athens.

No one is to keep a *Philosophy-School*, unless by the Senate and People's approbation; he, that doth otherwise, shall be put to Death.

## Laws concerning Judges.

**A**FTER a Magistrate's determination, Appeal may be made to the Courts of Justice.

They, who are degraded from the *Senate*, may sit as *Judges* in the Courts.

All the *Athenians* shall draw Lots for the distribution of every one into particular Courts.

The Judges Protestation I omit, as before treated of.

## Of Laws relating to Law-suits.

**L**ET the *Bayliff*, or Person that arrests be registred.

Whosoever doth not appear on the Day appointed for the Tryal of his Cause, shall suffer for his remittness by an Action call'd *Δίκη ἐρημική* and be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, but if a just excuse be brought for his staying

staying away, his punishment shall be redress'd by another Action call'd *Μίσθωσις*, or the annulling of the former Act.

## Laws respecting Preparatories to Judgments.

**T**HE *Archons* shall propose Questions to both Parties, to which they shall answer.

The Plaintiff shall promise upon Oath that he will prosecute the Action, if he has his Evidences and all things in order, but if not, he shall demand time for providing and preparing them.

The *Archons* shall summon the contending Parties to make their Appearance, and introduce them into the Court.

Let the *Judges* be elected by Lots.

No *Judge* shall give Sentence twice the same Day.

## A Form of the Oath taken by Judges after Election.

**I**F I shew Equity in all Causes, and my Judgment shall be agreeable to the Laws, in those things, which are determin'd by them; in the rest my Sentence shall, as near as may be, agree with Justice.

## Laws referring to Judgments.

**E**VERY *Judge* shall put down the Heads of those Suits, he is to determine, in his Table-book.

His Cause shall be overthrown, who runs away for fear.

Criminals have liberty of making their own defence.

No Slave shall plead in any Cause.

The Crier shall pronounce Verdict against the Partie, into whose Urn the greater number of Pebbles bord with holes are cast, and on his side, to whom the whole ones belong.

When on both sides there shall be an equal share of Votes, the Prisoner shall be acquitted.

Let there be a number of Urns, or Vote-boxes, equal to the number of those, who hold the Contest.

The *Judges* shall propose such and such Penalties, the Defendant also shall offer to their consideration such a punishment, as himself shall think reasonable; after which, the whole matter shall be committed to the *Judges* determination.

The Court shall not sit after Sun-set.

If any one hath brib'd the *Helicean Court*, or any other Court of Judicature among the *Athenians*, or hath call'd a *Senate*, or enter'd into conspiracy against the State, if any Lawyer hath been greas'd in the Fist to carry on any publick, or private Cause, he shall be liable

liable to be indicted before the *Thesmothete* by the Action call'd *Γραφή*.

All private bargains, that are struck up between parties before Witnesses, shall stand good in Law.

Don't make any Covenant, or bargain contrary to the Laws.

There shall be no after-wranglings rais'd concerning those things, which have been once decided.

Any Man shall be permitted to non-suit his Adversary, if the Action laid against him be not lawfully enter'd.

They who have receiv'd damages, may prosecute within five years.

There may be Actions enter'd about contracts made out of *Attica*, or Wares exported out of it to any other Place.

### Laws concerning Arbitrators.

PEOPLE, that have any Law-suits about private Matters, may choose any *Arbitrator*, but so, as to stand to his definitive Sentence, whatsoever it is.

Such *Arbitrators* are to swear before Verdict be given.

The *Arbitrators* are to wait for the Plaintiff's appearance till Sun-set, and then, in case he don't appear, shall inflict such a Penalty, as shall be convenient.

It's lawfull to make Appeal from *Arbitrators* chosen by Lots to other Courts of Justice.

### A Law about Oaths.

OATHS shall be attested by three Gods, *Ιεῖον*, or the *Supplican's President*, *Καθόριστος*, the *Purifier*, *Εξαρσῆς*, the *Dispeller of Dangers*, or *Evils*.

### Laws treating of Witnesses.

THEIR Evidence shall not be taken, who are *Ἀπύτοι*.

No *Slaves* shall appear as *Evidences*.

No one shall be *Evidence* for himself, either in Judicial Actions, or in rendring up Accounts.

Both Plaintiff and Defendant are oblig'd to answer each other's Questions, but their Answers shall not pass for Evidence.

There shall be no constraint for Friends and Acquaintance, if contrary to their Wills, to bear Witness one against another.

Let the Penalty of the Action call'd *ῥευσσαστεία* be in force against those, who bear, or suborn false Witnesses.

Evidence shall be declar'd in writing.

Witnesses, being once sworn, shall by no means draw back from what they are to attest.

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Eye-witnesses shall write down what they know, and read it.

His Evidence shall suffice, that can give his *ἄκοη*, or what he heard from a Person deceas'd; or *ἐκμαρτυρία*, or an attestation receiv'd from one gone to Travel, supposing the Traveller hath no possibility of returning.

That *Witness*, who declines his Evidence, shall be Fin'd a *Drachm*.

One cited for a *Witness* shall either give in his Evidence, swear he knows nothing of it, or incur a mulct of a thousand *Drachms* to be paid to the publick Exchequer.

Let contesting Parties, if they will, make use of the *Ἀφμαρτυρία*.

False *Witnesses* shall be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Δίκη ἑυδομαρτυριῶν*, He that suborn'd them with *Δίκη κακοτεχνιῶν*.

### Laws touching Judgments already past.

THERE shall be no renewing of any thing dispatcht by *Judges* either in the publick, or more private Courts, or by the People, according to the Enactions of their Decrees; there shall be likewise no suffraging and impeaching any one contrary to the prescription of the Laws.

All *Judgments*, or *Verdicts* whatsoever deliver'd by the *Judges* in the popular State, shall stand good, but all Acts and Decrees, that are made under the *Thirty Tyrants*, shall be void.

### Laws concerning Punishments.

THE Judges are not to proceed so strictly to the rigour of their Sentence, as that Corporal, and Pecuniary *Punishments* shall be inflicted at one and the same time.

They, who run into errors unwittingly, shall not be call'd in Question, but some adhortatory Lessons of their Duty are to be privately inculcated.

The most sufficient and wealthiest of the *Athenians* shall be exil'd by *ostracism* for ten Years, lest they should rise up and rebell.

No one is to harbour an *Exile*, he, that doth, is to participate of the same Fate with him.

Let both *Delinquent*, and *Abettor* receive *punishments* alike.

He, that professeth himself guilty before arraignment, shall be condemn'd.

Debtors, who have been found to owe money, shall be oblig'd to pay from the very day the debt was due, whether they are registred in the Debt-book, or no; and he that doth not make payment within the ninth *Prjanie*, shall be oblig'd to pay double.

No one indebted to the City shall enter on any Office.

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That Debtor, who hath been convicted of making an Oration to the People, shall be put into the Court of the *Eleven*.

Debtors, till they have clear'd off all, shall be disfranchis'd; but if they die, not having fully discharg'd the Debts, their Heirs shall be disfranchis'd, till they make satisfaction.

After payment is made, the Debtor's Name shall be eras'd out of the Debt-book.

The Thirds of the Debtor's Goods, which are forfeited to the Exchequer, shall fall to any private Person, that informs against him.

Let those, who are Debtors to the Publick, and have not their Names enroll'd, be sued by the Action call'd *Ενδεξις*.

They, who have been unjustly registred as Debtors, shall be struck out, and their Names, who registred them, be put in their place.

If any Debtor shall be blotted out of the *Albe*, or Register, before he hath discharg'd his Debt, let the Action call'd *Αγασπις* be brought against him in the Court of the *Thesmoethetæ*.

Whosoever hath been branded with Infamy before Solon's Archonship, shall be reprivileg'd, except those, whom the *Arcopagites*, *Ephetæ*, or *Prytanes* have banisht, by the appeal of the *Βασιλευς*, for Murther, Burglary, or Treason, when this Law was promulg'd.

No intercession shall be made for any disfranchis'd Person, nor for any one indebted to the publick Exchequer, or the Gods, towards the investing the former with his Privileges, and erasing the latter's Name out of the Debt-book, unless the *Athenian* People by six-thousand private Votes permit it. If any one puts up an address to the Senate, or People for them, whom the Judges, Senate, or People have already cast, or the Debtor supplicate for himself before payment be made; let the Writ call'd *Ενδεξις* be issued out against him after the same manner, as against those, who, tho' indebted, presume to act as Judges; if any other body, before restitution of the Debt be made, intercede for the Debtor, let all his Goods be expos'd to Sale, and if a *Proedrus* give a Debtor, or any Person on his account leave to propose the petition to be voted before Accounts are made up, he shall be *Ατιμος*.

### Laws referring to Receivers of publick Revenues, the Exchequer, and Money for Shows.

THE Senate of Five-hundred shall put such, as farm the publick Revenues, and are negligent to pay their Rent, in the *Stocks*.

If the above mention'd Officers don't bring in their Rents before the ninth *Prytanie*, they shall pay double.

They, who are entrusted with Money for the carrying on of Religious Affairs, shall render it up in the Senate; which if they neglect, they shall be proceeded against according to the Laws enacted for Publick Revenues.

They, who employ the publick Stock a whole Year for their own use,

use, shall be oblig'd to restore double, and they, who continue thus squandering another Year, shall be clapt into Gaol until payment be made.

A thousand Talents are yearly to be laid by for the defending of *Attica* against foreign Invasions, which Money if any Person propose to lay out on any other design, he shall suffer Death.

At the eruption of a suddain War, Souldiers shall be paid out of the remainder of the Money design'd for Civil uses.

If any one proposes that the Souldiers pay should be taken out of the Money design'd for the exhibition of Shows, he shall be put to Death.

### Laws about Limits, and Land-marks.

IF there be a publick Well within the space of an *Hippicum*, any one may make use of that; but otherwise, every Person shall dig one of his own.

If any one digs a Well near another Man's ground, he must leave the space of an *Οργυζ* betwixt it, and his neighbour's enclosure.

He, that digs a Well ten *Οργυαι* deep, and finds no spring, may draw twice a day out of his neighbour's six Vessels of Water, call'd *Χβις*.

Let him, who digs a Ditch, or makes a Trench nigh another's Land, leave so much distance from his neighbour, as the Ditch, or Trench is deep.

If any one makes an Hedge near his neighbour's ground, let him not pass his neighbour's Land-mark; if he builds a Wall, he is to leave one foot betwixt him and his neighbour; if an House, two.

He, that builds an Houle in a Field, shall place it a Bow-shoot from his neighbour.

He, who keeps an Hive of Bees, must place them three-hundred Feet from his neighbour's.

Olive, and Fig-trees must be planted nine Feet from another's ground, but other Trees, five.

If any one plucks up the sacred Olive-trees at *Athens*, besides the two yearly allow'd to be us'd at the publick Festivals, or Funerals, he shall pay an hundred *Drachms* for every one unlawfully pull'd up, the tenth part of which Fine shall be due to *Minerva*. The same Offender shall also pay an hundred to any private Person who shall prosecute him; the Action shall be brought before the *Archons*, where the prosecutor shall deposite *Πενηντα*. The Fine laid on the convicted Criminal the *Archons*, before whom the Action is brought, shall give an Account of to the *Πεδαιρετες*, and of that part, which is to be repositied in *Minerva's* Treasury, to her *Questors*, which if they don't, themselves shall be liable to pay it.

## Laws respecting Lands, Herds, and Flocks.

**M**EN shall not be permitted to purchase as much *Land*, as they desire.

All wild Extravagants, and Spend-thrifts, who lavishly run out the Estates left them by their Fathers, or others, shall be *ΑΤΙΛΑΙ*.

Any one, who brings an *He-Wolf*, shall have five *Drachms*, and for a *She-Wolf*, one.

No one shall kill an Ox which labours at the Plough, neither shall any one kill a Lamb of a Year old.

Hurt not living Creatures.

## Laws relating to Buying and Selling.

**I**F any Person sues for the title of Land, he shall prosecute the Possessor, with the Action call'd *Δίκη κρητε*, if of an House, with a *Δίκη ινοικίς*.

There shall be no cheating among the Market-folks.

That *Fish-monger* shall incur imprisonment, who shall over-rate his *Fish*, and take less than he first proffer'd them for.

*Fish-mongers* shall not lay their stinking *Fish* in water, thereby to make it more vendible.

## Laws appertaining to Usury, and Money.

**A** Banker shall demand no more Interest-money, than what he agree'd for at first.

Let *Ufurers* Interest-money be moderate.

No body, who hath put in surety for any thing, may sue for it, He, or his Heirs.

*Pledges*, and *Sureties* shall stand but for one Year.

No one to clear his debt shall make himself a *Slave*.

He, who sets an appointed time for the sealing of Contracts, or making good of Promises, and sneaks away when the time is out, shall have his House rifled.

The Fine ensuing the Action call'd *Εξέλι*, shall go to the Publick.

An hundred *Drachms* shall go to a *μυαί*.

All *Counterfeiters*, *Debasers*, and *Diminishers* of the currant *Coy*n shall lose their Lives.

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Let no *Athenian*, or *Sojourner* lend money to be exported, unless for *Corn*, or some such commodity allowable by Law.

He, who lends out Money for other uses, shall be brought before the Masters of the *Custom-House*, and prosecuted by an Action call'd *Φάσις*, after the manner of them who are caught transporting *Corn* unlawfully; let such an one have no Writ or Warrant permitted him against the Person to whom he lent Money, neither shall the *Archons* let him enter any Tryal in the Judicial Courts.

## Laws about Wares to be imported to, or exported from Athens.

**A**LL *Olives* are exportable, but other things are not; so that the *Archon* shall openly curse the Persons that export them, or else be amerced an Hundred *Drachms*.

*Figs* are restrain'd by Law from exportation.

If any *Athenian* Factor, or Merchant convey *Corn* any where else than to *Athens*, the Action call'd *Φάσις* is to be brought against him, and the Informer shall claim half the Loading design'd for illegal exportation.

He, who impleads a Merchant on sleight grounds, shall have both the Actions of *Ενδίκης*, and *Απαγωγής*, brought against him.

He shall be Fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, and wholly debarr'd from issuing out the Actions of *Γεραφ*, *Φάσις*, *Απαγωγής*, and *Εφ'ηρησις*, who shall desist from the prosecution of any Man accus'd by him, or doth not acquire the fifth part of the Suffrages.

Let no Inhabitant of *Athens* buy more *Corn* than fifty *Phormi* will contain.

No one shall export *Wood*, or *Pitch*.

All Controversies and compacts made by Bonds between Mariners, either sayling for *Athens*, or bound elsewhere, shall be brought under the Cognizance of the *Thesmothes*; if any Mariners, in any of the Marts, bound to *Athens*, or for any other Place, are found guilty of injustice, they shall be clapt into Custody till the Fine, which shall be impos'd on them, is paid; any of them may non-suit his Adversary, if he be illegally prosecuted.

No *Water-men*, and *Masters* of Ships shall carry Passengers any where else, than they agree'd at first.

## Laws respecting Arts.

**A**NY one may accuse another of Idleness.  
No Man shall have two Trades.

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No Man shall sell Perfumes.

Forreigners shall not be privileg'd to sell *Wares* in the Market, or profess any Calling,

Any one may bring an Action of Slander against him, who disparages, or ridicules any Man, or Woman for being of a Trade.

He, who by his Profession gets best repute, and is reckon'd the most ingenious in his way, shall have his Dyet in the *Prytaneum*, and be honour'd with the highest Seat.

That *Ferry-man* shall be prohibited the exercise of his employ, who overturns his Boat, tho' unwillingly, in waisting over to *Salamis*.

### Laws concerning Societies, with their Agreements.

**I**F *Fellow-Burgesses*, those of the same *Φατρία*, those who are occupied in the same Sacerdotal Function, viz. the *Ορχῶνες*, *Θιατοί*, or they who diet together, have equal claim to the same Burying-place, travel together for the buying of Corn and other Traffick, if any of these Persons make any *Bargains* not inconsistent with the Law, they shall stand good.

If any one recedes from a promise made to the *Commons*, *Senate*, or *Judges*, he shall be proceeded against with the Action call'd *Εισαγγελία*, and, if found guilty, be punish'd with Death.

He, that doth not stand to an engagement made publickly, shall be disfranchiz'd.

He, His Heirs, and all who belong to him shall be *Απίστοι*, who hath receiv'd bribes himself, tamper'd others with them, or us'd any insinuating Artifice to the prejudice of the State.

He, who being in a publick Office receives bribes, shall either loose his Life, or make retribution of the bribes ten-fold.

### Laws belonging to Marriages.

**N**O Man shall have above one Wife.

No *Athenian* is to marry any other than a Citizen.

If an *Heiress* is contracted lawfully in full Marriage by a Father, Brother by Father's side, or Grand-fire, it's lawful to procreate with her Free-born Children; but if she be not betroth'd, these Relations being dead, and she consequently an Orphan, let her have a *Guardian* to joyn her in Wedlock to the next of kin; but supposing she is no *Heiress*, and but low in the world, let her choose what *Guardian* she please, and he shall be oblig'd to the performance of his Trust.

If any one marry a Stranger, as his Kins-woman, to an *Athenian* Citizen, he shall be *Ατίμητος*, his Goods publish'd to Sale, the Thirds of

of which shall fall to the Impeacher, who shall make him appear before the *Thesmothetae*, after the manner of those, who are prosecuted with the Action of *Ενεία*.

A Stranger, that settles with a Citizen-Woman, may be sued by any one empower'd thereto, in the Court of the *Thesmothetae*, where if the Law goes against him, he shall be sold, and the third part of what he is sold for, and of his Estate be given to the accuser; in the same manner Foreign-women shall be dealt with, who marry Free'd-men, and beside that, the Man shall forfeit a thousand *Drachms*.

No *Athenian* Woman shall marry her self into an exotick Family.

Any one may make a Sister by Father's side his Wife.

No Heiress must marry out of her Kindred, but shall resign up her self, and Fortune to her nearest Relation.

Every Month, except in that call'd *Συγγενοποιεῖν*, the *Judges* shall meet to inspect into those who are design'd for Heiresses Husbands, and shall put them by as incapacitated, who cannot give sufficient credentials of their alliance by Blood.

If any one sues another by a claim to the Heiress, he must depose *παρεκαταβολή*, or the tenth part of her Portion, and he, who enjoys her, shall lay his Case open to the *Archon*, but in case he makes no Appeal, his right of inheritance shall be cut off; if the Heiress's Husband, against whom the Action is brought, be dead, the other, within such a time as the nature of the Thing doth require, shall make an Appeal to the *Archon*, whose business it is to take Cognizance of the Action.

If a Father bury all his Sons, he may entail his Estate on his married Daughters.

If an Heiress cannot conceive Children by her Husband, she may seek aid amongst the nearest of her Husband's Relations.

All Men are oblig'd to lie with their Wives, if Heiresses, three nights, at least, in a Month.

He, that ravishes a Virgin shall be oblig'd to marry her.

A Guardian shall not marry the Mother of those Orphans, with whose Estate he is entrusted.

Slaves are allow'd the Familiarity of Women.

When a New-married Woman is brought to her Husband's House, she must carry with her a *Φεγγατεον* in token of good House-wifery.

Let a Bride, at the first bedding with her Bridegroom, eat a Quince.



## Laws touching Dowries.

**A** Bride shall not carry with her to her Husband above three Garments, and Vessels of small value.

They, who are the next in Blood to an Orphan-Virgin that hath no Fortune, shall marry her themselves, or settle a Portion on her according as they are in Quality, if of the Πεντακοσιμέδωνοι, five-hundred Drachms; if of the Τριακοσι, three-hundred; if of the Ζυγί, one hundred and fifty: but if she hath many Kindred equally alli'd, all of them severally shall put in a contribution, till they make up the respective sum; if there be many Orphan-virgins, their nearest Relation shall either give in Marriage, or take one of them to Wife, but if he doth neither, the Archon shall compell him; but if the Archon does connive at the neglect, he himself shall be Fin'd a thousand Drachms, to be consecrated to Juno. Whoever breaks this Law may be indicted by any Person before the Archon.

That Woman, who brings her Husband a Fortune, and lives in the same House with her Children, may keep their Estates in her own hand without paying Interest-money.

An Heiress's Son, when come to man's Estate, shall enjoy his Mother's Fortune, and keep Her.

He, that promises to settle an Estate on a Woman, shall not be forc'd to stand to it, if she dies without Heirs.

## Laws referring to Divorces.

**H**E, who divorceth his Wife, must make restitution of her Portion, or pay in lieu of it nine Oboli every Month, her Guardian otherwise may prosecute him in the Odeum with the Action call'd *οὐρε δίκη* for her maintenance.

If a Woman forsake her Husband, or He put away his Wife, He, who gave her in Marriage, shall exact the Dowrie given with her, and no more.

That Woman, who hath a mind to leave her Husband, must give in a separation-bill to the Archon with her own hand, and not by a Proxy.

## Laws belonging to Adulteries.

**H**E, that deflowrs a Free-woman by force, shall be Fin'd an hundred Drachms.

He, who in the same manner violates a young Maiden's Chastity, shall be Fin'd a thousand Drachms.

He,

He, that catches an Adulterer in the Fact, may impose any Arbitrary punishment.

If any one is injuriously clapt up on suspicion of Adultery, He shall make his complaint by Appeal to the *Thesmothetæ*, which if they find justifiable, He shall be acquitted, and his Sureties discharg'd from their Bail; but in case he be brought in Guilty, the Judges shall lay on him, death only excepted, what punishments they will, and he be forc'd to get Friends to pass their word for his future Chastity.

If any one commit a Rape, he shall be awerc'd twice as much as is usual otherwise.

No Husband shall have to do with his Wife any more after she hath defil'd his Bed, and her Gallant convicted; and, if he does not put her away, he shall be esteem'd *Απύθ*; hereupon she is prohibited coming to publick Temples, where if she does but enter, she is liable to any Penalty, except Death.

No Adulteress shall be permitted to adorn her self, she, that doth, shall have her Garments cut or torn off her back by any that meets her, and likewise be beaten, tho' not so as to be kill'd, or disabled.

No Woman of innocent conversation shall appear abroad in an immodest or affected Garb, she, that doth, shall forfeit a thousand Drachms.

Women are forbid to travel with above three Gowns, or more meat and drink than they can purchase for an *Obolus*, neither shall they carry with them above an Hand-basket, or go out any where by night but in a Chariot, with a Lamp or Torch carry'd before it.

## Laws relating to the Love of Boys; Procurers, and Strumpets.

**N**O Slave shall Carefs, or be Enamour'd with a Free-born Youth, he who is, shall receive publicly fifty stripes.

If any one, whether Father, Brother, Uncle, or Guardian, or any other who hath Jurisdiction over a Boy, take hire for him to be effeminately embrac'd; the catamited Boy shall have no Action issued out against him, but the Chap-man, and Pander only, who are both to be punish'd after the same manner; the Child, when grown up to maturity of Age, shall not be oblig'd to keep his Father so offending, only, when dead, He shall bury him with decency suitable to a Parent's Oblequies.

If any one prostitute a Boy, or Woman, He shall be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Γράβη*, and, if convicted, punish'd with Death.

Any Athenian impower'd so to do, may bring an Action against him who hath vitiated a Boy, Woman, or Man Free-born, or in Service, for the determination of which the *Thesmothetæ* are to create Judges to sit in the *Helieæ*, within thirty days after the complaint hath been brought before them, or, suppose any publick concern hinders, as soon as occasion will permit; if the Offender is cast, He shall immediately under-

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go the punishment, whether Corporal, or Pecuniary, annex to his Offence; if he be sentenc'd to die let him be deliver'd to the *Ενδξα*, and suffer Death the same Day; if the vitiated Servant, or Woman belong to the Prosecutor, and he lets the Action fall, or doth not get the fifth part of the Suffrages, He shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*; if the Criminal be only fin'd, let him pay within eleven Days, at the farthest, after Sentence is past; if it be a Free-born Person he hath vitiated, let him be kept in bonds till payment thereof.

He, that hath prostituted himself for a *Catamite*, shall not be elected an *Archon*, Priest, or *Syndic*, shall execute no Office, either within, or out of *Attica's* boundaries, conferr'd by Lot, or Suffrage; he shall not be sent on an Embassy, pass Verdict, set footing within the publick Temples, be crown'd on solemnary Days, or enter the *Forum's* purined Precincts; if any one convicted of the above-mention'd lasciviousness be caught offending in any one of these points, he shall suffer Death.

Persons, who keep company with common *Strumpets*, shall not be accounted *Adulterers*, for such shall be in common for the satiating of Lust.

Whores shall wear, as a Badge of distinction, flower'd Garments.

### Laws appointed for the drawing up of Wills, and right Constitution of Heirs and Successors.

THE Right of *Inheritance* shall remain in the same Family.

Boys, or Women are to receive for their *Inheritance* no more than a *Medimn* of Barley.

All *Genuine* Citizens, whose Estates were impair'd by litigious Suits when *Solon* entred the *Prætor-ship*, shall have permission of leaving their Estates to whom they will, admit they have no Male-children alive, or themselves be not craz'd thro' the infirmities of old Age, the misery of a distemper, or the enchantments of Witchcraft, or if they be not hen-peckt, or forc'd to it by some unavoidable necessity.

The *Wills* of such as having Children, yet dispose of their Estates, shall stand good, if the Children die before they arrive to Maturity.

Any one, tho' he hath Daughters alive, may give his Estate to another body, on this proviso, that the Person enjoying it shall marry a Daughter.

Adopted Persons shall make no *Will*, but as soon as they have Children lawfully begotten, let them return into the Family, whence they were adopted; or if they continue in it to their Death, then they shall return back the Estates to the Relations of the Person that adopted.

All legitimate Sons shall have an equal claim to their Father's *Inheritance*.

He,

He, that, after he hath adopted a Son, begets legitimate Children, shall share his *Estate* among the legitimate, and adopted.

The *Estate* of him, that dies intestate, and leaves Daughters, shall come to those, who marry them; but if there are no Daughters, these shall enjoy it, viz. His Brothers by the Father's side and their Sons; if he hath neither Brothers nor Nephews, then Males descended from them, tho' very far distant in Kindred; but if none of the Grand-children remain down to the second Cousins by the Man's side, the Wife's Relations shall put in for the *Inheritance*; admit there are none living of either side, they, who have the nearest pretence to Kindred, shall enjoy it; as for Bastards, from *Euclides's* *Archon-ship*, they shall pretend no right to Kindred; if there is a lawfully begotten Daughter, and an illegitimate Son, the Daughter shall have preference in Right to the *Estate*, both in respect of Divine and Civil Affairs.

No Bastard shall have left him above five *μναι*.

All the Year round, except in the Month *Συγχροσίων*, *Legacies* shall be examin'd by Law, so that no one shall enjoy any, unless lawfully devolv'd on him.

He, that issues a Writ against one settled in an *Inheritance* shall bring him before the *Archon*, and depolite *Παρακαταβολή*, as is usual in other Actions, for unless he prosecutes the Enjoyer he shall have no Title to the *Estate*; and if the immediate Successor, against whom the Action is brought, be dead, the other, within such a time as the nature of the Action doth require, shall make an Appeal to the *Archon*, whose business 'tis to take Cognizance of this Action, as also it was of the former Action of the Man in possession of the *Estate*.

Five Years being expir'd after the Death of the immediate Successor, the *Estate* is to remain secure to the deceas'd Person's Heirs, without being liable to Law-suits.

### Laws appertaining to Guardianship.

NO one can be another's *Guardian*, who is to enjoy the Estate after his Death.

*Guardians* shall let out their *Pupils* Houses.

The *Archon* shall be oblig'd to take care of *Orphans*, *Heirettes*, decay'd *Families*, Women, that remain in the Houses of their deceas'd Husbands, pretending to be with Child; and to protect them from Violence and Abuses; if any one is injurious or contumelious, the *Archon* shall fine him as far as the limits of his Power extend; if the Offender herein transgress beyond his commission of punishing, the *Archon*, having first impos'd him as he thinks fit, shall compell him at five days warning to make appearance at the Court of *Helies*, where if he be convicted, that Court shall impose on him arbitrarily either pecuniary, or corporal Penalty.

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No Pupil after five Years space, shall sue a *Guardian* for the mis-management of his Trust.

### Laws about Sepulchres, and Funerals.

LET the dead be interr'd.

No Tomb is to consist of more work, than ten Men can finish in three days, neither is it to be crested arch-wise, or adorn'd with Statues.

No Grave is to have over it, or by it, Pillars above three cubits high, it's Table, and *Labellum* or (or little Vessel to contain *Viſtials* for the Ghost's maintenance) are to be of the same height.

He, that defaceth a *Sepulchre*, or laies one of a different Family in that of another, breaks it, eraseth the Inscription, or beats down the Pillar, shall suffer condign Punishment.

No one shall come near another's Grave, unless at the Celebration of *Obsequies*.

The Corps shall be laid out at the Relations pleasure, the next day following before Day-light shall be the *Funeral* Proceſſion; the Men shall proceed first, the Women after them; it's unlawful hereby for any Woman, if under three-score and no Relation, to go where the mournful Solemnity is kept, or after the *Burial* is solemniz'd.

Too great a concourse of People is prohibited at *Funerals*.

Let not the Corps be buried with above three Garments.

Let not Women tear their Faces, or make Lamentations, or Dirges at *Funerals*.

At every one's Death there shall be paid to the Priestess of *Minerva*, who is plac'd in the Cittadel; a *Chanix* of Barley, the like of Wheat, and an *Obolus*.

No Ox shall be offer'd to atone for, or appease the Ghost of the deceased.

Children and Heirs shall perform the accustom'd Rites of *Parentation*, Slaves, when Dead, shall not be embalm'd, or honour'd with a *Funeral* Banquet.

Let there be no *Panegyrics*, unless at *Funerals* publickly Solemniz'd, and then not spoken by Kindred, but one appointed by the Publick for that purpose.

They, who fall in the Field, are to have their *Obsequies* celebrated at the publick Charge.

Let the Father have the privilege of giving that Son a *Funeral* *Encomium*, who dy'd valiantly in the Fight.

He shall have an annual *Harangue* spoken in his Honour on the day he fell, who receiyes his Death with undaunted Prowess in the Battel's Front.

Let him, who accidentally lights on an unburied Carcase, cast earth upon it, and let all Bodies be buried West-ward.

Don't speak evil of the Dead, no not, tho' their Children provoke you.

Laws

### Laws against Ruffians, and Assassins.

THE *Areopagite* Senate shall sit in Judgment over Cases of wilfull Murder, of Wounds given wilfully, Setting Houses on Fire, or killing by Poyson.

The *Assassin's* Council shall not make any preliminary Apology, use any motives for the gaining of Compassion, or speak any thing forreign to the Cause.

The *Theſmothetæ* shall condemn Murderers, who fly after the Fact.

The *Assassin* shall suffer Death in the Murdered Person's Country; and, being hal'd away to the *Theſmothetæ* according to the appointment of the Law, he shall be liable to no other violence or ill usage, besides what his Capital punishment includes; no body shall take Money for his Pardon; he that doth, shall pay double the Money he receiv'd of the Criminal, his Name likewise by any body shall be carried in to the *Archons*, but the *Heliastick* Court alone shall pass Judgment upon him.

If any one kills, or assists in killing a Murderer that abstains from the Forum, Consecrated places, publick Sports, and the *Amphictyonick* Festivals, he shall undergo the severity of the Law as much as if he had kill'd a Citizen of Athens. The *Ephetæ* are to take Cognizance of this Matter.

One accus'd of Murder shall have nothing to do with City-Privileges.

He, that puts him in trouble, who was forc'd to make flight out of Attica for *Chance-medley*, shall undergo the same penalty with him, who doth the like to one within Athens.

He, who commits *Chance-medley*, shall fly his Country for a Year, till satisfaction be made to the dead Person's Kindred; then he shall return, sacrifice, and be purified.

He, shall not have an Action of *Murther* brought against him, who binds him over to his appearance before the Magistrate, that return'd from banishment before his limited time is completed.

If any one hath unadvisedly given his Antagonist in the Exercises his Death, or kill'd by chance a Man lying in Ambuscade, or being in the brunt of an engagement in War, or one debauching his Wife, Mother, Sister, Daughter, Miss, or the Nurse of his legitimate Children, let not such an one be banisht.

It shall be lawful to kill that Person, who shall make an assault on the Innocent.

If any one, being banisht for *Chance-medley*, shall have an Indictment of wilful Murder laid to his charge, before he hath made up the difference with those who banisht him, He shall make his defence before the Court *ἐν Φεαρτοῖς*, in a little Vessel, which shall not be permitted to come to shore, but his Judges shall give Sentence on the

X 3

Land;

Land; if he is cast, he shall answer Justice for wilful *Murder*; but if absolv'd, shall only undergo the former Sentence of banishment for *Chance-medley*.

If any *Archon*, or Man in a private capacity is instrumental in the depravation, or repeal of these Statutes, let him, and his Children be *Απαισι*, and his Goods be sold.

It shall be lawful to hale a *Murderer*, if found in any religious Places, or the *Forum*, to Gaol, and if he prove guilty, to put him to Death; but if the committer of him to Gaol do not procure the fifth part of the Votes, he shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*.

If any one comes to an untimely End, his nearest Relations may bring the Action of *Ανδροληψία* against those People they suspect, either to be Abettors of the *Murder*, or Protectors of the *Felon*, and till such time as these either make satisfaction, or surrender the *Delinquent*, the *Murdered* Man's Relations are privileg'd to seize three Men of their Body.

The Right of the prosecution of *Murderers* belongs to the Kindred of the *Murdered*, Kins-folks Children, their Sons in Law, Fathers in Law, Sisters Children, and those of the same *Φεατεία*; the *Murderers* have liberty granted of imploring the Father of the *Murder'd* to be mild and favourable; but if he is not alive, then his Brother, or Sons all together shall be intreated, for without the joynt consent of them all, nothing shall prevail; if these fore-mention'd Persons are all dead, and the Death of the Person came by *Chance-medley*, according to the determination of the fifty *Ephete*, ten of the same *Φεατεία* may, if they think fit, convene, and delegate one and fifty out of the Nobility to the *Ephete* \*\* All they, who were *Murderers* before the making of this Law, shall be subject to it's obligation. If any one hath been *Murder'd* in any of the *Burroughs*, and no body removes him, the *Demarchus* shall give orders to his Friends to take him away, bury him, and perform the Duty of *Lustration* towards the *Burrough* that very day on which he was kill'd; when a Slave is *Murdered*, He shall inform the Master; when a Free-man, the succeeding Heirs; but if the Person *Murder'd*, was not a money'd Man, or had no Possessions, the *Demarchus* shall acquaint the Relations, and supposing they give no heed, and neglect to take him away, the *Demarchus* himself shall see him taken away, and bury'd, and take care the *Burrough* be *lustrated*, but all this with as little charges as may be, which if He neglect, He shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, to be paid to the publick Exchequer. He shall take of the *Murder'd* Person's Debtor double the money he expended for the Funeral, which if he neglect, he shall pay it himself to those of his Tribe.

He, who is *Felo de se*, shall have the Hand cut off, that did the *Murder*, which shall be buried in a place separate from the Body.

No *Murderer* shall be permitted to be within the City.

Inanimate Things, which have been instrumental to People's Deaths, shall be cast out of *Attica*.

He,

He, who strikes the first blow in a Quarrel, shall have the Peace sworn against him.

He, who hath maliciously hurt another's body, head, face, hands, or feet, shall be proscrib'd the City of that Man to whom he offer'd the detriment; if he returns, he shall suffer Death, and his Goods be sold by Auction.

### A Law relating to Accusations.

ANY one is permitted to *Inform* against another, that hath done an Injury to a third Person.

### Laws concerning Dammages.

HE, who out of design infers *Damage*, shall suffer twice as much as an unwilling Offender.

His Eyes shall be both pluckt out, who hath *blinded* any one-ey'd Person.

That Dog shall be ty'd up with a Chain four cubits long, which hath bit any body.

### Laws belonging to Theft.

HE, who *Steals*, shall pay double the Value of the thing he stole to the Owner, and as much to the publick Exchequer.

If any body hath had any thing *stolen* from him, and has it restor'd, the Thief with the Abettor shall pay double the value; but in case the Thief doth not make restitution, ten-fold, and be set in the Stocks five days, and as many nights, if the *Heliasts* so order it; this Order shall then be made, when they consider what punishment to inflict upon him.

If any one hath *filcht* away any thing by day worth above fifty *Drachms*, let the Action call'd *Απαγωγή* be put in execution against him before the *Eleven*; but if in the night, any one hath liberty to kill him, or, upon his making away, to wound him, and to issue the same Action out against him; by which if he be cast, he shall die without any concession for Sureties to put in Bail for the restitution of the *stolen Goods*. He, further, that shall *pillfer* out of the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, *Cynosarges*, or any of the *Gymnasia* any thing of the least value, as a Garment, *Oyl-vial*, &c. or above ten *Drachms*, out of the *Baths*, or *Ports*, shall suffer Death.

He,

He, that puts a Man in Prison for *Thevery*, and cannot prove it upon him, shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*.

All *Cu-purses*, *Burglars*, and *Kid-nappers*, if convicted, shall suffer Death.

He, who makes search for *Theeves* in another's House, must have only a thin Garment hanging loose about him.

He, that takes away that which is not his own, shall be liable to die for it.

It's a Capital Crime to break into a Man's Orchard, and steal his Figs.

It's punishable to rob a Dung-hill.

### Laws restraining Reproaches.

NO one shall calumniate, or defame any Person while alive, in the Temples, Judicial Courts, Treasuries, or Places where Games are celebrated, the Delinquent herein, shall pay three *Drachms* to the injur'd Man, and two to the publick Treasury.

He shall be fin'd, who slanders any Man.

He shall incur a mulct of five-hundred *Drachms*, who twists any one with committing some heinous Offence against the Laws.

No one shall call another *Cu-throat*, or *Murderer*.

He, that upbraids another for casting away his Buckler, shall be fin'd.

### Laws about the management of Affairs.

THEY, who have been negligent in carrying on any *Business*, shall answer for that neglect.

No Woman shall have any farther to do in *Affairs*, than a *Medimn* of Barley will satisfy for Performance.

### Laws referring to Entertainments.

NO Entertainment is to consist of above thirty *Guests*.

All *Cooks* hir'd to dress up Dishes for Entertainments, are to carry in their Names to the *Gynæconomi*.

None but mixt Wines shall be drunk at *Banquets*.

Let pure and unmix'd Wines be reserv'd till afterwards, for a relishing Taste to the honour of the good *Genius*.

The *Areopagites* shall take Cognizance of all *Drunkards*.

### A Law relating to Accusations concerning Mines.

IF any one hath prohibited another from working in the *Mines*, or hath carry'd Fire into them, carry'd away another's Utensils, or Tools, or if he hath dug beyond his Limits, such an one may be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Δίκη μεταλλική*.

### A Law appertaining to the Action *Εισαγγελία*.

*Timocrates* hath enacted, that whatsoever *Athenian* is cast by the Action *Εισαγγελία* before the *Senate*, and shall be secur'd by imprisonment before, or after the Indictment, his Name not being inserted according to Law by the Scribe of that *Prytanie* in the Accusation-note, and carry'd up to the *Thesmothetæ*, the *Thesmothetæ* within thirty days after the receipt of the Bill, unless some great emergency of State intervene, shall appoint the *Eleven* to sit in Judgment over it, before whom any *Athenian* may accuse him; if he be convicted, the *Helina* shall inflict upon him Punishment, either corporal, or pecuniary; if the latter, he shall be clapt into Gaol till he pay it.

### Military Laws.

THE time for *Military Service* shall be from eighteen Years to forty; till twenty, Men shall remain within *Attica* to be ready in Arms, after that they shall serve in the Army without *Attica*.

He shall be *Απμ*, who offers to serve in the *Horse*, before he has undergone the accustom'd Probation.

The *Chivalry* shall be detach'd out of the most Puissant and wealthy *Athenians*.

*Souldiers* shall not observe the punctilios of Spruceness and Foppery, in their Hair, &c.

None shall pawn their Arms.

He shall suffer Death, who hath betray'd a *Garrison*, *Ship*, or *Army*.

All *Revolvers* to the *Enemy* shall undergo the same Penalty.

There shall be no *Marching* before the seventh of the Month.

The Ceremony for proclaiming of *War* shall be by putting a Lamb into the *Enemies* Territories.

The *Polemarch* shall lead up the right wing of the *Army*.

All publick *Revenue-keepers*, and Dancers at the *Διονυσια*, shall be exempted from serving in the *Army*.

## Of Military Punishments and Rewards.

**THEY**, who have maintain'd their Post with Courage, shall be advanced, and others degraded.

All Refusers to go into the Army, Cowards, and Run-aways shall be expell'd the Forum, shall not be crown'd, or go to the publick Temples; He, who offends against this Law, shall be put into bonds by the Eleven, and carry'd before the *Heliastæ*, where any one empower'd may accuse him; if he is prov'd guilty, the *Heliastæ* shall pronounce Sentence, and inflict upon him, as the nature of his Crime requires, a mulct, or corporal penance; if the former, he shall lie in Gaol till he pays it.

Let him be *Ἀμύχ*, who casts away his Arms.

He, who during a War by Sea runs away from his Ship, and he, who being Prest for Sea doth not go, shall be *Ἀμύος*.

All disabled and wounded Soldiers shall be maintain'd out of the publick Fund.

Their Parents, and Children shall be taken care for, that are cut off in War; if Parents are kill'd, their Children shall be put to School at the publick Charge, and when come to maturity of Age, shall be presented with a whole suit of Armour, settled every one in his respective Calling, and honour'd with first Seats in all publick Places.

## Miscellany Laws.

**THEY** shall be prosecuted for Ingratitude, who do not retaliate kindnesses.

The Burrough, and name of every one's Father shall be written down in all Deeds, Compacts, Suits, and other concerns.

A Discoverer, who alledges Truth, shall be secure; but if falsehood, shall suffer Death.

He shall be *Ἀμύχ*, who stands *Neuter* in any publick Sedition.

He shall Die, who leaves the City for residence in the *Piræus*.

He shall be fin'd, who is seen to walk the City-streets with a Sword by his side, or having about him other Armour, unless in case of Exigency.

He shall be denied buryal within *Attica*, and his Goods expos'd to Sale, who hath been convicted of perfidious behaviour towards the State, or of Sacrilege.

He, that hath betray'd his Country, shall not enter into *Attica's* Borders; if he do, he shall expiate his Crime by the same Law, as they, who, tho' condemn'd by the *Areopagites* to banishment, return.

Those

Those Compacts shall stand good, which have been approv'd of by the Judges.

Let there be an *Amnesty* of all former dissentions, and no one be liable to be call'd in Question, or reproach'd for any thing done formerly.

This Law was made after the Thirty Tyrant's expulsion to reconcile all former Quarrels, and was sworn to by the Archons, Senate of Five-hundred, and all the Commonalty of Athens.

When any Person is accus'd contrary to this Oath, use may be made of the Plea call'd *Παράγραφη*, the Archons shall have Cognizance of this matter, and he that makes the Plea, shall make his defence first; the Party, that is cast, shall have the Fine call'd *Επιτίμια*, impos'd upon him.

No Stranger shall be wrong'd or injur'd.

Put the bewildred Traveller in his way, and be hospitable to Strangers.

No seller of Rings shall keep by him the Signature of a Ring, when sold.

*Archæologia Græca,*  
OR, THE  
**ANTIQUITIES**  
OF  
*G R E E C E.*

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

*Of the first Authors of Religious Worship in  
Greece.*

**H**ERODOTUS in the second Book of his History is of Opinion, that the *Greeks* deriv'd their Religion from the *Ægyptians*: but *Plutarch* peremptorily denies it (a), as being neither mention'd by *Homer*, nor any of the Ancients. *Aristophanes* (b), and *Euripides* (c) say, that *Orpheus* was the first that instructed the *Grecians* in all the Rites and Ceremonies of their Worship; He was a *Thracian*, and therefore, says *Nonnus* (d), Devotion was call'd *Ὀρφεΐα* q. *Ὀραΐα*, because it was invented by a *Thracian*.

These, I think, were neither altogether in the right, nor yet wholly mistaken, for as the exact agreement betwixt some of the *Grecian* Ce-

{a} De Herodot. malevol. (b) *Ran.* (c) *Ephes.* (d) *Ξενοχ. in Stell. l.*  
ceremonies

remories and the religious Worship of *Thrace* makes it probable that one was deriv'd from the other; so on the other side, the conformity of some other parts of the *Grecian* Religion to that of the *Ægyptians* doth plainly argue that they were fetch'd from *Ægypt*: but that the whole System of the *Grecian* Religion should be borrow'd from either *Thrace*, or *Ægypt*, or any one Countrey is improbable, if not impossible; as will evidently appear to every one that considers the great variety of Religions in *Greece*, where almost every City had different Gods, and different modes of Worship. 'Tis much more probable, that *Greece*, being inhabited by Colonies from divers Nations, did borrow from every one of these, some part of their religious Ceremonies; Thus the *Thebans*, being descended from the *Phœnicians*, retain'd a great part of their Worship, and the *Argives* are thought to have been instructed in the *Ægyptian* Religion by *Danaus*, and his Followers. Add to this, that the *Grecians* in general, and the *Athenians* in particular, were so excessively superstitious, that they would not be content to Worship their ancient Deities, but frequently consecrated new ones of their own making; and beside these, assum'd into the number of their own, the Gods of all the Nations with whom they had any Commerce; insomuch, that even in *Homer's* time they were *τρεῖς μυριάς*, thirty thousand; and tho', as *Isocrates* informs us (a), the ancient *Athenians* thought their Religion consisted chiefly in the observation of the Rites and Ceremonies deliver'd to them by their Ancestors, yet there was a Custom that oblig'd them to entertain a great many strange Gods, whence it was that they religiously observ'd the *Θεσφία*, or Feast of all the strange Gods; which was also celebrated at *Delphi*, as *Athenaus* witnesseth (b). Nay, so fearful were the *Athenians* of omitting any, that, as *Pausanias* (c) tells us, they erected Altars to unknown Gods. It may be objected, that they condemn'd *Socrates* for no other crime than Worshipping strange Gods, for that this was his accusation *Laertius* witnesseth in his Life. But to this it is reply'd, that tho' they were so desirous of new Deities, yet none were worshipp'd till they had been approv'd, and admitted by the *Areopagites*, as *Harpocration* has observ'd; and thence was it, that when *St. Paul* preach'd amongst them *Jesus and the Resurrection*, he was summon'd to appear before this Council, to give an account of his new Doctrine.

CHAPTER II.

*Of their Temples, Altars, Images, and Afyla.*

**T**HE first Generations of Men had neither Temples, nor Statues for their Gods, but worshipp'd towards Heaven in the open Air.

(a) *Orat. Areopag.* (b) *Deipn. l. IX. c. III.* (c) *Attic.*



And it is generally thought by learned Men, that Temples owe their first Original to the superstitious reverence and devotion paid by the Ancients to the memory of their deceased Friends, Relations, and Benefactors (a); and as most of the Gods were Men consecrated upon the account of some publick benefit conferr'd on Mankind, so most of the Heathen Temples are thought to have been at first only stately Monuments erected in honour of the Dead. Thus the Temple of *Pallas* in the Tower of the City *Larissa* was the Sepulchre of *Acrisius*; *Crotopus* interr'd in the *Acropolis* of *Athens*, and *Erechthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, to mention no more. A farther confirmation of this, is, that those words which in their proper acceptation signify no more than a Tomb, or Sepulchre, are by ancient Writers applied to the Temples of the Gods, and thus *Lycophron*, a noted affecter of obsolete words, has us'd (b) *Τῶνθεον*,

————— *Τῶνθεον δ' αὐτὸν ἐκώσσε μέγε  
Ὀπλοισίας, σφαγᾶσιν ὑπερπυρρῶν.*

'Twas now, when quite fatigu'd with toyl of War  
With eager haste the Greek did home repair,  
That from the treacherous Fate for him design'd  
Great *Juno's* Temple sav'd. ————— (Mr. *Hudon*)

Where he speaks of *Diomedes*, who, at his return from *Troy*, was laid in wait for by his Wife *Ægialea*, and forc'd to take sanctuary in the Temple of *Juno*. I will but give you one instance more, and that out of *Virgil* (c),

————— *immulum antiquæ Cereis, sedemque sacratam  
Venimus.* —————

The Temple and the hallowed Seat  
Of ancient *Ceres* we approach'd. —————

Nor is it any wonder that Monuments should at length be converted into Temples, when at every common Sepulchre it was usual to offer Prayers, Sacrifices, and Libations, of which more hereafter.

Temples were built and adorn'd with all possible Splendor and Magnificence, no Pains, no Charge was spar'd upon them, or any part of divine Worship. This they did, partly out of the great Respect they had for the Gods, to whom they thought nothing more acceptable than costly Ornaments; and partly, that they might create a Reverence of the Deities in those that came to pay their Devotion there. The *Lacedæmonians* only had a Law amongst them, that every one should serve the Gods with as little expence as he could, here differing from all other *Grecians*; and *Lycærgus* being ask'd for what reason he made this Institution, so disagreeable to the sentiments

(a) *Eusebius, Lactantius, Clement Alexandr. Protrept.* (b) *Cassandr. v. 61*  
(c) *Æneid. II. v. 742.*

all other Men; answer'd, *Least at any time the service of the Gods should be intermitted*; for he fear'd, that if Religion should be as expensive as in the other parts of *Greece*, it might some time or other happen, that the divine Worship out of the Covetousness of some, and Poverty of others might be neglected: and wisely considered, that magnificent Edifices, and costly Sacrifices were not so pleasing to the Gods, as the true Piety, and unfeign'd Devotion of their Worshipers. This Opinion of his was confirm'd by the Oracle of *Hammon* (a); for the *Athenians*, being worsted by the *Lacedæmonians* in many Encounters both at Land and Sea, sent to *Jupiter Hammon* to enquire what means they had best use to obtain Victory over their Enemies; and withall to ask him, why the *Athenians*, who (said they) serve the Gods with more Pomp and Splendor than all the *Grecians* beside, should undergo so many misfortunes; whilst the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Worship is very mean and slovenly, were always crown'd with Success and Victory; The Oracle made them no other answer, than that the honest, unaffected Service of the *Lacedæmonians* was more acceptable to the Gods, than all the splendid and costly Devotions of other People. The Reader will pardon this digression, since it doth so fully and clearly set forth the temper of two of the most flourishing States of *Greece*.

To return therefore, the Temples were built after that manner, which they thought most agreeable to the Gods, to whom they design'd they should be dedicated; for as Trees, Birds, and other Animals were thought sacred to particular Deities, so also almost every God had a form of Building peculiar to himself, and which they thought more acceptable to him than any other. For instance, the *Doric* Pillars were sacred to *Jupiter, Mars, and Hercules*; the *Ionick*, to *Bacchus, Apollo, and Diana*; the *Corinthian*, to *Vesta the Virgin*. I deny not but that sometimes all these were made use of in the same Temple, but this was either in those Temples which were sacred to more Gods than one, of which there might be produc'd several Instances, or to some of those Gods, who were thought to preside over several Things; for the Ancients, believing that the world was govern'd by divine Providence, ascrib'd the management of every particular Affair to this, or that Deity; thus *Mars* was thought to preside over War, *Venus* over Love; and to some of their Gods they assign'd the care over divers Things, so *Mercury* was the God of Merchants, Orators, and Thieves; *Minerva* was the Goddess of Warriours, Scholars, and Artificers, &c. and therefore 'tis no wonder, that in some of the Temples dedicated to her, there were three Rows of Pillars, the first of the *Doric*, the second of the *Corinthian*, the third of the *Ionick* Order.

As to the places of Temples, those in the Countrey were generally surrounded with Groves sacred to the Tutelar Deity of the place, where, before the invention of Temples, 'tis reported the Gods

(a) *Plato Alcib. II.*

were worshipp'd; but where those could not be had, as in Cities, and large Towns, they were built amongst, and even adjoining to the Common Houses, only the *Tanagrans* thought this inconsistent with the Reverence due to those holy Mansions of the Gods, and therefore took care to have their Temples founded in places free from the noise and hurry of Business; for which (a) *Pausanias* commends them. Wherever they stood, if the Situation of the place would permit, it was contriv'd, that the Windows being open'd, they might receive the Rays of the rising Sun (b). The Frontis-piece was plac'd towards the West, and the Altars and Statues towards the other end, that so they, who came to worship, might have their Faces towards them, because it was an ancient custom among the Heathens to worship with their Faces towards the East, of which hereafter. If the Temples were built by the side of a River, they were to look towards the Banks of it (c); if near the High-way, they were to be so order'd, that Travellers might have a fair prospect of them, and pay their devotions to the God as they pass'd by.

Temples were divided into two parts, the Sacred, and Profane; the latter they call'd τὸ ἔξω ἀειξάνθειον, the other τὸ ἔσω. Now this ἀειξάνθειον, was a Vessel (usually of Stone, or Brass) fill'd with Holy-water (d), with which all those that were admitted to the Sacrifices were besprinkled, and beyond which it was not lawful for any one that was βέβηλος, or Profane, to pass. Some say, it was plac'd in the entrance of the Ἀδυτον, which was the inmost recess of the Temple, into which none might enter but the Priests, call'd also Ἀνάκτορον, saith *Pollux*, whence βέβηλος τίτθεται, is by *Phavorinus* said to be so call'd in opposition to this Ἀδυτον. But *Casaubon* (e) tells us, that the ἀειξάνθειον was plac'd at the door of the Temple, and this opinion seems the more probable, because all persons that were ἀβέβηλοι, or unpolluted, were permitted to pass beyond it, which they could not have done, had it been plac'd at the entrance of the Ἀδυτον.

The word Σηκός, is variously us'd, *Ammonius* (f), and *Pollux* (g) say, that it properly signifies a Temple dedicated to an Heroe, or Demi-god; by *Hesychius*, and *Suidas* it is expounded, ὁ ἐνδοτερος τόπος τῆς ἱερᾶς, so that it should seem to have been the same with Ἀδυτον. As for the exposition of *Ammonius*, and *Pollux*, 'tis evidently false, as might be prov'd by innumerable instances if there was occasion. The word in it's most proper acceptation is us'd for a sheep-fold, and because the Images of the Gods were according to most ancient custom plac'd in the middle of the Temple, and close rail'd in on every side, this place, from the likeness it has to a sheep-fold, was call'd Σηκός, which in time came to signify the whole Temple, the part being put

(a) *Exoticis*. (b) *Vitruv.* lib. IV. cap. V. (c) *Ibidem*. (d) *Suidas*, *Phavorinus*. (e) In *Theoph. Charact.* (f) *De verborum Diff. & Simil.* (g) *Onom.* lib. I.

for the whole. In the same manner was Ἑστία, i. e. the Fire-place, or Hearth, us'd for the whole House.

Furthermore, belonging to Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek Ἀρχεῖον, by some translated *summius templum*, as if it were at the upper-end. This seems to have been a Treasury both for the Church, and any one who had a mind to secure his wealth there, as was done by *Xenophon*, who committed his Treasure to the Custody of the Priest of *Diana* at *Ephesus*. Hence are those Epithets given it by *Pollux* (a), when he calls it μεγαλόπαιστον, πολύχυσον, ἀρχαίπαιστον, &c.

The old *Scholia* upon *Sophocles* (b), and out of them *Phavorinus* thus describe the Temples; Ναός, and Ἰερόν, or, the whole Edifice, in which are contain'd, Βωμὸς, the Altar, on which they offer'd their oblations; Πεδύον, the Porch, in which usually stood an Altar, or Image; and Τέμενος, the place upon which the Image of the Chief God was erected.

This Idol was at first only a rude Stock, or Table, whence it is call'd *Saxis* by *St. Clemens* of *Alexandria* (c); such an one was that of *Juno Samia*, which was afterwards in the Magistracy of *Procles* turn'd into a Statue. This *Pausanias* (d) seems to confirm, when he tells us that in *Achaia* there were kept very religiously thirty square Stones, on which were engraven the names of so many Gods, but without any Picture, or Effigies. In another place he speaks of a very ancient Statue of *Venus* at *Delos*, which instead of Feet had only a square Stone. And *Themistius* (e) hath told us, that all the Images till *Daedalus's* time were form'd after the same manner; He it was, that first made two separate Feet, whereas before they were but one piece, whence it was reported (saith *Palephatus*) that *Daedalus* form'd moving and walking Statues; at the first therefore, they were only call'd (f) Ἐἵματα, ἄλφα τὸ ἀποξέειναι, because they were shaven; and this word properly denotes an Idol, that is ἐξισμύλον, or shav'd out of wood, or stone, says *Hesychius* (g). In after-ages, when the Art of graving and carving was invented, they chang'd these rude Lumps into Figures resembling living Creatures, generally Men, and then an Image was call'd Δείκλον, or Βρέτας, ἄλφα τὸ βροτῶ ἐοικέναι, because it was like a Man.

The matter of which these Statues were made, was, amongst the ancient Greeks, generally wood, as *Plutarch*, and *Pausanias* inform us; the latter of which reports, that he has observ'd these Trees for the most part to be made use of for this purpose, viz. the Eben, Cypress, Cedar, Oak, Yew, and Box-trees. To these *Theophrastus* (h) adds the root of the Olive-tree, of which he says the lesser Images were usually compos'd; it is also observ'd that those Trees, which were sacred to any God, were generally thought most accept-

(a) *Ibidem*. (b) *Ordip. Tyr.* v. 15. (c) *Protrept.* (d) *Achic.* (e) *Orat.* XV. (f) *Clementis Protrept.* (g) *Vocce Ἐἵματα.* (h) *lib. de Plant.*

able to him, and therefore *Jupiter's* Statue they made of Oak, *Venus's* of Myrtle, *Hercules's* of Poplar, *Minerva's* of the Olive-tree &c. These observations are (I think) for the most part true, but not so universally, as that they should never fail. Sometimes they were made of Stone, and not only of common, but also of Precious Stones; sometimes of black Stone, whereby was signified the Invisibility of the Gods. Marble and Ivory were frequently made use of, and sometimes also Clay and Chalk; and last of all, Gold, Silver, Brass, and all other Metals were put to this use. As to the Forms of these Statues, and all their antique Postures, because they generally depend upon Fables, and Poetical fictions, I remit you to the Mythologists, and the Treatises of *Charvartius*, and *Verderius* on this subject, where they are largely describ'd.

The place of the Images was in the middle of the Temple, where they stood on Pedestals rais'd above the height of the Altar, and were enclos'd with Rails, whence this place was call'd *Σηκός*. And that the Images were plac'd thus, *Virgil* bears me witness, when He saith,

*Tum foribus Divæ, media testudine templi.*

Then at the Chancell door, where *Iuno* stands.

Where by the *fortes Divæ*, you must understand the entrance of the *Σηκός*. And another of the Poets, where he talks of erecting a Temple, saith,

*In medio mihi Cæsar erit* —————

I'll *Cæsar's* Statue in the midst erect.

More instances might be produc'd, were not this custom too well known, to stand in need of any farther confirmation.

*Βωμός* among the *Greeks* is a word of larger extent, than *Altare* among the *Latins*, for this in it's proper signification only denotes the place, on which they sacrific'd to the Celestial Gods, being rais'd up high from the ground, and therefore call'd *Altare ab altitudine*, from it's height; but *βωμός* is us'd to signify not only this high Altar, but those lower ones call'd in *Latin* *Aræ*. These Altars differ'd according to the diversity of the Gods to whom they were consecrated, for the *Θεοὶ ὑψίστοι*, or Gods above, had their Altars rais'd up a great height from the ground, inasmuch that *Pausanias* (a) tells us, the Altar of *Olympian Jupiter* was almost twenty-two Feet high; *Porphyry* makes no distinction betwixt these, and the Altars of the *Θεοὶ ὑψίστοι*, or Terrestrial Gods; but though they are both signified by the same word, yet they seem not to have been of equal height, for *Viruvius* (b) reports,

(a) *Eliae. α'.* (b) *Lib. IV. cap. VIII.*

that the Altars of *Jupiter*, and all the Celestial Gods were very high, but those of *Vesta*, the *Earth*, and the *Sea* were low. To the Heroes they sacrific'd upon Altars close to the ground, which the *Greeks* call *Ἐξάραι*, being only one step high (a). The Subterranean, or Infernal Gods, call'd *Υποχθίνιοι*, had instead of Altars little Ditches, or Trenches digg'd, or plow'd up for that purpose; these the *Greeks* call'd *Λάκκαι*, and *Βιδροί*. *Porphyry* adds a fifth, telling us that the *World*, the *Nymphs*, and such like Deities, instead of Altars, had *Αντρες*, or Caves, where religious worship was paid to them.

The Altars were all plac'd towards the East, saith *Viruvius* (b), and those in Temples were always lower than the Statues of the Gods. They were made commonly of Earth heap'd together, sometimes of Ashes, as was that of *Olympian Jupiter* before mention'd, which *Pausanias* (c) saith, was made of the Ashes of burn'd Sacrifices. Before Temples were in use, Altars were sometimes erected in Groves, sometimes in other Places; and *Enstadius* (d) upon the second *Iliad* tells us, that they were often erected in the High-ways, for the convenience of Travellers. The Terrestrial Gods had their Altars in low places, but the Celestial were worshipp'd on the tops of Mountains, whence every Mountain was esteem'd sacred to *Jupiter*, as we are told by *Melampus* (e). Now as for want of Temples, they built their Altars in the open Air, so for want of Altars they anciently us'd to sacrifice upon the (f) bare ground, and sometimes upon a Turf of green Earth.

The manner of consecrating Altars and Images was the same, and is thus describ'd by the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (g); A Woman dress'd in a Garment of divers Colours brought upon her head a Pot of fadden Pulse, as Beans, Pease, or the like, which they gratefully offer'd to the Gods, in remembrance of their ancient Diet. But this custom seems to have been more especially practis'd at the Consecration of the *Εἰμαῖ*, or Statues of *Mercury*, and then only by the poorer sort, as the *Comedian* intimates, when He speaks of the consecration of another Image in his Play entitled *Peace*,

Χο. Ἀγέ δὴ π νῶϊν ἐντευθενὶ πωμπίον ;  
Τρ. Τί δ' ἄλλο γ', ἢ ταύτην χύτρας ἰδρυμένον ;  
Χο. Χύτραισιν, ὡσπερ μεμψυμένων Εἰμαῖδων ;  
Τρ. Τί δαὶ δοκεῖ ; βέλτε λαεῖν ὧ βού ;

CH. What other expedient still requires dispatch ?

TR. Nought ; but that you consecrate with these Pots  
The Goddess *Peace* :

(a) *Eurip. Schol. in Phœniss.* (b) *Lib. IV. cap. VIII.* (c) *Eliae. α'.* (d) *Pag. 171. Edit. Basil.* (e) *Libro de Sacrificiis, & Schol. Schol. Trach.* (f) *Lib. Gyrald. de Diis Syntagma XVI.* (g) *Plut. Aët. V. Scen. III.*

CH. How, with these Pots? what like  
Those *Pygmy* Statues of God *Mercury*?  
TR. What if this Goddess we shou'd consecrate  
With a fat Ox? (Mr. Hutchin.)

Where the *Scholiast* observes, that sometimes their Consecrations were more expensive, being perform'd with more sumptuous Offerings, and Ceremonies. But these, like the other parts of Divine worship, were varied according to the condition of the Worshippers, and the Nature, or Humour of the Deities; to give you one instance, *Athenaeus* in the IXth Book of his *Deipnosophists* tells us, that *Jupiter Cresias's* Statue was consecrated in this manner; they took a new Vessel with two ears, upon each of which they bound a Chaplet of white wool, and another of yellow upon the fore-part of it, and cover'd the Vessel; then they pour'd out before it a Libation call'd *Ambrosia*, which was a mixture of Water, Honey, and all sorts of Fruit. But the most usual manner of consecration was perform'd by putting a Crown upon them, anointing them with Oil, and then offering Prayers and Oblations to them, sometimes they would add an Execration against all that should presume to prophane them, and inscribe upon them the Name of the Deitie, and the cause of their dedication. In this manner the *Spartan* Virgins, in *Theocritus's* eighteenth *Idyllium*, promise to consecrate a Tree to *Helena*, for it was customary to dedicate Trees, or Plants after the same manner with Altars, and Statues,

Πεῖται τοι σέφανον λωτῷ χαμαὶ αὐξομένηοιο  
Πλέξαναι, σκιερὰν καταθήσομεν ἐς πλατάνισον·  
Πεῖται δ' ἀργυρέας ἐξ ὀλπιδ' ὕρην ἀλεῖναι  
Λατρυμέναι, συζεύμεν ἑπὶ σκιερὰν πλατάνισον.  
Γράψματα δ' ἐν φλοιῷ γράψαι (ὡς παιδὸν πρὸς  
Ἀφροδίτην) Δωρεῖσι, Σέβου μὲν· Ελένας φυτόν· εἰμὶ.

We'll search the Meads where humble *Lotus* grows,  
Then Chaplets weave, and twine them on the Bows;  
On chequer'd Grass beneath the shady Bow'r  
From costliest Vials sweetest Oyls we'll pour;  
And then in spreading Letters this indite,  
I'm *Helen's Plant*, and worship is my right.

Mr. Hutchin.

*Ovid* likewise in the eighth Book of his *Metamorphoses*, speaks of adorning them with Ribbands,

Stabat in his ingens annofo robore quercus,  
Una nemus; vitæ mediam, memoresque tabellæ,  
Seriatim cingebant, voti argumenta potentis.

In

In these a well-grown Oak Majestick stood  
Whose spreading Arms alone compos'd a wood,  
With Ribbands grac'd, and Crowns th'undoubted proof  
Of vows obtain'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

These Temples, Statues, and Altars were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the privilege of protecting Offenders was granted, so that, if any Malefactor fled to them, it was counted a piece of Sacrilege to force him thence, and they thought his blood would be upon them that should do it; insomuch, that those who kill'd the followers of *Cylon*, who had plunder'd the Temple of *Minerva*, because they executed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after call'd *Αλιθῆται*, prophane, and impious villains. Some of these were publick *Asyla*, and free for all Men, others were appropriated to certain Persons, or Crimes; thus the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was a refuge for Debtors; the Tomb, or Temple of *Theseus* was a Sanctuary for Slaves, and all those of mean condition, that fled from the Severities and hard Usage of their Masters, and Men in Power; in memory that *Theseus* was an Assister and Protector of the distressed, and never rejected the petitions of the afflicted, that fled to him for succour and defence, as *Plutarch* (a) reports; Nor was this honour only granted to the Gods, but also to the Statues, or Monuments of Princes, and other great Persons (b). So the Sepulchre of *Achilles* on the *Sigeon* shore was in after-ages made an *Asylum*, and *Ajax* had the like honour paid his Tomb on the *Rhætean*.

The first *Asylum*, some say, was built at *Athens* by the *Heraclide*, and was a refuge for those that fled from the oppression of their Fathers; others with more probability affirm that the first was erected at the building of *Thebes* by *Cadmus*, where the privilege of Sanctuary was granted to all sorts of Criminals, and in imitation of these they say the *Asylum* at *Rome* was open'd by *Romulus* (c). The sacredness of these places was held entire till the reign of *Tiberius Caesar*, who, upon consideration of the many inconveniencies, that must necessarily be the effect of tolerating so many Villains, as were always harbour'd in them, dissolv'd them all, preserving only to *Juno Sannia*, and one of *Esculapius's* Temples their ancient privileges.

(a) *Theoc.* (b) *Strabo* lib. III. (c) *Alex. ab Alex.* lib. III. cap. XX.

## CHAPTER III.

## Of the Grecian Priests, and their Offices.

IT has been the Custom of all Nations to pay a peculiar honour and deference to their Priests; which was either done out of respect to the Gods, whose servants they were; or (as *Plutarch* in his *Morals* tells us) because they did not pray for a blessing on Themselves, their own Families, and Friends only, but on whole Communities, on the whole state of Mankind. Nor were they only oblig'd to offer Prayers and Sacrifices to the Gods for others, but it was their duty to instruct them how to pray for themselves, what it was most expedient to ask, what Sacrifices, what Vows, what Gifts would be most acceptable to the Gods, and, in short, to teach them all the Ceremonies us'd in the Divine worship, as *Plato* informs us (a). Another part of their Office, was to fore-tell things to come, and to interpret the Oracles of the Gods; and as they convey'd the will of the Gods to men, so did they also convey the Piety and Devotion of Men to the Gods, by offering Sacrifices for them, tho' the ancient *Greeks* did sometimes offer their own Sacrifices, and perform all those Rites which in later ages were only executed by the Priests. Thus *Eumæus* in *Homer* is said to have offer'd Sacrifices, and the same doth every where appear to have been done by all the Princes, and Heroes, the most honourable person in the company always taking upon him to perform the religious Ceremonies: for in those days this holy Office was had in so great credit and reputation, that the Priests generally wore the same Habit with their Kings, and were honour'd with the next places to them; so great a veneration did these Heathens think due to all those that bore any relation to the Gods. Nay, it was then no unusual thing for the Kings themselves to take upon them the Priest-hood; I shall only give you two instances, the one of *Anius*, who was King of *Delos*, and Priest of *Apollo*, as *Virgil* tells us (b),

*Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos.*

*Anius* supreme of men oft veils his Crown  
Without a blush, to put the Vervain on.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

The other instance I shall take from *Lacedæmon* (c), where the Kings, immediately upon their promotion to the Kingdom, took upon them

(a) *Dialog. de Regno.* (b) *Æn. III. v. 80.* (c) *Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. III. cap. VII.*

the

the Priest-hood of the *Celestial*, and *Lacedæmonian Jupher*, and this was so far from being thought below their dignity, that it was accounted an especial privilege, and an addition to the rest of their Honours (a). I need not tell you that among the *Athenians*, and in most other Cities of *Greece* the care and administration of the religious Ceremonies was committed to the chief Magistrates.

It was required that whoever was admitted to this Office, should be found and perfect in all his members, it being thought a dishonour to the Gods to be serv'd by any one, that was lame, maim'd, or any other way imperfect; and therefore before their consecration they were examin'd, whether they were ἀπλῆς, which word, as *Hesychius* expounds it, signifies one that's perfect and entire, that neither hath any defect, nor any thing superfluous.

Nor ought they to be perfect in body only, but upright in mind, nothing ought to approach the Gods, but what was pure and incorrupt; therefore the Priests liv'd temperately and chastly, abstaining even from those pleasures which were lawful and allowable to other Men; inasmuch, that *Euripides* tells us, that in *Cyrene* the Prophets of *Jupiter* did not only denie themselves the use of Flesh-meat, but forbore to eat any thing that was boyl'd. And they were such rigid Observers of the rules of chastity, that the Priests of the *Mother* of the Gods at *Samos* are said to have dismember'd themselves, and the *Hierophantæ* at *Athens*, after their admission, enfeebled themselves by a draught of the juice of *Hemlock*; in short, 'twas very customary for those, that attended on the more sacred and mysterious Rites, by using certain Herbs and Medicaments to unman themselves, that they might worship the Gods with greater chastity, and purity. They also generally retir'd from the world, to the end, that being free from business and cares, they might have the more leisure to attend on the service of the Gods, and wholly devote themselves to Piety, and the exercise of Religion. One of the Herbs commonly made use of by them was the *Agnus-castus*, in *Greek* ἀγνός, or ἄγνός, so call'd from being ἄγονός, an enemy to generation; this they were wont to strew under their Bed-cloaths, believing that it had a certain natural virtue, whereby it was able to preserve their Chastity, as *Eustathius* (b), besides many others, hath observ'd. But tho' most of them were oblig'd to strict Chastity and Temperance, and some to practice these severities upon themselves, yet were others allow'd to marry, and *Eustathius* (c) tells us, that it was but an institution of later Ages, that the Priestesses should be Virgins: to confirm which *Homer* gives us an instance in *Thetis*, who was Priestess of *Minerva*, and Wife of *Anenor* the Trojan,

Οὐρανὸν καλλιπάρητον

(a) *Ibidem.* (b) *Il. 6. pag. 768. Edit. Basil.* (c) *Ibidem pag. 503.*

Κισσῆς,

Κισσῆς, ἄλοχος Ἀντιλόχου ἱποδάμοιο.  
Τῶν γὰρ Τρώων ἔθνην Ἀθωνάιν ἔγειν (a).

—beauteous *Theano*,  
Daughter to *Cisseus*, but *Antenor's* Bride,  
*Antenor* skill'd the wanton Steed to guide,  
For *Trojans* her had made with joyn't Consent  
*Minerva's* Priests. —

(Mr. Hutchin.)

Of the different Orders of Priests nothing exact can be deliver'd, for not only every God had a different Order of Priests consecrated to him, but even the Priests of the same Gods were very different, according to the diversity of Place, and other Circumstances. I shall therefore not trouble the Reader with an account of the particular Priests belonging to every Deity in the many Cities of Greece, which would be both unpleasant, and not very useful, but shall briefly point out to you the general Orders, and Offices of them. First, in every place they seem to have had an *Ἀρχιερεῖος*, or High-priest, whose Office it was to superintend over the rest, and execute the more sacred Rites and Mysteries of Religion. Amongst the *Opuntians* (b) there were two Chief-priests, one of which belong'd to the Chief and Celestial Gods, the other to the *Δαίμονες*, or Demi-gods. At *Athens* they had a great many, every God almost having a Chief-priest, that presided over the rest; for instance, the *Dadouchus* over the Priests of *Hercules*, and the *Stephanophorus* over those of *Pallas*. The *Delphians* had five Chief-priests, who help'd to perform the Holy Rites with the Prophets, and had the chief management of all parts of divine Worship; these were call'd *Οἱ ἅγιοι*, i. e. Holy, and the Chief of them that presided at Sacrifices, *Θσιωτής*, i. e. Purifier, one that makes Holy: and another, that had the care of the Oracle, call'd *Ἀντίπαρ*, which is a Sirname of *Apollo*, given him by *Homer*, and signifies one that gives Oracles.

Another holy Order was that of the *Parasiti* (c), which word (saith *Clearchus* the *Solenian*, one of *Aristotle's* Scholars) in it's first acceptation signified *ἑτοιμόν*, a Man quick and expeditious, but was afterwards taken for a Table-companion; tho' *Polemon* is of opinion that this was it's ancient signification, and they were so call'd, because they were allow'd part of the Sacrifices, together with the Priests, as is evident from an inscription on a Pillar in the *Anaceum*,

ΤΟΙΝ ΔΕ ΒΟΟΙΝ ΤΟΙΝ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΙΝ ΤΟΙΝ  
ΕΞΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΙΣ  
ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΔΥΟ ΜΕΡΗ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ  
ΤΩ ΙΕΡΕΙ ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΙΤΟΙΣ.

That of the Oxen one part should be reserv'd for the Games, and of the other two, one should be given to the Priests, another to the *Pa-*

(a) Il. γ' v. 298. (b) *Alex.* ab *Alex.* Gen. Dierum lib. II cap. VII. (c) *Athenaei* Deipnosoph. lib. VI.

rasii.

rasii. It was at the first an Office of great honour, for by the ancient Law the *Parasiti* were reckon'd among the chief Magistrates. Their Office was to gather of the Husband-men the Corn allotted for publick Sacrifices, which they call'd *Προσθία μέγαρα*, the great Income, and is by (a) *Aristophanes* put for the great Sacrifices, which, as the *Scholiast* tells us, were usually call'd so, because the Charges of them were defray'd by these publick Revenues. The publick Store-house, where they kept these First-fruits, was call'd *Παρασίον*, (b) *Diodorus* the *Sinopensian* in *Athenaeus* tells us, that in every Village of the *Athenians*, they maintain'd at the publick Charge certain *Parasiti* in honour of *Hercules*, but afterwards, to ease the Common-wealth of this burden, the Magistrates oblig'd some of the wealthier sort to take them to their own tables, and entertain them at their own cost; whence this word seems in later ages to have signified a Trencher-friend, a Flatterer, or one, that for the sake of a dinner conforms himself to every Bodie's Humour.

The *Κήρυκες* also, or publick Cryers, assisted at Sacrifices, and seem to have had the same Office, with the *Pope*, and *Viclimarii* among the *Latins*; for in *Athenaeus* (c) one *Chidenmus* tells us, they were instead of *μάγειροι*, and *βούται*, Cooks, and Butchers, and adds, that a long time the Cryer's Office was to kill the Offering, prepare things necessary for the Sacrifices, and to serve instead of a Cup-bearer at the Feast; He also tells us that the ministring at Sacrifices did of old belong to the Cryers; the same is confirm'd by *Eustathius* on this verse of *Homer* (d),

Κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεῶν ἱερῶ ἐκγέρουσαν  
Ἥγον. —

Along the Streets the sacred *Hecatombs*  
The Cryers dragg'd. —

*Phavorinus*, and *Caelius Rhodiginus* give this reason for their being call'd *Διὸς ἄγγελοι* by *Homer*, viz. because they assisted at the Sacrifices of the Gods, and (as the former adds) τὰς ἐορταῖς ἔχον θεῶν ἡγγελον, they gave publick notice of the Times wherein the Festivals were to be celebrated. To this purpose I might bring hundreds of Instances out of the Ancient Poets, and especially *Homer*. These *Κήρυκες*, indeed, were a kind of publick Servants employ'd on all occasions; they were instead of Ambassadors, Cooks, and Cryers; and, in short, there was scarce any Office, except such as was servile and base, that they were not put to; but their name was given them ἀπὸ τῆς κατεῖρητο, saith *Athenaeus*, from the best, and most proper part of their Office, which was

(a) *Avibus*. (b) in *Επικύρ.* (c) Lib. X & XIV. (d) *Odyss.* v.

τὸ κηρύττειν, to proclaim, which they did as well in time of Divine Service, as in civil Affairs; for at the beginning of the holy Rites they commanded Silence and Attention in these, or such like words, Εὐφημέειτε, σιγὴ πᾶσι ἔστω λῆξις when the religious Mysteries were ended, they dismiss'd the Congregation with these words, Λαὸν ἄριστος, of which more afterwards. At Athens there was a Family nam'd Κήρυκες from Κήρυξ, the Son of Mercury and Pandrosia, which was accounted sacred, whence Suidas (a) calls them γένος ἱερὸν, καὶ θεῖον, a holy Family, belov'd by the Gods; such also were the Eumolpide, who enjoy'd a Priest-hood at Athens by inheritance, being either descended from King Eumolpus, or instituted in memory of him. The Ceryces, as Anthemio the Comedian in Atheniens (b) tells us, were the first that taught Men to boyl their victuals, as the flesh of Sheep, and Oxen, whereas before they devour'd it raw. They were had in great honour at Athens, insomuch that Atheniens endeavours to prove that the trade of a Cook was a creditable Calling, from the respect paid to these Ceryces, who were Cooks at Sacrifices, and likewise seem to have perform'd those other holy Offices that belong'd to the Κήρυκες in other places. Diodorus Siculus (c) resembles them to the Egyptian Pastophori, and thinks they had their Original from them; indeed some parts of their Office were much alike, for both of them kill'd the Victim, and attended on the Sacrificers. But these Offices did not belong to all the Ceryces, this Family being divided into several Branches, every one of which had a different Function, as appears by the Edict of Solon cited out of Aristophanes by Atheniens, wherein 'tis order'd, That two of that Family of the Ceryces, which was devoted to Divine service, should undergo the Office of the Parasiti in the Temple of Apollo, call'd Delium, for a Year.

Νεωκόροι, call'd by Nicander Νεωκόροι (d), so nam'd from νεῖν, which signifies to keep neat and clean, or to adorn; for it was their duty to adorn the Temples, and look after the Furniture of them, but they submitted not to such mean Offices, as the sweeping of them, as Suidas (e) would have it, for herein he contradicts Euripides (f), who brings in Ion, the Νεωκόρος, or Edimus of Apollo, telling Mercury, that he swept the Temple with a beasom of Lawrel. These were also Ναοῦλάταις, whose Charge it was to take care of the holy Utensils, and see that nothing was wanting, and to repair what went to decay, saith Aristotle (g). Sometimes also the Parasiti are said to have been entrusted with the reparation of the Temples; and there was a Law enacted at Athens, that whatever they expended this way should be repay'd them.

There were also other Priests, one of which Aristophanes (h) calls

(a) Εὐφημέειτε. (b) Lib. XIV. (c) Lib. I. (d) Alexipharm. (e) In voce Νεωκόροι. (f) In Ion. v. 121. (g) In Politic. (h) Pluto Act. III. Scen. II.

Πρόπολῳ,

Πρόπολῳ, which is a general name for any Servant, and therefore to restrain it he adds θιά, calling him πρόπολῳ θιά. These were Priests waiting always on the Gods, whose Prayers the People desired at Sacrifices, at which these seem to have perform'd all other Rites, and Ceremonies, beside those that belong'd to the Ceryces; their share in the Sacrifices was the Skin and Feet; the Tongues were the Fees of the Ceryces. Indeed, all that serv'd the Gods were maintain'd by the Sacrifices, and other holy Offerings. These are the most general Orders of Priests, the rest were, most of them, appropriated to certain Gods, and sometimes certain Feasts, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, as likewise of those that attended the Oracles, and those who were any way concern'd in the Art of Divination.

## CHAPTER IV.

### Of the Grecian Sacrifices.

**D**IDYMUS in his Annotations upon Pindar (a), writes that one Melisseus, a King of Crete, was the first that offer'd Sacrifice to the Gods, and invented religious Rites and Ceremonies, and that Amalthea and Melissa, who nurs'd Jupiter, and fed him with Goats-milk and Honey, were his Daughters. But I shall pass by this, and such like fabulous Narrations, and endeavour to describe the customs in use amongst the ancient Greeks at their solemn Sacrifices: In doing which I shall first treat of the Occasion and End of them. 2. Of the Matter of them. 3. Of the Preparations requir'd before them, with all the Ornaments both of the Sacrificers, Victims, and Altars. 4. Of the sacred Rites us'd at, and after their Celebration.

As to the Causes and Occasions of them, they seem to have been chiefly Four; for the Sacrifices were,

1. Εὐχάριαι, or Χαεῖσμενα, Vows, or Free-will Offerings; such were those the Sacrificers promis'd to the Gods before, and paid after a Victory; such also were the First-fruits offer'd by the Husband-men after Harvest, being grateful acknowledgments to the Gods, by whose Blessing they had receiv'd a plentiful Reward for their Labour and Toil in tilling the ground; these Suidas (b) calls Θυσίαι δωροδωτικαί, because they were Free-gifts; and ἀποπληστικαί, because thereby they fulfill'd some Vow made to the Gods; but because they were both the effects of Gratitude, I have therefore reduc'd them under one head.

2. Ιλαστικαί, propitiatory Offerings, to avert the anger of some

(a) cat. Rhod. lib. XII. cap. I. (b) In voce Θυσίαι.

Α α 2

offended,



offended Deity ; such were all the Sacrifices us'd in Expiations.

3. Αἰτητικὰ, petitionary Sacrifices, for success in any Enterprize ; for so religious were the Heathens, that they would not undertake any thing of moment, without having first ask'd the Advice, and implor'd Assistance of the Gods.

4. Τὰ ἐπὶ μαντείας, such as were impos'd and commanded by an Oracle, or Prophet. I am not ignorant that some others have been added, but those I have purposely omitted, as being reducible to some of these Four.

I come now in the second place to treat of the Matter of their Oblations. In the most ancient Sacrifices, there were neither Living-creatures, nor any thing costly, or magnificent ; no Myrrh, Frankincense, or Cassia was made use of ; but instead of them all, (a) Herbs and Plants, which they pluckt up by the Roots, were burnt whole with their Leaves and Fruit before the Gods, and this they thought a very acceptable and meritorious Oblation ; which appears, as from other Monuments of Antiquity, so more especially from one of *Triptolemus's* Laws, whereby he strictly commands the *Athenians* to abstain from Living-creatures (b). And even to *Draco's* Time the *Athick* Oblations consisted of nothing else but the Earth's beneficence ; but this frugality and simplicity had in other places been laid aside before his time, and here not long after ; for no sooner did they leave their ancient Diet of Herbs and Roots, and begin to use Living-creatures for food, (which the ancients thought altogether unlawful) but they also chang'd their Sacrifices ; it being always usual for their own Feasts, and the Feasts of the Gods, (for such they thought the Sacrifices) to consist of the same materials.

The Sacrifices of later ages consisted of these three things, Σπονδή, Θυσίαμα, and ἱερεῖον, as *Hesiod* (c) seems to have intimated in these verses,

Κυδδύναμιν δ' ἔρδεν ἱερ' ἀθανάτοισι θεῶσιν  
 Ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, ὅτι δ' ἀγλαὰ μνηία κέλειν,  
 Αἰλοτε δὴ σπονδῆσι, θυέτοί τε ἱλάσκειός,  
 Ἡμῶν ὅτ' ἐνθάδ', καὶ ὅταν φάσιν ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ.

Offer to *Jove* with an untainted mind,  
 Offer the best, if you'd have him prove kind :  
 Let lulling Sleep n'ere seal your drowzy Eyes,  
 Nor purple Morn gild o're the Eastern Skies,  
 Till you accost the Gods with Sacrifice.

Mr. *Fitchin*.

(a) *Rel. Rhod. lib. XII. cap. I* (b) *Peri. hyst. de Abstin. ab Animal.* (c) *Erg. x. lib. v. 334* ὁδὸν α'.

Where

Where you may observe that, tho' the more solemn Sacrifices consisted of all these three parts, yet at other times it was lawful to use any of them by themselves ; whence *Eustathius* (a) tells us, it was not only usual to offer Drink-offerings of Wine at Sacrifices, but also at the beginning of a Journey by Land, or Sea, before they went to sleep, when they entertain'd a Stranger, and at any other Time. In short, in all the smaller Affairs of Life they seem to have desired Protection and Favour of the Gods by Oblations of Incense, or Drink-offerings ; whereas the more solemn Sacrifices were only us'd upon more weighty Occasions, both because of the Expensiveness, and Trouble of them.

Σπένδειν, and λείπειν, amongst the *Greeks* have the same signification, as *Hesychius*, and *Phavorinus* have observ'd, and imply no more than to pour forth, which is also the proper sense of the *Latin* word *libare*, saith *Isidorus* (b) ; but because of their constant use at the Drink-offerings of the Gods, they came at length to be appropriated to them. The same you may observe of their derivatives σπονδή, λείψν, and *libatio*, which words differ not at all from one another. The matter in these σπονδαὶ was generally Wine ; now of Wine there were two sorts, the one ἐσπονδόν, the other ἀσπονδόν, the former was so call'd, because it was lawful, the latter, because it was unlawful to make use of it in these Libations ; such they accounted all Wine mix'd with Water ; whence *ἑκαπτεν*, i. e. pure and unmix'd Wine, is so often made mention of by ancient Writers ; and tho' sometimes you may find mix'd Wine to have been us'd at Sacrifices, yet, if we may believe *Eustathius*, this mixture was not made of Wine and Water, but of different sorts of Wine. *Pliny* (c) also tells us, that it was unlawful to make an oblation of Wine, that had proceeded from grapes cut, par'd round, or polluted with a fall on the ground ; or such as came out of a Wine-press trodden with bloody and wounded Feet, or from a Vine unprun'd, blasted, or that had a Man hang'd upon it. He speaks also of a certain grape call'd *Aspendia* (d), whose Wine it was unlawful to offer upon the Altars. But tho' these Libations generally consisted of Wine, yet they were sometimes made of other ingredients, and call'd *Νηφάλιοι θυσιάαι*, ἐπὶ τῷ νήκειν, from being sober. Such as these were offer'd to the *Eumenides*, for which *Suidas* (e) gives this reason, viz. That Divine justice ought always to be vigilant. He likewise adds, that at *Athens* such like Oblations were made to the *Nymphs*, to *Venus Urania*, *Mnemofyne*, the *Morning*, the *Moon*, and the *Sun*, and there seems to have been a particular reason, why every one of these were honour'd with such like Oblations. For instance, *Eustathius* (f) tells us, that Honey was offer'd to the *Sun*, but Wine was never us'd upon any Altar dedicated to him ; because He, by whom all things are encom-

(a) *Il. α'. pag. 102. Edit. Basil.* (b) *Origin. lib. VI. cap. XIX.* (c) *Nat. Hist. lib. XIV. cap. XIX.* (d) *Nat. Histor. lib. XIV. cap. XVIII.* (e) *Voce Νηφάλιοι θυσιάαι.* (f) *Odys. x'.*

A a 3

pass'd,

pass'd, and held together, ought to be temperate; and *Plutarch* (a) says, that these *νημέλαιοι θυσίαι* were often perform'd to *Bacchus*, for no other reason, than that Men might not be always accusom'd to strong, and unmix'd Wines. *Pausanias* affirms, that the *Eleans* never offer'd Wine to the *Δέσποιναι*, i. e. *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, nor at the Altar dedicated to *All the Gods*. To *Pluto* instead of Wine, Oyl was offer'd, as *Virgil* (b) witnesseth, and *Homer* (c) brings in *Ulysses* telling *Aleynous*, That he had made an Oblation to the Infernal Gods, in which he first pour'd forth Wine mix'd with Honey, then pure Wine, and after all, Water; his Words are these;

----- ἐγὼ δ' ἄγε ὅξυ ἐρύσσάμεναι περὶ μῆρ',  
Βέθρον ὄρουσα ὅσοντε πυγύπτον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα.  
Ἀμὲρ δ' αὖτ' ὃ χάος χέουμι πῖσι νεκύεσσιν,  
Πότ' τε μελιχρῆτα, μετέπειτα δ' ἰδέει οἶνον,  
Τὸ πρῶτον αὖθ' ὕδατι δ' ἄλγιστε λείψα πάλωνιν.

Straight from my side I drew my sharp'n'd Blade,  
A Trench a Cubit ev'ry way I made,  
Then these Libations pour'd around the Brim,  
To th' Ghosts that loot along the Stygian stream,  
First Wine with Honey mix'd, then Wine alone,  
Next Water, presently when this was done  
With finest Flower besprinkl'd all around.

Mr. Huchin.

There were also other Gods, to whom in certain places they sacrific'd without Wine; such was *Jupiter ὐπατορ*, i. e. the Supreme, upon whose Altar the *Athenians* never offer'd Wine, or Living-creatures. But of these enough.

The second Thing to be consider'd in the Sacrifices is the *Suffitus*, in Greek call'd *ῥύσις*, which word doth not originally signify the Victim, but *τὰ ψαίστα*, i. e. broken Fruits, Leaves, or Acorns, the only Sacrifices of the Ancients; whence in *Suidas* *τὰ δύν*, are expounded *θυμιάματα*, or Incense. In like manner the Verb *θύειν* is never us'd by *Homer* to signify the killing of the Victim, (for in this sence he has made use of *ἐξέζειν*, and *σφάζειν*) but denotes the offering of these *ψαίστα*, says *Athenæus* (d); which signification was afterwards chang'd. The Matter was generally Frankincense, or some odoriferous Perfume; but it was a long time before Frankincense came to be in use; for in the times of the Trojan War there was no such thing, but instead thereof they offer'd Cedar and Citron-wood, saith *Pliny* (e); and the Grecian Fables tell us, That Frankincense was first us'd, after the

(a) De Sanitate. (b) Æn. VI. v. 254. (c) Odyss. XI. v. 25. (d) Deipn. lib. XIV. (e) Nat. Hist. lib. XIII. cap. I.

change

change of a devout Youth call'd *Libanus* into that Tree, which has taken it's name from him. Hither also you may refer the *ἐλαργαί*, *ἐλαί*, or *mole false*, which were Cakes of Salt and Barley; at first the Barley was offer'd whole and unbroken, till the invention of Mills and Grinding, whence they were call'd *ἐλαί* q. *ἐλαί*, saith *Eustathius* (a). Of this kind also were the *πόπανα*, being round, broad, and thin Cakes; and another sort, call'd *πέλαγαι*, of which there were several kinds, as those three reckon'd by *Phavorinus*, which he calls *Θίσαι*, *ἀνάσταται*, and *ἀμυρῶνται*. There were Cakes also call'd *Σελῦσαι*, from their Figure, for they were broad, and horn'd in imitation of the new Moon. There was another sort of Cakes with horns, call'd also from their Figure *Βέας*, which were usually offer'd to *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Heaue*, and the *Moon*. In Sacrifices to the *Moon* they us'd after six of the *Σελῦσαι* to offer one of these, which for that reason they call'd *Βέας ἐξέμυς*; it was also sometimes offer'd after a Sacrifice of six Animals, saith *Suidas*; and hence *Βέας ἐξέμυς*, because it was a lump without life, is proverbially us'd for a stupid Fellow. Other offerings there were of this sort, which were peculiar to certain Gods, as the *Obeliophori* to *Bacchus*, the *Μελιπῆσται* to *Trophonius*, with others, which for brevity's sake I purposely omit. You may here take notice that no Oblation was thought acceptable to the Gods without a mixture of Salt; which was so much esteem'd, because it was reckon'd a token of Friendship, (of which hereafter) and because it gives a relish and savour to all other Victuals. Barley was offer'd in memory of the great Benefit receiv'd from the Gods, when by their advice Men chang'd their Diet of Acorns, for Corn; whence *κρήνη* is by some deriv'd from *κρίνω*, signifying to discern, because by this sort of food Men were distinguish'd from brute Animals; thus *Eustathius* (c). Here may be also added the sacred Herbs burn'd on the Altars in the time of Sacrifice, which were all call'd by one general name *verbene*.

The third, and chief part of the Sacrifice was the *θύσις*, or Victim; concerning which you are to know in the first place, that it ought to be whole, perfect, and sound in all it's members, without spot or blemish; otherwise, it was thought unacceptable to the Gods, who must be serv'd with the very best of all the Flocks and Herds; to which end *Solon* in his Laws commanded the *Athenians* to offer *ἐκλεκτά θύσια*, chosen and select Sacrifices; and it was an ancient Custom to cull out of the Flocks the goodliest of all the Cattel, and put certain marks upon them, whereby they might be distinguish'd from the rest. *Virgil* (c) tells us, their Herds were wont to be divided into three parts, one of

(a) In Il. α'. p. 99 Edit. Basil. (b) *Phavorini & Aristoph. Schol.* (c) Ibidem. (d) Georg. III. v. 157.

which

which they design'd for Propagation, another for Sacrifice, and the third for Labour; his words are these,

*Post partum, cura in vitulos traducitur omnis,  
Continuque notas, & nomina gentis innotuit:  
Et quos aut pecori malint submittere habendo,  
Aut aris servare sacros, aut scindere terram.*

As soon as e're brought forth great care's injoin'd  
To brand each one for what he is design'd:  
Whether for breeding this be set apart,  
For th'Altar that, a third for Plough, or Cart.

Mr. Hutchin.

And Apollonius Rhodius hints as much in the second Book of his *Argonauticks* (a).

Notwithstanding all this care in the choice of Victims, yet it was thought unlawful to offer them, till the Priests had by divers experiments made tryal of them, of which I shall speak hereafter. The Sacrifice, if it was approv'd by the Priest, was call'd *Τελεία θυσία*, whence comes the frequent mention of *ταύροι, αἶγες, βόες τελεστοί*, &c. If not, it was immediately rejected, and another brought to the Tryal, till one every way perfect was found.

As to the kinds of Animals offer'd in Sacrifice, they differ'd according to the variety of the Gods to whom, and the Persons by whom they were offer'd; a Shepherd would sacrifice a Sheep, a Neat-herd an Ox, a Goat-herd a Goat, and a Fisher after a plentiful draught would offer a Tunny, saith *Athenæus*, to *Nepitune*; and so the rest according to every Man's Employment. They differ'd also according to the diversity of the Gods, for to the Infernal and Evil Gods they offer'd black Victims; to the Good, white; to the Barren, barren ones; to the Fruitful, pregnant ones; lastly, to the Masculine Gods, Males; to the Feminine, Females were for the most part thought acceptable; for the most part, (I say) there being several particular instances, in which these general Rules seem to fail. Almost every God had some of the Animals consecrated to him, and out of these were the Sacrifices often chosen; for instance, to *Hecate* they sacrific'd a Dog, to *Venus* a Dove, or Pigeon. Choice was also made of Animals, according to the dispositions of the Gods, to whom the Sacrifice was to be offer'd; for *Mars* was thought to be pleas'd with no Creatures, but such as were furious and warlike, as the Bull; the He-goat was offer'd to *Bacchus*, as being a Creature that spoils the Vine-yards, &c.

Animals generally made use off, were the Bull, Ox, Cow, Sheep, or Lamb, the Goat and the Boar; and amongst the Birds, the Cock, Hen, and such like. *Athenæus* (b) tells us out of *Agathangides*,

(a) V. 355. (b) *Deipn.* lib. VII.

*ides*, that the *Baotians* were wont to sacrifice certain Eels of an unusual bigness, taken in *Copais*, a Lake of that Country, and about these they perform'd all the Ceremonies usual at other Sacrifices. It will be difficult to guess the reason of this Custom, for my (a) Author tells us, that when a Stranger once happen'd to be present at these Sacrifices, and enquir'd what might be the cause of them, the *Baotians* made him no other answer, than that they were oblig'd to observe the customs of their Ancestors, but thought themselves not bound to give Foreigners any reason for them. The only Animal almost, unlawful to be sacrific'd, was the Ploughing and Labouring Ox, and from him the *Athenians* abstain'd, because he assisted them in tilling the ground, and was, as it were, Man's Fellow-labourer, saith *Ælian* (b). Nor did the *Athenians* only, but almost all other Nations think that Person highly Criminal, who kill'd this Creature with a design either to eat, or sacrifice it; insomuch, that the Offender was thought to deserve death, saith *Varro* (c); *Ælian* (d) in particular, witnesseth as much of the *Phrygians*; and *Pliny* (e) in his Natural History mentions a Person banish'd *Rome*, for being guilty of this Crime; but in later Times they were not so cautious, for *Plutarch* (f) tells us, they us'd them at Feasts, and then 'twas no wonder if they ventur'd also to sacrifice them, and that they did so *Lucian* (g) assures us.

Human Victims were seldom us'd among the *Greeks*, or any other civiliz'd Nation, it being thought a barbarous piece of Cruelty, to butcher Men and Women, and burn them on the Altars; yet some few instances there are of this Inhumanity, as that of *Themistocles*, who, to obtain success against the *Persians*, sacrific'd some Captives of that Nation; the Story you may read at large in *Plutarch* (h). 'Tis also said, that *Bacchus* had an Altar in *Arcadia*, upon which a great many young Damfels were beaten to death with bundels of Rods; something like to which was practis'd by the *Lacedæmonians*, who scourg'd their Children (sometimes to death) in Honour of *Diana Orthia*. To the *Atanes*, and Infernal Gods such Sacrifices were more usually offer'd; for so we read of *Polyxena's* being sacrific'd to *Achilles*, and *Homer* relates how that Heroe butcher'd twelve *Trojan* Captives at the Funeral of *Patroclus*.

You may here observe, that all Sacrifices were to be answerable to every man's Condition; for as it was thought a contempt of the Gods for a rich Man to bring a poor, sordid Offering; so on the other hand, from a poor Man the smallest Oblations were acceptable; if his Estate was not able to reach the price of a living Ox, instead thereof, it was lawful for him to sacrifice one made of Bread-corn, saith *Suidas* (i). And on other accounts when they were not able to provide the accustom'd Sacrifices, they had libertie to offer what the Place, or Time would afford; according to this Rule, when the Cy-

(a) *Athenæus* loco citato. (b) *Var. Hist.* lib. V. cap. XIV. (c) *De Re Rustic.* lib. II. (d) *De Animal.* lib. XII cap. XIV. (e) *Lib. VIII* cap. XLV. (f) *De Euso Animal* lib. II. (g) *Dialog. de Sacrific.* (h) *Vita Themistocles.* (i) *In voce Bŷs.*

*xenians* were closely besieg'd, and could not find a black Ox, (for such an one they were oblig'd to offer upon a certain anniversary Festival) they made one of Corn, and so perform'd the usual Ceremonies: and *Ulysses's* Companions in *Homer*, for want of Barley, made use of Oak-leaves; and instead of Wine, made a Libation to the Gods of Water. But from those that were able more costly Offerings were requir'd; and the wealthier sort, especially when they had receiv'd, or desired any great Favour of the Gods, offer'd great numbers of Animals at once: whence there is so frequent mention of *Hecatombs*, which consisted of an hundred Living-creatures, and of *Chilombs* too, in which were sacrific'd a thousand. An *Hecatomb*, saith *Eustathius* (a), properly signifies a Sacrifice of an hundred Oxen, and such an one was offer'd by *Clisthenes* in *Herodotus*; but it is generally taken for such Sacrifices, as consist of an hundred Animals of any sort; however because the Ox was the principal and most valuable of all the Living creatures us'd at Sacrifices, it has it's name from containing *ἑκατὸν βόας*, an hundred Oxen; others derive it, (saith my Author) from *ἑκατὸν βῆσις*, ἢτοι πῆσις, i. e. an hundred Feet, and then it must have consisted only of twenty-five Animals; others say that a finite number is here put for an indefinite, by a figure very usual among the Poets; and then an *Hecatomb* amounts to no more than a Sacrifice consisting of many Animals; others there are, who will have this Name deriv'd not from the number of the Creatures offer'd, but of the Persons present at the Sacrifice; lastly, *Julius Capitolinus* (b) tells us, that an *Hecatomb* was offer'd after this manner; they erected an hundred Altars of Turf, and then kill'd an hundred Sows, or Sheep, &c. *Suidas* (c) mentions another Sacrifice, which consisted of seven Offerings, viz. a Sheep, Sow, Goat, Ox, Hen, Goose, and after all an Ox of Meal, whence some derive the Proverb, *βῆς ἑξῆς*, of which before. Another Sacrifice there was in which were offer'd only three Animals, whence it was call'd *Tetras*, or *Tetras*, this consisted, saith (d) *Eustathius*, of two Sheep, and an Ox, according to *Epicharmus*; or, of an Ox, Goat, and Sheep; or, of a Boar, Ram, and Bull; or, of a Sow, He-goat, and Ram, for such an one you may find in *Aristophanes*. Sometimes the Sacrifice consisted of twelve Animals, and then saith my (e) Author, it was call'd *δωδεκάς θυσία*, and the rest in like manner. Thus much concerning the matter of Sacrifices.

The next things to be consider'd are the preparatory Rites required before, and the Ornaments us'd in the Time of Sacrifice. No man was admitted to the solemn Sacrifices, except he had purified himself certain Days before, in which he was to abstain from all carnal Pleasures; to this purpose *Tibullus*,

(a) *Iliad* α'. pag. 36 Edit. Basf. (b) In *Maximo*, & *Calpurnio*. (c) In voce *βῆς*. (d) *Odyss.* α'. pag. 423. Edit. Basf. (e) *Ibidem*.

— Dis-

Discedite ab aris,  
Quis vult hesternum gaudia nocte Venus.

You, who to *Venus* paid devoir last night,  
Pleading with lustful heats your appetite,  
From the chaste Altars of the Gods absent.

Mr. Abell.

So severe were they in observing this Custom, that at some of their Solemnities, the Priests and Priestesses were forc'd to take an Oath, that they were duly purified: such an one was impos'd upon the Priestesses of *Bacchus* at *Athens* in this Form (a); *Ἀγνῆστοι καὶ εἰμὲ καθαρά, καὶ ἀγνῆστοι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν καθαρῶν, καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρῶς σωμασίας καὶ τὰ θεῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου καὶ πατρὸς καὶ πάτρός, καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθάρσι χερσίν*. I am pure, undefil'd, and free from all sorts of Pollution, and particularly that, which is contracted by lying with a Man; and do celebrate the Festival of *Bacchus* at the usual Time, and according to the receiv'd Custom of my Country. This seems to be meant not only of Adultery and Fornication, but also of the lawful pleasures of the Marriage-bed; for at the celebration of the Divine solemnities, they thought more than ordinary Purity and Sanctity was required of them, and therefore abstain'd from delights, which at other times they might lawfully enjoy: yet by some of them this sort of purification was thought unnecessary, for *Theano*, an *Athenian* Priestess, being ask'd, when it might be lawfull for a Woman to go from the company of a Man to Sacrifice; answer'd, *From her own at any time, from a stranger never*.

Another thing required of every Person that came to the solemn Sacrifices, was, that he should be purified by Water; to which end, at the entrance of the *Holy-place*, there was a Vessel full of Holy-water, in which sometimes was put a branch of Laurel, saith *Pliny* (b), with which the Priest besprinkled all that enter'd; whence the Vessel was call'd *Πιεῖς ἀρμεῖον*, ὡς καὶ *Πιεῖς ἀρμεῖον*, from besprinkling. *Spondanus* tells us, that before the Sacrifices of the Celestial Gods, the Worshippers had their whole Bodies wash'd, or, if that could not be, at least, their Hands; but for those that perform'd the sacred Rites to the Infernal Gods, a small sprinkling was sufficient. Sometimes they wash'd their Feet, as well as Hands; whence come the Proverbs, *ἀνθρώποις χεῖρας*, and *ἀνθρώποις πόδας*, in *Latin*, *illis manibus*, & *illis pedibus*, which are usually applied to Men that undertake any thing without due Care and Preparation. *Porphyry* (c) tells us, there was a *Programmata* fix'd up, that no Man should go beyond the *Πιεῖς ἀρμεῖον*, till he had wash'd his Hands: and so great a crime

(a) *Demosth.* Orat. in *Near.* (b) *Nat. Hist.* lib. XV. c. XXX. (c) *De Victim.*  
B b 2 was

was it accounted to omit this Ceremony, that *Timarchides* (a) hath related a Story of one *Asterius*, that was struck dead with Thunder, because he had approach'd the Altar of *Jupiter* with unwash'd Hands. Nor was this custom only us'd at solemn Sacrifices, but also at the smallest parts of their Worship; *Hesiod* tells us, he was afraid to make so much as a Libation to *Jupiter* before he had wash'd,

Χερσὶ δ' ἀνίμωσιν Διὶ λείπον ἀθροπα ὄντων  
 Ἀζύμοι. ——— (b)

I dread with unwash'd hands to bring  
 My incens'd Wine to *Jove* an Offering. (Mr. *Abell*.)

And *Telemachus* is said in *Homer's Odyssey* to have wash'd his hands, before he durst venture to pray to the Gods. This they did, out of a conceipt that thereby they were purified from their Sins; and withall signifying, that nothing impure, or any way polluted must approach the Deities. On the same account they were sometimes so superstitious as to wash their Cloaths, as *Homer* relates of *Penelope* before she offer'd Prayers to the Gods.

Whoever had committed any notorious Crime, as Murder, Incest, or Adultery, was forbidden to be present at these holy Rites, till he had been purified; and *Pausanias* (c) speaks of a Temple dedicated by *Orestes* to the *Eumenides*, into which if any such person enter'd, tho' with a design only to see it, he was immediately seiz'd by the *Furies*, and lost the use of his Reason. Nay, even one, that had return'd from a Victory over his lawful Enemies, might not sacrifice, or pray to the Gods before purification, and therefore *Hesiod* in the place before-cited, adds

——— ἔστ' ἢ ἐστὶ καλαινέσθαι Κρονίωνι  
 Αἷματι καὶ λούεσθαι πεπρωμένον εὐχεται ἄναξ.

'Tis impious while I'm thus besmear'd with gore  
 To pay my Vows, and mighty *Jove* adore.

Mr. *Abell*.

All that were allow'd to be present, they call'd Ἀβέσκατοι, ὅποι, &c. the rest were βέσκατοι, ἀλιπτοί, &c. such were Servants at some places; Captives, unmarried Women, and all Bastards within the City of *Athens* (d), except in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cynosarges*; because *Hercules* himself, was under some illegitimacy, being not one of the great Immortal Gods, but having a Mortal Woman for his Mother.

(a) Libro de Coronis. (b) Il. γ'. v. 266. (c) Achan. ii. (d) Isam.

It

It was also unlawful for the Δευτερόπλομοι, or Τετρίπλομοι to enter into the Temple of the *Eumenides*, saith *Hesychius* (a), and after him *Phavorinus*. Now those are so call'd, that had been thought dead, and, after the celebration of their Funeral Rites, unexpectedly recover'd; or, those that after a long absence in foreign Countries, where it was believ'd they were dead, return'd safe home. Such Persons at *Athens* were purified by being let thro' the lap of a Woman's Gown, that so they might seem to be new born, and were then admitted to the holy Rites; it would be very tedious to mention all those that were accounted prophane at particular Sacrifices, or Places; I shall only therefore in general add, that before the Ceremonies were begun, the Κηρυξ, or sometimes the Priest with a loud voice commanded them all to be gone, as in *Callimachus* (b),

——— ἐκός, ἐκός ὅστις ἀλιπτός.

Which saying *Virgil* (c) hath imitated,

——— procul, ô procul este, profani,  
 Conclamas Vates, totaque abssistite luco.

Distance, away, cries out the Priest aloud,  
 Ye profane miscreants, and unhallow'd Crowd,  
 Set not one Foot within this sacred Grove.

Mr. *Abell*.

*Orpheus* commands the doors to be shut against them,

Φέγγεμαί οἱς δέμας ἐστὶ, δέμας δ' ὀπίθε βέσκατοι  
 Πᾶν ὁμῶς. ———

I'll sacred Oracles to them proclaim,  
 Whom Vertue doth with quickning heat inflame,  
 But the *Prophane*, let them be all shut out.

Mr. *Abell*.

Sometimes the sacred part of the Temple was divided from the unhallow'd by a Cord, beyond which the βέσκατοι were not permitted to pass; this Cord is call'd in *Greek* Σχίσμα, and therefore they, that were not admitted to the holy Rites, are call'd by *Demosibenes* (d) Ἀπεργισμένοι, separated by a Cord.

It remains that I speak something of the manner of Purifying themselves; the most usual was by washing with Water, of which before.

(a) Voce Δευτερόπλομοι, item *Plutarch* *Quæst. Rom.* (b) Hymn. in *Apollin.* (c) *Æn.* VI. v. 258. (d) *Orat.* in *Asclepiod.*

B b 3

They

They had sometimes the Water carried round them, and sprinkled on them with a branch of Laurel, or Olive; after this manner were *Chorineus's* Companions purified in *Virgil* (a),

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,  
Spargens rore levi, & ramo salicis Olivæ.*

Then carry'ng Water thrice about his Mates,  
And sprinkling with an Olive sprig, their Fates  
Good *Chorineus* wisely expiates. }

This manner of surrounding was us'd in almost all sorts of Purification, whence it is, that most of the words that signifie any kind of it, are compounded with the Proposition *ἀε*, as *ἀεμαδμήω*, *ἀεαγίζω*, *ἀεθεύω*, &c. And amongst the *Romans* this Custom was so universal, that the word *lustrum*, which properly signifies to purify, or expiate, in *Virgil* (b) signifies to surround, or, go about,

————— dum momibus umbræ  
*Lustrabunt convexa.* —————

————— while shades of Trees  
Shall circuit Mountains round. —————

Mr. *Abell*.

They sometimes us'd Brimstone, mixing it with Salt-water; this done, the Priest took a branch of Laurel, or a lighted Torch, and sprinkled the Person on all sides; whence the *Greek* word *ἀεθεύω*, to purify, from *ἄεθρον*, Brimstone; of this Custom *Juvenal* (c) makes mention,

————— cuperent lustrari, siqua darentur  
*Sulphura cum tædis, & si foret humida laurus.*

Oh! how they'd with their mis'ry to redress,  
And expiate their direful wickedness  
With Torches, Sulphur, and wet Laurel.

Mr. *Abell*.

*Ovid* (d) tells us this was done three times,

*Terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat.*

Thrice severally with Water, Sulphur, Torch,  
*Medea* purifi'd old *Æson*. —————

(a) *Æneid* VI. v. 229. (b) *Æneid* I. v. 611. (c) *Sat.* II. v. 257. (d) *Met.* VII. Fab. II.

There

There was another way of purifying also, by Fanning the Persons in the Air, as *Grangeus* (a) hath observ'd.

I shall but mention two sorts more, spoken of by *Theophrastus* (b), the first was by drawing round the body of the Person to be purified a Squill, or Sea-onion, of which Custom *Lucian* (c) has taken notice. The other was by drawing round the Person a Whelp; and this was us'd by almost all the *Greeks*, saith *Plutarch* (d); who also tells us, that it was call'd *Πτερυλακισμός*, from *πτερυξ*, i. e. a Whelp.

The Ornaments us'd in the time of Sacrifice were as follow; The Priests, as at other times, were richly attir'd, their Garments being usually the same, at least not much differing from Royal Robes. At *Athens* they sometimes us'd the costly and magnificent Garment invented by *Æschylus* for the Tragedians, as we learn from *Atheniens* (e). At *Sparta* their Garments were suitable to the other parts of their Worship, being neither costly, nor splendid, and they always pray'd and sacrific'd with their Feet bare.

In all holy Worship, their Cloaths were to be without spots, or stains, loose, and unbound; but if they had been polluted by the touch of a dead body, or struck by Thunder, or Lightning, it was unlawful for the Priest to Officiate in them.

Various Habits also were us'd according to the diversity of the Gods, in whose honour the Solemnities were celebrated. They that sacrific'd to the Celestial Gods were cloath'd with Purple; to the Infernal Gods they sacrific'd in Black, to *Ceres* in White Garments. They had also Crowns upon their Heads, which were generally made of the leaves of the Tree, that was accounted Sacred to the God, to whom they then paid their Devotions; thus in the Sacrifices of *Apollo* (f), they were crown'd with Laurel; in those of *Hercules*, with Poplar; and after the same manner in the rest.

Belide this Crown, the Priest sometimes wore upon his Head a sacred *Insula*, or *Mitre*, from which on each side hung a Ribband, as we learn from *Virgil* (g); the *Insule* were generally made of wool, and were not only worn by the Priest, but were put upon the Horns of the Victim, and upon the Temple, and Altar; in like manner also were the Crowns us'd by them all. The Victims had the *Insula*, and the Ribbands tyed to their Horns, the Crowns and Garlands upon their necks. Upon any extraordinary occasion, as the Reception, and Petition of any signal Benefit, they overlay'd the Victims Horns with Gold; thus *Diomedes* in *Homer* promises *Minerva*,

*Τὴν τὰ ἐγὼ ξέξω χρυσὸν κέρας ἀειχόαν (h).*

This Cow, whose Horns o're-tipt with Gold look bright,  
You shall have offer'd, *Pallas*, as your Right.

Mr. *Abell*.

(a) In locum *Juvenalis* citatum. (b) *Eth. Charact.* (c) In *Επισκεψαίς*. (d) *Quæst. Rom.* (e) *Deipn.* lib. I. cap. XVIII. (f) *Apoll. Rhod.* Arg. 6. 159. (g) *Æn.* X. v. 538. (h) II. κ'.

Alluding

Alluding to this Custom, *Porphyry* calls the Oxen design'd for Sacrifice *Χρυσόκερως*. *Pliny* (a) hath observ'd, that the larger Sacrifices only, such as Oxen, were thus adorn'd; but the contrary appears out of a Decree of the *Roman Senate*, cited by *Macrobius* (b), in which the *Decem-viri* are commanded to sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the *Grecian* manner, an Ox, and two She-goats with gilded Horns; unless, as some think, Goats were also numbred amongst the *hostiæ majores*, or greater Victims; as the Sheep were counted *maximæ*, or the greatest, not for their bigness, but value, and acceptableness to the Gods.

The Altars were deck'd with sacred Herbs, call'd by the *Roman* *Verbenæ*; which is a general name for all those Herbs that were us'd at Sacrifices; and here also, as at other times, every God had his peculiar Herb, in which he was thought to delight.

All things being prepar'd, the *Mola salsa*, with the Knife, or other Instrument to kill the Victims, and the Crowns were brought in a Basket call'd *Κανὼν*, whence the *Athenian* Virgins, whose Office it was to carry this Basket at the *Panathenæa*, and some other Solemnities, were call'd *Κανηφόροι*.

The Victim, if it was a Sheep, or any of the smaller Animals, was driven loose to the Altar; but the larger Sacrifices were brought by the Horns, as appears from the words of *Homer*, where he describes the Sacrifices of *Nestor*,

Βῦν δ' ἀγέτω κεράων Στράπτον, ὃ δῖος Ἐλέσσω.

*Stratius* and *Echephron* dragg'd by the Horns  
An Ox.

Sometimes, as *Juvenal* (c) witnesseth, it was led by a Rope; but then it was a long one, and not close, or strait, least the Victim should seem to be brought by force to the Altar. Sometimes there were certain Persons appointed to fetch the Sacrifice with musical Instruments, and other solemnities; but this was seldom practis'd, save at the larger Sacrifices, such as *Hecatombs*.

After this, they stood about the Altar, and (d) the Priest turning towards the right hand, went round it, and sprinkled it with Meal and holy Water; He besprinkled also those that were present, taking a Torch or Fire-brand from the Altar, or a branch of Laurel. This water, they call'd *Χερνίς*, being the same they wash'd their hands with at Purification; whence the Poets sometime use *Χερνιμίδαυ* instead of *ἵερὰ ἕλκεν*, to offer Sacrifice. The Vessels also they purrified with Onyons, Water, Brimstone, and Eggs.

This done, the *Cryer* proclaim'd with a loud voice, *Τίς τῆδε*; Who

(a) Lib. XXXIII. cap. III. (b) *Saturnal.* lib. I. (c) *Sat.* XII. v. 5. (d) *Aristoph.* ejusque *Schol.* in *Pace*.

is here? To which the People reply'd, *Πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί*, Many and good; after this they pray'd, and the Priest (in later Ages) exhorted them to joyn with him, saying, *Εὐχόμεθα*, Let us pray. Their requests were generally, that the Gods would vouchsafe to accept their Oblations, and send them Health and Happiness, they added at their *αἰτητήρια*, or petitionary Sacrifices, a Petition for some particular Favour. They seem to have had a general Form of prayer, us'd on all such occasions, which tho' it might vary in words, was usually to the same purpose. One of these you may see in *Aristophanes* (a), another in *Athenæus* (b), out of *Menander's Flatterer*. At this time also the *Cryer* commanded silence in these, or such like words, *Εὐρημέτεσθα, σίγα πᾶς ἔστω λαός*. The same Custom was observ'd by the *Romans* in their Sacrifices, where they proclaim'd, *Favete Linguis*, which words answer to the *Greek* *εὐρημέτεσθα*, by which the People seem not to have been commanded to remain in a deep and uninterrupted Silence, but rather to abstain from all prophane Speeches, and ominous Words, and so *Horace* has interpreted it,

male ominatis

*Parcite verbis.*

Let no ill-boding words your Lips prophane.

Prayer being ended, the Priest examin'd all the members of the Victim, to see if it had any Blemish, or other Defect; nor were they satisfied with this, but they also examin'd, whether it was sound with in; which they did by setting meat before it, as Barley-meal before Bulls, Vetches before Goats; which, if they refus'd to eat, they were judg'd unsound. They also besprinkled the Goats with cold water, which if they endur'd without shrinking, they were thought to be some way indispos'd; thus (c) *Plutarch*. This being done, they made tryal whether the Victim was willing to be sacrific'd to the Gods, by drawing a Knife from it's Fore-head to the Tail, as *Servius* hath observ'd (d), at which if the Victim struggled, it was rejected, as not acceptable to the Gods; but if it stood quiet at the Altar, then they thought the Gods were pleas'd with it; yet a bare non-resistance was not thought sufficient, except it would also give it's consent, as it were, by a gracious Nod, (which was the ancient manner of granting, or approving, whence the word *Amivien* among the *Greeks*, and *ammere* among the *Romans*, signifie to give assent to any thing) and to this end, they pour'd Water into it's Ear, and sometimes Barley, which they call'd *Περὶ τῆς*, saith the *Scholias*t upon *Apollonius Rhodius* (e).

After this, they pray'd again; which being done, the Priest took a

(a) *Loco citato*. (b) *Deipn.* lib. XIV. (c) *Libro de Defect. Orac.* (d) In *Encid.* XII. v. 173. (e) *Argen.* lib. v. 425.



Cup of Wine, and having tasted it himself, caus'd the company to do the like; and then pour'd forth the remainder between the Horns of the Victim, as we learn from *Ovid* (a),

— dim vota sacerdos  
Concipit, & iundis purum inter cornua vinum.

While th' muttering Priest prays at the hallow'd Shrine,  
And pours between the Horns the unmix'd Wine.

Mr. Hutchin.

The same Custom is every where mention'd in Authors; I will give you only one example more out of *Flavius Evemus*, an ancient Greek Poet, who was the Master of *Philistus* the Historian, and flourish'd about the ninety second *Olympiad*, from whom we have this Epigram, in which the *Vine* speaks to the *Goat*,

Κῆν με φάγεις ὅτι εἶζαν, ὅμως ἐπὶ καρπορρίσῳ  
Ὅσον δ' ἀποπείσῃ σοι, πάλιν, δυομένων.

Tho', leach'rous Goat, you on my Cyons browse,  
And tear the swelling clusters off my Boughs,  
Luxuriant Sprouts will shoot out fresh supplies,  
To pour betwixt your Horns at your own Sacrifice.

Mr. Hutchin.

After this, they cast Frankincense and other Perfumes upon the Altar, and, as some say, upon the Fore-head of the Victim, taking them out off the Censer, call'd in Greek *Θυμαματίον*, with three Fingers, as *Ovid* (b) hath inform'd us,

Et digitis tria thura tribus sub limine ponit.

Thrice Frankincense beneath the Threshold laid,  
Which thither with three Fingers she convey'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

Whence it is, that the *Pythia* in *Porphyry* saith, that the whole *Hecatombe* of the *Thessalians*, were not more acceptable to the Gods, than the *χάυσμα*, which a certain *Hermionian* offer'd with his three Fingers. Then they pour'd forth part of the *ὀύλαι* on the back of the Victim, which was upon that account bedew'd with a small sprinkling of water. This being done they pray'd again, and then offer'd the remainder of the *ὀύλαι* upon the Altar; all these they call'd *Περσέματα*, because they were offer'd before the Victim.

Then the Priest, or the *Κύρυξ*, or sometimes the most honourable

(a) Metam. Lib. VII. v. 593. (b) Fast. lib. II.

Person

Person present kill'd the Beast, by striking him down, or cutting his throat. If the Sacrifice was in honour of the Celestial Gods, the Throat was bended up towards Heaven, and this it is, that *Homer* calls *αἰ ἐρείν*, or in one word *ἀνέρπειν*: but if the Sacrifice was made to the Heroes, or Infernal Gods, it was kill'd with it's Throat towards the Ground, saith *Eustathius* (a). If by any chance the Beast had escap'd the stroke, leap'd up after it, bellow'd, did not fall prone upon the ground, after the fall kick'd and stamp'd, was restless as tho' it expired with pain and difficulty, did not bleed freely, and was a long time a dying, it was thought unacceptable to the Gods; for all these were unlucky Omens, as their contraries were tokens of Divine Favour, and good Will. The *Κύρυξ* did then help to slay the Beast, light the Wood, and do other inferiour Offices, while the Priest, or Soothsayer with a long Knife turn'd over the Bowels to observe, and make Predictions from them, for it was not lawful to touch them with his Hands. As to the Blood, they reserv'd it in a Vessel call'd *Σραγγίον*, *Αμνίον*, or, according to *Lycophron*, *Ποιμασπρίον*, and offer'd it on the Altar to the Celestial Gods: if the Sacrifice belong'd to the Gods of the Sea, they pour'd it into Salt-water; but if they were by the Sea-side, they slew not the Victim over the *Σραγγίον*, but over the Water, into which they sometimes threw the Victim; an Instance whereof you may have in *Apollonius Rhodius* (b),

Ἡ εἴ, ἅμα δ' ἀχολῆσιν ἐς ὕδατα λαιματομήσεις,  
Ἡκα κ' ἔ' ὀρύμνης.

Then praying to the blew-ey'd Deity,  
O're the curl'd Surface stabb'd the Sacrifice,  
And cast it over Deck.

Mr. Hutchin.

In the Sacrifices of the Infernal Gods, the Beast was either slain over a Ditch, or the Blood pour'd out of the *Σραγγίον* into it. This done, they pour'd Wine, together with Frankincense, into the Fire, to encrease the Flame; then they laid the Sacrifice upon the Altar, which in former Ages was burn'd whole to the Gods, and thence was call'd *ὀλόκαυσον*: *Prometheus*, as the Poets feign, was the first that laid aside this Custom, for considering that the poorer sort had not wherewith to defray the Expences of a whole Burnt-offering, he obtain'd leave from *Jupiter*, that one part only might be offer'd to the Gods, and the remainder reserv'd for themselves. The Parts belonging to the Gods were the *Μέσση*, these they cover'd with Fat, call'd in Greek *Κνίωσι*, to the end, they might consume altogether in a Flame; for

(a) Il. α'. (b) Argon. IV. v. 1601.

C c 2

except

except they were all burn'd, they thought they did not *καλλιεῖν*, or *litare*, i. e. that their sacrifice was not accepted by the Gods. Upon these *Μεγῆ*, they cast small pieces of flesh, cut from every part of the Beast, as the *Ἀπαρχαί*, or First-fruits of the whole; the doing this they call'd *ὠμοστέειν*, either because they first cut the Shoulder (which is in Greek call'd *ὠμος*) or because they did *ὠμὰ πείνεται*, put these raw Pieces of flesh upon the other Parts. The *Μεγῆ*, or Thighs, were appropriated to the Gods, because of the honour due to these Parts, as the principal Members inserving to Generation, and Walking. Thus *Eustathius* (a); but *Cassaubon* (b) tells us, they sometimes offer'd the Entrails, herein contradicting *Eustathius*, who informs us that these were divided among those, that were present at the Sacrifice, and *Homer* in the Descriptions of his Sacrifices usually tells us, that they feasted upon them, *σπλάγχν' ἐπάταντο*. By this word *σπλάγχνα*, tho' it properly signifies the Bowels, you are to understand, saith my Author (c), the Spleen, Liver, and Heart; and that it is sometimes taken for the Heart, will appear by the signification of it's Compounds, for by *ἄσπλαγχνός* *ἄνθρωπος*, is meant a pusillanimous Fellow, as on the contrary *εὐσπλαγχνός* denotes a Man of Courage, saith the *Scholiast* (d) upon *Sophocles*.

Whilst the Sacrifice was burning, the Priest, and the Person that gave the Victim, did jointly make their Prayers to the God, with their hands upon the Altar, which was the usual posture in Praying, as shall be shown hereafter. Sometimes they play'd upon Musical Instruments in the time of Sacrifice, thinking hereby to charm the God into a propitious Humour, as appears by a Story related in *Plutarch* (e), of *Ismenias*, who play'd upon a Pipe at a Sacrifice, and when no lucky Omens appear'd, the Man by whom he was hired, snatch'd the Pipe, and play'd very ridiculously himself, and when all the company found fault with him, he said, *To play satisfactorily is the gift of Heaven; Ismenias* with a smile replied, *Whilst I play'd, the Gods were so ravish'd with the Musick, that they were careless of the Sacrifice, but to be rid of thy Noise they presently accepted it.* This Custom was most in use at the Sacrifices of the Aerial Deities, for they were thought to delight in Musical Instruments, and Harmonious Songs.

They also danc'd round the Altars, whilst they Sung the sacred Hymns, which consisted of three *Στanzas*, or Parts; the first of which, call'd *Strophe*, was Sung in turning from East to West; the other, nam'd *Antistrophe*, in returning from West to East; then they stood before the Altar, and sung the *Epode*, which was the last part of the Song. These Hymns were generally compos'd in honour of the Gods, and contain'd an account of their famous Actions, their Clemency, and Liberality, and the Benefits conferr'd by them upon Mankind, and con-

(a) Il. α'. (b) In *Theophrast.* (c) In Il. α'. (d) In *Ajace.* (e) *Symposium*. lib. II. Q. 1.

cluded

cluded with a petition for the continuation of their Favours. They were all call'd by a general name *Παιάνες*, but there was also a particular name belonging to the Hymns of almost every God, saith *Polibius*; for instance, the Hymn of *Venus*, was call'd *Ἰππηῖος*, that of *Apollo* was peculiarly nam'd *Παιάν*, and both of them were stil'd *Περισφύδια*, the Hymns of *Bacchus* were call'd *Διθύραμβοι*, &c. Of all Musical Instruments, the Flute seems to have been most us'd at Sacrifices, whence comes the Proverb *Ἀδελτῶ βίον ζῆν*, applied to those that live upon other Men's Charges, because the *Ἀδελτοι*, or Flute-players, us'd to attend on Sacrifices, and partake of them, and so liv'd on Free-cost, as *Suidas* (a) informs us.

The Sacrifice being ended, the Priest had his share, of which I have already spoken, a tenth part also was due to the Magistrates call'd *Πρυτάνεις*, at *Athens*. At *Sparta* the Kings had the first share in all publick Sacrifices, and the skins of the Victim allotted to them. It was usual also to carry home some part of the Offering, for good Luck's sake; and this they call'd *Ἰρίσια*, thinking it conduc'd to their Welfare, and the preservation of their Health. The *Athenians* were commanded by a Law to observe this Custom; and those that were niggardly, did sometime so strain the courtesy of the Gods, that they would sell what remain'd, and make a gain of their Devotion. Sometimes they sent the remaining parts of the Sacrifice to their absent Friends; which Custom (b) *Theocritus* hath taken notice of,

— καὶ τὸ δὲ δύσας  
Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μήστρανι καλὸν κρέας σὺν ἴκῃ πέμψον.

Go Swain, go offer to the tunefull Nine,  
And send a part to *Morson*. —

Mr. Huchin.

But for the most part, especially if they had receiv'd any lucky Omen, or Token of Divine Favour, the Sacrifice being ended, they made a Feast; for which purpose there were Tables provided in all the Temples. *Athenaeus* (c) tells us, that amongst the Ancients, they never indulg'd themselves with any Dainties, nor drunk any quantity of Wine, but at such Times; and thence a Banquet is call'd *Θοῖνος*, because they thought they were oblig'd *ἀπὸ θεῶν οἰνῆσαι*, to be drunk in honour of the Gods; and to be drunk they call'd *μεθύειν*, because they did it *μετὰ τὸ θύειν*, after Sacrifice. All the time the Banquet lasted, they continued singing the praises of the God, as *Homer* witnesseth in his account of the Sacrifice, celebrated by *Chryses* and the *Grecians* to *Apollo*,

(a) *Voce Ἀδελτῶ.* (b) *Idyll. V. v. 139.* (c) *Deipn. lib. III. cap. III.*

Οἱ δὲ πανημίειοι μολπῇ θῶν ἰλάσκοντο,  
Καλὸν αἰδόντες πάνηνα κῆρυ Αἰαῶν,  
Μέλποντες Ἐχέργον. ——— (a)

All day in moving sounds the Grecians sing,  
And Ecchoing woods with *Io Peans* ring,  
To win the God t'accept their Offering.

Mr. Hutchin.

When they offer'd Sacrifice to *Vesta*, it was usual to eat up whatsoever was left, and to send any part of it abroad was thought a Crime; whence the Proverb *Εστὶ θῶν*, and among the *Romans*, *Lari Sacrificare*, is applied to Gluttons, that eat up all that is set before them; to this Goddess also they offer'd the first part of all their Libations, at least of all those that were paid to the Household Gods, whence comes the Proverb, *ἀρ' Ἑστὶς ἀρχαδαί*, to begin at home. This Custom the old Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (b) tells us, was founded upon a Grant of *Jupiter* to *Vesta*, for after he had suppress'd the Sons of *Titan*, he promis'd *Vesta* to grant whatever she would request; whereupon she first desired that she might enjoy a perpetual Virginity; and in the next place, that she might have the first part in all Sacrifices. But, as some say, not only the first, but the last part of the Sacrifices was offer'd to her; the reason they give for which Custom, is, that *Vesta* is the same with the *Earth*, to which the first and last parts belong, because all things are produc'd out of that Element, and again resolv'd into it. To return, the Banquet in some places was to be ended before Sun-set, as *Athenens* (c) informs us, and was not to exceed an appointed time in any Place. After the Banquet, they sometimes play'd at Dice, as *Saunders* hath observ'd out of *Plato*. The Entertainment, and Recreations being ended, they return'd to the Altar, and offer'd a Libation to *Jupiter* τέλει, or, the Perfect. The Primitive *Greeks* were wont to offer the Tongues together with a Libation of Wine to *Mercury*, as *Athenens* (d) reports; *Apollonius* (e) also witnesseth the same,

Οὐδ' ὀπίω μᾶτε πάντα κερατάμηναι δὴ λοβὰς  
Ἡ, θῶνς ὄν, τίους ὄν τὸ γλώσσῃ χέοντο  
Αἰδομένης ὕπνῃ δὲ αἰὲ κρέας ἑμῶντο.

Then, as the Custom of their Countrey was,  
On th' burning Tongues the mixt Libation flows;  
This done, they haste unto their soft repose.

Mr. Hutchin.

(a) Il. α'. v. 473. (b) In Σφ. p. 491. Edit. *Aurel. Allobrogum*. (c) Deipn. l. IV. (d) Deipn. lib. I. cap. XIV. (e) Argon lib. I. v. 517.

These

These Tongues they offer'd at the end of the Feast, either with a design to make an Expiation for any undecent Language that had been spoken; or in token that they committed to the Gods as witnesses, what Discourse had pass'd at the Table; or to signify that what had been spoken there, should by no means be taken notice of afterwards, or divulg'd. They were offer'd to *Mercury*, because he was the God of Eloquence, and therefore took a particular delight in that Member.

After all, they return'd thanks to the God for the honour and advantage of sharing with him in the Victim, and then were dismiss'd by the *Kēρυξ* in this Form, *Αἰὼν ἀπ' αὐς*.

## CHAPTER V.

### Of the Grecian Prayers and Supplications.

THE Piety of the ancient *Grecians*, and the honourable Opinion they had conceiv'd of their Deities, doth in nothing more manifestly appear, than in the continual Prayers and Supplications they made to them; for no man amongst them, that was endued with the smallest Prudence, saith *Plato* (a), would undertake any thing of greater or lesser Moment, without having first ask'd the Advice and Assistance of the Gods; for this they thought the surest means to have all their Enterprizes crown'd with Success.

The *Lacedemonians* had a peculiar Form of Prayer, for they never us'd, either in their publick, or private Devotions, to make any other request, than that the Gods would grant what was honourable and good for them, as *Plato* (b) witnesseth; but *Plutarch* (c) tells us, they added one Petition more, viz. That they might be able to suffer Injuries. The *Athenians* (d) us'd in their publick Prayers, to desire Prosperity for themselves, and the *Chians*; and at the *Panathenaea*, a Solemnity, which was celebrated once in five Years, the publick Cryer us'd to implore the blessing of the Gods upon the *Athenians* and *Placians*.

It is my principal design in this place to describe the manner of Supplicating the Gods, but because they made their Supplications to Men, for the most part, after the same manner, I shall treat of them both together. Petitioners both to the Gods and Men, us'd to supplicate with green Boughs in their Hands, and Crowns upon their Heads, or Garlands upon their Necks, which they did with a design to beget Respect in those to whom they made their Supplications, as *Triclinius* (e) in his Commentary upon *Sophocles* teacheth us. These

(a) *Timaeo*. (b) *Alcib. II.* (c) *Institut. Lacanis*. (d) *Alexand. ab Alex. Gen. Dist. lib. V. cap. XXVII.* (e) *Oed. Tyr. v. 3.*

Boughs

Boughs are call'd by several Names, as *δαλλοί*, or *κλάδοι ἱκθήμεροι*, *φυλλάδες ἱκθήμεροι*, and *ἱκθήμεραι*, they were either of Laurel, or Olive, whence *Statius* (a),

*Mise nemus circa,*  
*Vitisque Laurus, & supplicis arbor Olive.*

About this Grove the peaceful Olive grows  
And sprightly Laurel, on whose verdant Boughs  
Wreath'd Garlands hang.

Mr. Hutchin.

These Trees were made use of at such times, first, because they were *ἀειθαλεῖς*, always green, and flourishing, and therefore *Æwipides* (b) gives the latter the Epithete of *ἀκμήρατος*, never fading. Secondly, because the Laurel was a sign of Victory, Success, and Joy; the Olive of Peace, and good Will. In these Boughs they put Wool, which was not tyed to them, but wrapp'd about them; for which reason the Tragedian (c) seems to have call'd it *Δισμὸν ἄδισμον φυλλάδος*, the Tye without a Knot. This Wool, because it was wrapp'd round, was call'd by the Romans *Vitta*, or *Infula*, whence *Virgil* (d),

— ne temne, quod ulero  
*Præferimus manibus vittas, ac verba precantium.*

Let not the King despise us, 'cause we bear  
This Wreath, the badge of Suppliants.

Mr. Hutchin.

With these Boughs, and sometimes with their Hands, if they were doubtful, whether they should prevail or not, it was usual to touch the Knees of the Statue, or Man, to whom they address'd themselves; if they had Hopes, they touch'd his right Hand, but never the Left, for that they thought ominous; if they were confident of Success, they rose as high as his Chin, or Cheeks; they touch'd the Head, because it is the principal and most honourable Member in a Man's Body, as *Eustathius* (e) thinks, or because they would have the Person give his consent to their Petitions *amittendo*, by a Nod, for this was the manner of granting requests; whence *Jupiter* in *Homer* (f) having granted *Thetis's* Petition, adds,

Εἰδ', ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ κατακύνουσμαι, ὅρρα ποιοῖσθης.  
Τὺτο γὰρ ἐξ ἐμῆθεν γένειτ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγιστον

(a) *Theb.* lib. XII. (b) In *Ione* v. 1436. (c) In *Ἰκτινίδ.* v. 31. (d) *Æneid.* VII. v. 236. (e) In II. α'. pag. 97. Edit. *Basli.* (f) II. α'. v. 524.

Τέκμων, ὃ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάχρετον, εἰδ' ἀπατηλὸν,  
Οὐδ' ἀπελευττήν γ', ὅ, π' κιν κεφαλῇ κατακύνουσ.

But least you doubt, if you can doubt a God,  
I'll clear all scruples by a solemn Nod,  
For that's with me a never failing Sign,  
And do's performance to my Vows enjoyn.

Mr. Hutchin.

The Hand they touch'd (a), as being the instrument of Action; the Knees, because they desired the Soul of the Person should bend, as it were, and incline to their requests, for that the joynts in that place are more flexible than in any other Part; or because they are the Instruments of Motion, as if they requested the Person to bestir himself, and walk about to effect their desires. Sometimes they touch'd the Knees with one hand, and the Head, or Hands with the other, for so did *Thetis* by *Jupiter*,

Ἥειν δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν ἱερὸν, Οὐλυμπὸν τε,  
Εὖριν δ' εὐρύοπα Κρονίδην ἄτερ ἡμενον ἄλλων  
Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδαϊρέδ' Οὐλύμποιο.  
Καὶ ἔα πάροςθ' αἰτοῖο καθέζετο, καὶ λάβει γένων  
Σκαίῃ, δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἀνθριῶν ἐλῦσα.

Just had the blushing Goddess heav'd her head  
From off the Pillow of her Saffron Bed,  
When azure *Thetis* Heav'n-ward wing'd her flight,  
And on the steep *Olympus* did alight;  
Where she All-seeing *Jove* found seated high,  
Remote from each Inferiour Deity;  
Straight at his Feet her self she prostrate cast,  
And with her Right-hand seiz'd with eager haste  
His bristly Beard; her Left his Knee embrac'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

Sometimes they kiss'd the Hands, and Knees; but if the Petitioners were very fearful, and the Persons, to whom they address'd themselves, of very great Quality, they bow'd so low, as to kiss their Feet: this kiss the Romans call'd *Labnium*, and the old Gloss renders it *φίλημα βασιλικόν*, ἢ ἀσπαστικὸν βασιλέως, a kiss of a King. Sometimes they kiss'd their own Hands, and with them touch'd the Person. Another sort of Salutation there was, whereby they did Homage to the Gods, viz. by putting the Fore-finger over the Thumb (perhaps upon the

(a) *Eustath.* ibidem

middle joynt, which they us'd in counting the number ten) and then giving a turn on their right Hand, as it is in *Plautus* (a),

Ph. *quod si non affert, quo me vortam nescio.*

Pa. *Si Deos saluas, dextro vortam censeo.*

Ph. But if he fail me, I know't which way to turn.

Pa. Turn! -- why you must turn to th' Right-hand I conceive, If you wou'd reverence the Gods. ———

Mr. Hutchin.

So generally was this Custom of kissing practis'd by Supplicants, that *Eustathius* (b) thinks the word *προσκύβειν*, to adore, was deriv'd from *κύβη*, which signifies to kiss.

Another manner they had of Supplicating, by pulling the Hairs off their Head, and offering them to the Person, to whom they pray'd; after this manner did *Agamemnon* present himself before *Jupiter*, when *Hector* had given the *Grecians* an Overthrow (c),

Πολλὰς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς προδελύμινος ἔλατο χείρας  
ῥ' ἔβη Διὶ.

But he Celestial *Jove* presents with Hairs,  
Which from his mangled Head with eager force he tears.

Mr. Hutchin.

They often cloathed themselves with filthy Rags, or put on the Habit of Mourners, that they might move Pity and Compassion.

The Postures they us'd, were different, for sometimes they pray'd standing, sometimes sitting, but generally kneeling, because that seems to bear the greatest show of Humility; whence the words *γυμνάζειν*, *γυνυπτέειν* and such like, signify to pray, or make Supplication. The *Greek Scholiast* upon *Pindar* tells us, they were wont to turn their Faces towards the East, when they pray'd to the Gods; and to the West, when to the Heroes, or Demigods. Others (d) say, they always kept their Faces towards the Sun, for in the morning they turn'd themselves to the East, at noon to the South, and in the evening to the West.

The safest Place for a Petitioner either to Gods, or Men (next to the Temples and Altars) was the Hearth, or Fire-place, whither they presently ran, when they came to any strange Place in Travel, or Banishment, as being the Altar of *Vesta*, and the Household Gods. When they had once seated themselves there, in the Ashes, in a mournful Posture, and with a dejected Countenance, they needed not to

(a) *Circul. A&I. Scen. I.* (b) *Ad Odyss. c.* (c) *Iliad. v.* (d) *Calanus Rhod. lib. XII. cap. II.*

open

open their Mouths, neither was it the Custom so to do; for those Actions spoke loud enough, and told the want and calamity of the Supplicant more movingly than a thousand Orations; and this we learn from *Apollonius Rhodius* (a),

Τὰ δ' ἄνω, καὶ ἀναυδοὶ ἐν ἱερῇ αἰζαντες  
Ἰζανον, ἢ τε δίκην λυγροῖς ἱκέτης τίτου.

As soon as e're the Threshhold they can get,  
At *Vesta's* shrine in humblest sort they sit;  
For there they're safe, and of want nothing know,  
Such Privilege our Laws the Poor allow.

Mr. Hutchin.

The *Molossians* had a peculiar manner of supplicating, different from that of all other Countries; which was practis'd by *Themistocles*, when he was pursued by the *Athenians* and *Lacedaemonians*, and forc'd to cast himself on the Protection of *Admetus*, King of that Country; He held the young Prince (who was then a Child) in his Arms, and in that posture, prostrated himself before the King's Household Gods; this being the most sacred manner of Supplication among the *Molossians*, and which was not to be rejected, as *Plutarch* reports (b).

They that fled to the Gods for Refuge, or Help, us'd first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then make known their Desires to the Deity,

Πάντας δὲ βωμούς, οἱ καὶ Ἀδμήτου δέμους,  
Προσῆλθι, καξίστρε, καὶ προσεύξατο.

And when with Myrtle Garlands he had crown'd  
Each Altar in *Admetus* House, he pray'd,

Mr. Hutchin.

saith *Euripides* (c). It was usual also to take hold of the Akars, as *Virgil* (d) witnesseth,

*Talibus orabat distis, arasque tenebas.*

Laying his hands on th' Altar, thus he pray'd.

Whence *Varro* is of opinion that Altars were call'd *are*, *q. ansa*, which word is us'd to signify any thing that may be taken hold of. It was also an usual Gesture in Praying to lift up their Arms towards Heaven, as *Helena* saith in her Prayer to *Juno* (e),

(a) *Argonaut. lib. IV.* (b) *In Themistocle.* (c) *In Alceste.* (d) *Aeneid. VI.* (e) *Euripid. Hel. v. 1100.*

ὁρθὰς ὠλένας πρὸς ὑρανὸν  
 Πιπνῶνθ', ἢν' οἰκείῃς ἀστέρων ποικίλματα.

We our extended Arms, great Goddess, heav'd  
 Tow'rd thy Pavilion deckt with Asterisms.

Mr. Hutchin.

Whence you may imagine the reason of lifting up their Hands, was, that they might hold them towards the Gods, whose Habitation is in Heaven. Homer every where mentions this posture, always adding *χεῖρας ἀναχών*, when he speaks of any one that pray'd to the Gods. Nay, this Custom was so universally receiv'd, that the holding up of Hands, is sometimes us'd to signify Praying, as in Horace,

*Celo supinas si iulæ manus.*

If to the Gods you've pray'd with Hands lift up.

On the contrary, because the Infernal Gods were suppos'd to have their Habitation beneath the Earth, it was usual to pray to them with Hands pointed downwards. Prayer being ended, they lifted up their Hand to their Mouths, and kiss'd it; which Custom was also practis'd by the Romans, whenever they pass'd by a Temple, and was accounted a sort of Veneration, as Alexander ab Alexandro informs us (a); and Lilius Gyraldus (b) tells us, he hath observ'd the same in Homer, and others.

Sometimes, if they obtain'd their Request, and it was a matter of Consequence, they presented to the God some rich Gift, or offer'd a Sacrifice in thankfulness for the Benefit they had receiv'd; sometimes they related it to the Priest of the Temple, that it might be registred, as a Testimony of the goodness of the Gods, and their readiness to hear the Petitions of Mortals, and send them relief; and for an encouragement to Men to make known their Wants, and Desires to the Deities, and expect assistance from them; on this account, as Eusebius has observ'd, there are no Prayers made in Homer, the Petitions of which were just and reasonable, that were not rewarded with a full and satisfactory Answer.

(a) Gen. Diet. lib. IV. cap. XVI. (b) Syntagm. de Diis Gentium.

## CHAPTER VI.

### Of the Grecian Oaths.

HAVING describ'd the manner of offering Sacrifices and Prayers to the Gods, I shall proceed in the next place to speak of the Honour pay'd to them, by using their Names in solemn Contracts, Promises, and Asseverations; and calling them to witness their Truth, and Honesty, or punish their Falshood, and Treachery, if they were Deceivers.

*Ορκος*, the God of Oaths, is by Hesiod (a) said to be the Son of *Eris*, or Contention; and Fables tell us, that in the Golden Age, when Men were nice Observers of the Laws of Truth and Justice, there was no occasion for Oaths, nor any use made of them: But when they began to degenerate from their Primitive Simplicity, when Truth and Justice were banish'd out of the Earth, when every one began to make advantage of his Neighbour by Cozenage and Deceit, and there was no Trust to be plac'd in any Man's Word, it was high time to think of some expedient, whereby they might secure themselves from the Fraud and Falshood of one another. Hence had Oaths their first Original; and tho' it be probable, that at first they were only us'd upon weighty and momentous Occasions, yet in process of time they came to be applied to every trivial Matter, and in common Discourse; which has given occasion to the distinction of Oaths into that, which was call'd *Ο μίγας*, and us'd only on solemn and weighty Accounts; and that which they term'd *Ο μικρός*, which was taken in things of the smallest Moment, and was sometimes us'd merely as an expletive, to fill up a Sentence, and make a round or emphatical Period. Some there are that tell us, the *μίγας ὅρκος* was that, wherein the Gods, *μικρός* that wherein Creatures were call'd to witness; but the falsity of this distinction doth evidently appear by a great many Instances, whereof I shall only mention one, viz. that of the *Arcadians*, amongst whom the most sacred and inviolable Oath was taken by the water of a Fountain call'd *Stryx*, near *Nonacris* a City, as Herodotus (b), or, according to others, a Mountain in *Arcadia*; upon which account it was, that *Chromenes* the *Lacedæmonian* to secure the fidelity of the *Arcadians*, had a design to carry the principal Men among them to *Nonacris*, and there make them swear by this Fountain, tho' they had taken another Oath before, as my Author (c)

(a) Theogon. v. 231. (b) Erat. (c) Loc. citato.

hath related. It will not be impertinent in this place to mention the great Oath of the Gods by the *Stygian Lake*, for *Jupiter*, as *Hesiod* (a) reports,

Αἰνέω μὲν γὰρ ἔθνεα θεῶν μέγαν ἑμυδαίον ὅρκον.

Ordain'd this *Lake* a solemn Oath shou'd be  
To all the Gods. —————

Mr. Huchin.

Which is the reason, why some derive the word ὅρκον, an Oath, from *Orcus*, Hell. This Oath, was invented by *Jupiter*, and prescrib'd by him to the rest of the Gods, in honour of *Styx*; because she with her Sons came the first of all the Gods to his assistance in the War against the *Giant*; or, for that her daughter *Victory* was favourable to him, saith *Hesiod*; or, because he had quench'd his thirst with her Waters in the Fight. If any God swore falsely by these Waters, he was debarr'd the use of *Nectar*, and depriv'd of his Divinity for an hundred years; these Others reduce to nine, but *Servius*, out of *Orpheus*, enlargeth them to nine thousand.

The God, that was thought more especially to preside over Oaths, was *Jupiter*; more especially I say, because all the Gods seem to have been concern'd in them, for it was usual to swear by them all, or any of them; and of any perjurd Person they spoke in general, that he had offended the Gods, of which there are innumerable Instances; but they were thought chiefly, and more peculiarly to belong to *Jupiter's* care, and tho' perhaps this may not appear (as some think it doth) from the word *Jus-jurandum*, which they will have to be so call'd q. *Jovis jurandum*, yet it will sufficiently be prov'd by the plain Testimony of the Poet, that saith (b),

————— Ζῆνα θ', ὅς ὅρκων  
ἐνατοῖς παμίας νόμιμος.

And *Jove*, that over human Oaths presides.

The Gods, by whom *Solon* commanded the *Athenians* chiefly to swear in publick Causes, were three, viz. *Ixion*, *Kadatos*, and *Egeas*; or rather one *Jupiter* Ὅρκον, by three Names; but in common Discourse they usually swore by any other of their Gods; sometimes by all the Gods in General, sometimes by the twelve great Gods, as, μὲν τις δῶκε θεῶν: the *Spartans* usually, μὲν τὸ Σιῶ, by *Cassor*, and *Pollux*. The Women's Oaths were commonly by *Juno*, *Diana*, or *Venus*, or μὲν τὸ θεῶν, i. e. by *Ceres* and *Proserpina*,

(a) *Theogonia*. (b) *Empid. Medea*. v. 170.

which

which were appropriated to the Female Sex, according to *Phavorinus* (a), and never us'd by Men, except in Imitation of the Women. I do not mean that these were the only Oaths us'd by Women, for the contrary doth abundantly appear, but that they were the most usual ones, tho' they often swore by other Goddesses, and sometimes by the Gods, as you may find in *Aristophanes*.

Men generally swore by the God, to whom the Business they had in hand, or the Place they were in, did belong; in the Market they usually swore by Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος, or *Mercury*; Plough-men by *Ceres*; those that delighted in Horses, by *Neptune*. The *Athenians* (b) alone of all the *Greeks* us'd to swear by *Isis*, and the *Thebans* commonly by *Osiris*.

Sometimes, either out of Haste, or Assurance of their being in the right, or some such reason, they swore indefinitely by any of the Gods, leaving it to the Party, to whom they swore, to chose whomsoever he pleas'd of the Gods to be tryed by, in this manner, Ομνυμι μὲν πᾶσι θεῶν: which Form you may find us'd by *Plato*, in his Dialogue intitl'd *Phaedrus*, and in *Aristanetus's* Epistle of *Euxineus* to *Pytheas*. Others, thinking it unlawful to use the name of God upon every slight Occasion, would say no more than μὰ τὸν, or, By &c. by a religious ellipsis omitting the Name; thus *Phavorinus* (c). *Isocrates* in *Siobaus* (d) tells us, that it was not allowable to swear by any of the Gods in any Suit of Law about Money. *Pythagoras*, as *Hierocles* (e) informs us, was very cautious in this Matter, for he rarely swore by the Gods himself, or allow'd his Schollars to do so: instead of them they us'd to swear by τὴν τετράκτῳ, or the number Four, saith *Plutarch* (f), as thinking the perfection of the Soul consisted in this Number, there being in every Soul, a Mind, Science, Opinion, and Sense. *Socrates* told his Schollars, that *Rhadamanthus*, the justest Man that ever liv'd, had expressly forbidden Men to swear by the Gods, but instead of them allow'd them the use of a Dog, Goose, Ramm, or such like Creatures; and in conformity to this Rule, that Philosopher was wont to swear μὲν τὸν κυῖα, χλῦα, or πλάτανον, by a Dog, Goose, or Plane-tree. *Zeno*, the Father of the *Stoicks*, usually swore μὲν τὴν κρόσσιν, i. e. by a Shrub that bears Capers. In *Ananias*, one swears by *Crambe*, i. e. Cole-wort, saith *Calius* (g); the same Oath you may meet with in *Teleclides*, *Epicharmus*, and *Eupolis*, and it seems to have been us'd more especially amongst the *Ionians*.

Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as *Hippolytus* in *Doripides* (h),

————— καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ὁμνυμι.

(c) In voce Nā. (b) *Alex. ab Alex. lib. V. cap. X Gen. Dier.* (c) Voce Mē. (d) Ser. XXV. (e) In *Tythag. Aur. Carm. v. 2.* (f) Libro de Placit. Philosph. (g) *Aniq. Lect. lib. XXVII. cap. XXVIII.* (h) Vers. 1025.

And



And by the solid Ground I swear.

Sometimes by Rivers, Fountains, Floods, the Elements, Sun, Moon, and Stars, all which they accounted very sacred Oaths (a). Sometimes they swore by any thing they made use of, as a Filher by his Nets, a Souldier by his Spear, and this last was a very great Oath, if you will believe what (b) *Justin* hath reported, viz. That the Ancients paid divine Worship to this Weapon; in memory of which in later Ages it was usual for the Statues of the Gods to hold a Spear: and *Eustathius* (c) writes, that *Ceneus* erected a Spear, and commanded that it should be worshipp'd as a God. Kings and Princes usually swore by their Scepters, as we find every where in *Homer*; and this also was thought a solemn Oath, because the Scepter is a Badge and Ensign of Regal and Judicial Power.

They swore also by Men; sometimes by the Dead, of which that of *Demosthenes* is a famous Instance, when in an Oration to the People of *Athens*, he swore by τὰς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those that valiantly lost their lives in the Battle at *Marathon*; sometimes they swore by the Living, saith *Struckius* (d), and this was wont to be done either by their Σωτηρία, Health and Safety; or Αλγία, their Misfortunes; or their Names; or some of their Members, as their Eyes, Right-hand, especially their Head, for this was accounted a very solemn Oath,

πατρὸς κεφαλῇ μέγαν ὄρκον ὀμῶμαι.

By my good Fathers Head, to me most dear,  
This binding Oath I solemnly do swear,  
Mr. *Edw. Dechair* of *Lincolns* Coll.

Saith one in *Homer*; and *Helena*, swearing to *Menelaus*, calls it ἄγαν ὄρκον, a sacred Oath,

Ἄλλ' ἄγαν ὄρκον σὸν χάρις κατομῶσαι.

Let your vow'd Head this sacred Oath confirm.

The reason of this was, because the Head was accounted the principal and most noble part of Man; or, as *Hansenius* (e) thinks, because it was the Hieroglyphick of Health.

Sometimes they swore by those who were dearest to them, as Parents, Children; or those they had an high esteem for, so the *Pythagoreans* us'd to swear by their master *Pythagoras*; nor did they this, as thinking him a God, or Heroe, but because he was a Person, whose

(a) *Alex.* ab *Alex.* Gen. Dier. lib. V. cap. X. (b) Lib. XIII. (c) In II. c'.  
(d) Libro de Sacris p. 93. (e) Libro de Jurament. Veterum.

memory they thought deserv'd a great Veneration, and whose Merits had exalted him to a near affinity with the Divine Nature.

The manner of taking Oaths, was sometimes by lifting up their hands to Heaven; whence *Apollo*, in the Poet, bids *Lachesis* χεῖρας ἀνατείνειν: tho' *Hansenius* is of Opinion that this Custom was of later date.

Sometimes in the μέγας ὄρκῳ, or Great and solemn Oath, they laid their hands upon the Altar, as appears from that saying of *Pericles*, who, being desired by a Friend to take a false Oath upon his account, reply'd, That he was his Friend to the Altars, and no farther; as likewise from the Story reported by *Diogenes Laertius* of *Xenocrates*, who, being a Man eminent for a strict and vertuous Life, and summon'd as a witness in a certain Cause, where having spoken what he knew of the Matter, went to the Altar to confirm his Evidence by Oath; but the Judges well knowing the Integrity of the Man, with unanimous Consent bid him forbear, and gave credit to him upon his bare Word. Instead of the Altar, saith *Pfeifer* (a), sometimes they made use of a Stone; for this he is beholding to *Suidas*, who hath taken it out of *Aristotle*, and *Philochorus*, and for a farther confirmation of it, hath cited these words out of the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Conon*, Τῶν τε παρόντων καὶ ἑνα ἡμῶν ὑπὸ πόσιν ἡ λίθον ἄγοντες, ἢ ἐξορκύντες. i. e. And bringing all us that were present, one by one, to the Stone, and there administering the Oath to us. True it is, indeed, that the *Athenians* did sometimes swear οὕτως τὸν λίθον, but what this λίθος was, *Pfeifer* seems not to have understood; however the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (b) hath inform'd us what is meant by it, in his Comment upon this verse,

Τονθοεῖζοντες ὃ γήρα πῶς λίθῳ προσέταυρον.

we, tho' depress'd with Age,  
With mutterings near Tribunals still approach.

Mr. *Dechair*.

Where he tells us, that by λίθος is meant the βῆμα, or Tribunal, in *Pnyx*, or publick Place where the *Athenian* Assemblies us'd to meet; the reason why it is so call'd he gives us in another place, where the *Comedian* calls it Πέτρα, a Stone, because it stood upon a Rock; by this you may understand what is meant by λιθωμόν, i. e. those that took, or impos'd an Oath in *Pnyx*. Instead of the Altar, in private Contracts, the Person swearing, according to the *Roman* fashion, laid his Hand upon the Hand of the Party to whom he swore: this Ceremony *Menelaus* in *Emipides* demands of *Helen*,

(a) *Antiq. Græc.* lib. II. cap. XXVII. (b) In *Acharnes* lib. I.

Επὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς νῦν δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς θῆτε. (a)

T' unite our Hearts, our Hands let's friendly joyn.

In all compacts, and agreements it was usual to take each other by the Right-hand, that being the manner of plighting Faith; and this was done, either out of the respect they had to the number Ten, as some say, there being ten Fingers in the two Hands: or because such a Conjunction was a token of Amity and Concord; whence at all friendly Meetings they joyn'd Hands, as a sign of the Union of their Souls. The Right-hand seems to have been us'd rather than the Left, because it was more honourable, as being the Instrument by which Superiours give commands to those below them; whence *Crinagoras* in an Epigram, saith, 'Twas impossible that all the Enemies in the World should ever prevail against *Rome*,

ἄρχει κε μείνη  
Δεξιὰ σημαίνειν Καίπαει θαρσαλέην.

While God-like *Cæsar* shall a Right-hand have  
Fit for Command.

Mr. Dechair.

Beside this, in all solemn Leagues, and Covenants they made a Sacrifice, in honour of the Gods by whom they swore, in which they offer'd, for the most part, either a Boar, Ram, or Goat; sometimes all three; sometimes they us'd Bulls, or Lambs instead of any of them. Sometimes, when they kill'd the Boar, &c. they cut out the Stones, and took the Oath standing upon them. A Ram, or Boar thus us'd is properly call'd *Τομίας*. The manner of the Ceremonies was thus; They first cut some of the Hair off the Head of the Victim, and gave part of it to all that were present, that all might share in the Oath (b),

Ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τήμνε τεύχεας, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
Κόρυκα Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν γέμμαν ἀείσοις.

Next from the Victim's Head he cut some Hair,  
Which to the ruling Chiefs the Cryers bear.

Mr. Dechair.

The reason of this Custom *Eustathius* gives us out of *Sophocles*, as it is explain'd in these verses,

(a) *Helen*. v. 934. (b) *Il.* γ'.

Κακῶς κακῶς ἀλλὰ πῶς ἐκπίσσει χθονὸς,  
Γένος ἀπαίτῳ ἔϊζαν ἐξημιθέῳ  
Αὐτὸς ὅπως ὅρ' οὖνδ' ἐγὼ τέμνω πλόκον.

Curses attend you, if e're false you prove,  
Your days in bitter sorrows may you live,  
And when Fate calls, (but may that lingring come)  
May your dead Corps no fit Interment find:  
Yet now I favours wish; may your whole Race  
Plagues heap'd on Plagues vex, and at last cut off,  
As I these Locks cut from the sacred Head.

Mr. Dechair.

After this, they pray'd to the Gods to bear witness of their Agreement, and punish the Person, that should first violate his Oath. This done, they kill'd the Victims by cutting their throats;

ὅτ' ὁ σῶμαχος ἀρνῶν τήμνε γλῆει χαλκῷ.

Then with his piercing Sword their Throats he stabb'd.

For *σῶμαχος* did originally signifie a Throat, as *Eustathius* observes upon that Place. Hence comes the Phrase ὅρκια τέμνειν, in *Latin*, *ferire fœdus*, i. e. to make a Covenant. This done, they repeated the Form of words, which both Parties were to confirm by mutual Oath, as appears from *Homer's* Description of the Truce made between the *Grecians* and *Trojans*.

After this, they made a Libation of Wine, which was at this time mix'd, to signifie the Conjunction and Concord that was between the Parties: then praying again to the Gods, they pour'd it forth, requesting that whoever should first break his Oath, might have his Blood, or Brains pour'd out in the same manner, as *Homer* (a) reports,

Οἶνον δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀρωσάμενοι δειπάσων,  
Ἐχέον, ἠδ' εὐχοντο θεοῖς αἰεταέτησιν.  
Ὡδὲ δὲ πρὶς ἔπεισεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε  
Ζεῦ κούδης, μέγιστε, καὶ Ἀθάνατος θεοὶ ἄλλοι,  
Ὅσπότερ' αἰετὲρ' ὅρ' ὅρκια πιμήμεναι,  
Ὡδὲ σφ' ἐγκέφαλ' ἁμάδ' ἔει, ὥς ὅδ' οἶτ' ὅ,  
Αὐτῶν, καὶ τεκίαν, ἀλοχοὶ δ' ἄλλοισι μῆνιν.

(a) *Iliad*. citat

Others to Heav'n send up their fervent Prayers,  
And to th' Immortal Beings, who th' Affairs  
Of Mankind rule, an awfull Worship pay,  
While streams of pour'd out Wine dye all the Way.  
Thus they address the Gods.  
Great, mighty *Jove*, and all ye Pow'rs divine,  
Whose Justice suffers no unpunish'd Sin,  
Bear witness to the solemn Vows we make,  
And grant, the Party, which them first shall break,  
Whether it be, as now the ground Wine stains,  
May so o're spread it with their dash'd out Brains.  
This light on them, and their Posterity,  
And may their Wives to all Men common be.

Mr. Dechair.

It was very usual in all Oaths, to add a solemn Imprecation, wishing that some Evil might befall them, if they swore falsely: which was done, for the most part, upon one of these Accounts, viz. either for the satisfaction of the other Person, that he might give more credit to them; such an one was that of *Demosthenes*; Εἰ μὲν εὖ οὐκ ᾔω, πάλαι μοι ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο, εἰ ἐπερὶ κῶ, ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἀπλοῖ μὲν, If what I swear be true, (says he) may I enjoy much happiness; if not, may I perish utterly. Sometimes they did it, to lay a stricter and more inviolable Obligation upon themselves, least they should at any time repent of their purpose, and take contrary Measures to what they then resolv'd upon. Upon which account it was, that the *Phoenicians* (a), who afterwards built the City *Masilia* in *Gallia Narbonensis*, oblig'd themselves by an Oath, back'd with terrible Imprecations, never to think of returning home; whence came the Proverb *Φοινίκων ἀγά*, applied to Men under the Obligation of a strict Oath.

To return, the Flesh on which they feasted at other Sacrifices, was in this thought unlawful to be eaten; and therefore, saith *Enslathius* (b), if the Person concern'd was at home, it was buried; for so *Priam* seems to have done with his Victims in the Sacrifice before mention'd: but if the Party was a Stranger, they threw it into the Sea, as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was sacrific'd at one of *Agamemnon's* Oaths, or dispos'd of it some such way. Here you may observe, that if any unlucky or ominous Accident happen'd at the time of Sacrifice, they usually differr'd, or wholly refus'd to take the Oath, of which we have an instance in *Plutarch* (c), who reports, that when *Pyrrhus*, *Lyfima-chus*, and *Cassander* had concluded a Peace, and met to confirm it by solemn Oath, and Sacrifice; a Goat, Bull, and Ramm being brought out, the Ramm on a sudden fell dead; which some only laugh'd at, but *Theodorus* the Priest forbade *Pyrrhus* to swear, declaring, that Heaven by

(a) *Herodot.* lib. I. & *Strabo.* lib. IV. (b) Il. 7. (c) *Vita Pyrrhi.*

that

that omen, portended the Death of one of the three Kings, whereupon he refus'd to ratifie the Peace.

*Alexander* ab *Alexandro* (a), hath given us another manner of Swearing, which was thus; They took hold of their Garments, and pointing a Sword towards their Throats, invoc'd the Heavens, Earth, Sun, and *Furies* to bear witness to what they were about to do; then they Sacrific'd a Boar-pig, which they cast into the Sea, and, this being done, took the Oath.

The solemn way of taking an Oath amongst the *Molossians*, was by cutting an Ox into small pieces, and then swearing: whence any thing divided into small Parcels, was proverbially call'd *Bēs* ὁ Μολοσσίων, as *Suidas* (b), and *Zenodotus* (c) witness; you may here by the way take notice of the mistake of *Erasmus* (d), who instead of *Bos Molossiorum*, writes *Bos Homolossiorum*, reading, I suppose, in the foremention'd Authors *βῆς Ομολοσσίων*, instead of *βῆς ὁ Μολοσσίων*.

Another manner of Swearing was that describ'd by *Plutarch* (e), who reports, that when the *Grecians* had overthrown, and utterly routed all the Forces of *Xerxes*, being flush'd with Victory, they enter'd upon a design of making a common Invasion upon *Persia*; whereupon, to keep them firm to their resolutions, *Aristides* made them all swear to keep the League, and himself took the Oath in the Name of the *Athenians*, and after Curses pronounc'd against him that should break the Vow, threw Wedges of red-hot Iron into the Sea; by which was signified, that the Oath should remain inviolable, as long as the Irons should abide in the Sea without swimming; which Custom is also mention'd by *Callimachus*, who, as he is cited by the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* (f), speaks thus of the *Phoenicians*,

Φοινίκων μέγας καὶ μέγα μέγας εἰν' ἀνὶ μύδρῳ.

While these plung'd Irons the Sea's sure bottom keep.

There was also another manner of Swearing mention'd by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Dion*, which *Dion's* Wife and Sister impos'd upon *Cappus* the *Athenian*, being mov'd thereto by a suspicion that he was privy to a conspiracy against *Dion's* Life. It was thus; The Juror went into the Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, or, as some say, of *Ceres Thesmophora*, or, the Law-giver; where after the performance of certain Ceremonies, he was cloath'd in the purple Vestment of the Goddess, and holding a lighted Torch in his Hand, as being in the presence of the Deity, took the Oath by all the Gods in the World; this the *Syracusians* accounted the most solemn and sacred Oath that could be.

Another Test the *Sicilians* generally made use of at *Palce*, a City of *Sicily*, where was a Fountain nam'd *Acadmus*, to which the Jurors came, and having written the Oath in a Tablet, threw it into the

(a) Lib. V. cap. X. (b) Voce B7s. (c) In Proverb. in Eds. (d) In Adagius. (e) *Vita Aristidi.* (f) *Antigon.* v. 270.

E e 3

water,

water, which if it could endure, and swim, the Person accus'd was believ'd Honest; but if it sunk, He was to be cast into the Flames immediately, as a perjurd Villain; thus *Aristotle* (a), and *Stephanus* the *Byzantian* (b).

Other ways also they had of clearing themselves from the imputation of Crimes; for instance, the Person accus'd sometimes took an Oath that he was innocent, creeping upon his Hands thro' the Fire; or holding in his Hands a red-hot Iron, call'd in *Greek* *Μύστρον*, as the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* reports; hereby those that were not guilty of the Crime laid to their charge, were sensible of no pain. Thus the Fellow in *Sophocles* (c) tells *Creon*, that all the Guards were ready to take upon Oath, that they neither buried *Polynices* themselves, nor knew who they were, that had done it;

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύστρον αἶψαν χερσίν,  
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεὸς ὀρκωμοτεῖν,  
τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι, μήτε τῷ σωσιδέναι  
τὸ πρᾶγμα βυλᾶσθαι, μήτ' εἰργαζέμεν.

There, Sir, we stood ready for all Commands,  
Either hot Barrs to take up with our Hands,  
Or pass thro' Fires, or by the Gods to swear,  
That neither we the Body did interr,  
Nor privy to the wicked Action to were.

Mr. Dechair.

A Custom not much differing from these, was practis'd in this Island by our *Saxon* Ancestors upon the same account, and was therefore call'd the *Fire-Ordeal*, for *Ordeal* in *Saxon* signifies Purgation. The manner of undergoing this Test was thus; The Person accus'd pass'd blindfold, with bare Feet, over certain Plough-shares made red-hot, and plac'd at an unequal distance from one another; this *Ordalium*, *Edward* the Confessor forc'd his Mother *Emma* to undergo, to vindicate her Honour from the Scandal of incontinency with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*; and by this Tryal she gave a sufficient Demonstration of her innocence, for having pass'd over the Irons before she was aware of it, she cryed out, *When shall I come to the place of my Purgation*. And *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the Second, upon the like imputation, held a red-hot Iron in her Hand, and receiv'd no harm thereby. Thus much by way of Digression.

I shall beg the Reader's leave to mention but one sort more of these Purgation-oaths, which is describ'd by *Achilles Tatius* in his eighth Book, Of the Loves of *Clitophon* and *Lescippe*. It is this; When a Woman was accus'd of Incontinency, she was to clear her self from this Charge by Oath, which was written in a Tablet, and hung about her

(a) Lib. de Mirabilibus. (b) In Πρωκκ. (c) *Antigone*. v. 270.

Neck,

Neck, then she went into the Water up to the mid-leg; where, if she was innocent, all things remain'd in the same manner as they were before; but if guilty, the very Water, saith he, swell'd as it were with rage, mounted up as high as her neck, and cover'd the Tablet; least so horrid and detestable a sight, as a false Oath, should be expos'd to the view of the Sun, and the World. Some other sorts of Oaths there were, of which I might give you a large account, had I not already transgress'd too far upon the Reader's patience, I shall therefore only add something concerning their religious observance of Oaths, and so conclude this Chapter.

What a religious Regard they had for Oaths, doth appear from this, that εὐσχεῖς, or one that keep his Oaths, is commonly us'd for εὐσεβής, a pious Person, as in *Hesiod*,

Οὐδέ τις εὐσεβὴς χάρις ἔωσται, ἔτε δίκης.

Nor Just, nor pious Souls shall Favour have.

*Aristophanes* (a) also has taken it in the same sense,

— εἰ πὶ χάρεις εὐσεβὴς πόποις.

If you're with Justice pleas'd.

On the contrary, when they would express a wicked, forlorn wretch, they call'd him ὀπίστρον, perjurious; which was the worst, and most infamous Title they could fix upon him; and therefore *Aristophanes* (b) speaking of *Jupiter's* Lightning and Thunder-bolts, which, as some thought, were chiefly levell'd against the wicked, saith, Εἴπερ βάλλει τὸς ὀπίστρους, If perjurd Villains are indeed so liable to the stroke, how comes it to pass that *Cleonymus*, and *Theodorus* escape so well? or that the poor *Oak* is so often shatter'd to pieces, καὶ γὰρ σπῖς ὀπίστρον, Since it can never be perjurd? Such as were common and customary swearers the *Athenians* branded with the name of *Ardenti*, from *Ἀρδνῆς*, (saith *Hesychius*, and out of him *Phavorinus*) the name of the Place wherein Oaths were required of them, before their admission to publick Offices.

Those, that had sworn falsely, were, in some places, punish'd with Death; in others, suffer'd the same punishment that was due to the Crime, with which they charg'd an innocent Person; in others only a pecuniary Mult was impos'd on them. But tho' they might sometimes escape humane punishments, yet it was thought the Divine Vengeance would not fail to overtake them, and the Demons were always so cunning, as to pretend an utter Abhorrence, and Detestation of such enormous Crimes, of which I shall give you one remarkable instance out of *Herodotus* (c):

(a) *Timon*. (b) *Nubibus*. (c) *Erato*.

There

There was at *Sparta* a Man nam'd *Glaucus*, fam'd over all *Greece* for his Justice, and Integrity; into his hands a certain *Milesian*, fearing some Danger at Home, and being encourag'd by the Character of the Man, deposited a large sum of Money; after some time, the Sons of this *Milesian* came to *Sparta*, and shewing *Glaucus* the Bill, demanded the Money; *Glaucus* pretended he was wholly ignorant of the Matter, yet promis'd to recollect with himself, and if he found any thing due to them, to pay it; to do this he took four Months time, and having gain'd this delay, immediately took a Journey to *Delphi*, on purpose to ask *Apollo's* opinion, Whether it was lawful to perjure himself, thereby to secure the money? The God mov'd with indignation at the impudence of the Man, return'd him this answer,

Γλαῦκ' Επικυδίδου, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον ἔτα  
Ορκῷ νικῆσαι, καὶ χεῖματα λήσασθαι.  
Ομνυ' ἐπὶ θάνατι γε καὶ εὖορκον μῦθε ἄνδρα:  
Αλλ' Ορκὸς πᾶσι δὲν ἀνώνυμος, ἔδ' ἐπ' χεῖρις,  
Οὐδὲ πόδες· κραπνὸς δ' μετέρχεται, εἰσὶ καὶ πᾶσαν  
Συμμάρτας ὀλέσθαι γενέω, καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.

No, *Glaucus*, no, I think you need not fear  
To bilk your easie Creditor, and swear  
He lent you no such sum; you'll gain thereby,  
And this consider'd, you may Death desire,  
Death of the just alike an Enemy.  
But know, that *Orcus* has a Monster Son  
Ghastly of shape, who ever hastens on  
To o'retake Perjuries; He'll n'ere forget  
Your hainous Crime, but with revengeful Hate  
Send Losses, racking Pangs, destructive Woe,  
Till He' your self with your whole Race undoe.

Mr. Dechair.

This prediction was fully accomplish'd in *Glaucus*, notwithstanding he afterwards restor'd the money; for his whole Family was in a few Generations utterly extinct, and so became a memorable example of Divine Vengeance. But tho' all the other Gods took upon them sometimes to punish this Crime, yet it was thought in a more peculiar manner to be the care of *Jupiter*, surnam'd *Ορκιότης*: and *Pausanias* reports, that in the *Βουλευτήριον*, or Council-Hall, at *Olympia*, there was a Statue of *Jupiter* with a Thunder-bolt in each Hand, and a plate of Brass at his Feet, on which were engraven certain *Elegiacal* verses, compos'd on purpose to terrifie Men from invoking that God to witness any Untruth. Beside this, the perjur'd Persons were thought to be haunted and distracted by the Furies, who every fifth day in the Month made a Visitation, and walk'd their Rounds for that purpose, according to *Hesiod*,

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Ev

Εν πέμπτῃ γὰρ φασὶν Ερινύας ἀμυμπολοῦσιν  
Ορκὸν πινυμένας, τὴν Εὐεὶ τῆς πῆμ' ὀπίορκος (a).

All other Days the *Furies* quiet rest,  
Only on Fifts the Perjur'd they molest,  
Revenging *Orcus*, *Orcus* the sure Bane  
Of all that dare his Deity profane.

Mr. Dechair.

Therefore *Agamemnon* swearing that he had never known *Briseis*, call'd the *Furies* to bear witness,

Ερινύες, αἱ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν  
Ἀνδρώπυς πίνυνται, ὅ, τις καὶ ὀπίορκον ἑμώσση.

Th' Infernal *Furies* I to witness call,  
By whose Distractions perjur'd Villains fall.

Mr. Dechair.

Tho' the punishment here meant by *Homer*, seems to have been inflicted after Death, because he saith ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἀνδρώπυς &c. or, the Men under the Earth; and that this is the meaning of that place doth appear from another Oath in *Homer*, where the Infernal Gods are invoc'd after this manner,

καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ γαῖας καμόντες  
Ἀνδρώπυς πίνυνθε, ὅ, τις καὶ ὀπίορκον ἑμώσση.

witness, ye Infernal Powers,  
Who Souls below torment for breach of Oaths.

Mr. Dechair.

Yet some in that place read καμώντες, and then the meaning of it will be, That the Souls of deceas'd Persons are employ'd in torturing perjur'd Villains.

In some places, even insensible Creatures were reported to take Revenge for this Crime, for it was generally believ'd in *Arcadia*, that no Man could forswear himself by the Waters of *Styx*, without undergoing some severe and remarkable Punishment; and it is reported of the subterranean Cavern sacred to *Palemon* at *Corinth*, that no perjur'd person could so much as enter into it, without being made a memorable and terrible example of Divine Justice. In *Sicily*, at the Temple of the *Palici* in the City *Palice*, there were certain *Craicci*,

Fonts, or Lakes, (for so sometimes they are call'd) nam'd *Delli*, out of which there continually issued Flames, and Balls of Fire, with boiling, and stinking water; and thither People us'd to resort from all Quarters for the deciding of Controversies: if any one swore falsely near these Fonts, he was presently struck either Blind, Lame, or Dead in the place; or was swallow'd up, and drowned in the Lakes.

Notwithstanding these, and other Instances of the Divine displeasure at this Crime, and the Scandal and Infamy of it, yet was it so much practis'd by the *Grecians*, that they could never avoid the imputation of Treachery, and Perfidiousness; insomuch that *Græca fides*, came to be proverbially applied to Men, that were wavering, inconsistent, and unfit to be trusted, or relied upon; *Plautus*, in his Play call'd *Asinaria*, by *Græca fide mercari*, means to buy with ready money, as tho' without that a *Grecian* was not to be meddled with; his Words are these,

*Diem, aquam, Solem, Lunam, noctem, hæc argento non emo,  
Cætera, quæ volumus ui, Græca mercamur fide.*

I buy not Day, nor Water, nor the Night,  
Nor will my Gold the Sun, or Moon procure;  
All other things, yet first I pay it down,  
Right *Grecian* like, for Money I can have.

Mr. Dechair.

*Tully* likewise, in his Oration for *Flaccus*, speaks after the same manner; "That Nation, (says he) never made any conscience of observing their Oaths. And their own Country-man *Enripides* assents to him herein,

*Πισὸν Ἑλλὰς οἶδεν εἶναι.*

No sparks of Honesty *Greece* ever had.

And *Polybius* yet more fully in the sixth Book of his History, "Amongst the *Greeks*, (says he) if you lend only one Talent, and for security have ten Bonds, with as many Seals, and double the number of Witnesses, yet all these obligations can scarce force them to be honest". Yet *Ausonius* had a better Opinion of them, unless his words were Ironie and ridicule, when he said to *Paulus*,

*Nobiscum inuenies κατηγόρια, si libet ui  
Non Poena, sed Græca fide.*

At my House too, promise you'll honest be,  
A wanton *Muse's* Trifles you may see.

Mr. Dechair.

The *Thessalians*, in particular, were infamous for this Vice; whence, as *Zenodotus* hath inform'd us, by *Θησαλιῶν νόμισμα*, is meant Fraud and Deceit;

Deceit; and the other Proverb, *νῆξ. Θησαλιῶν σέρισμα*, seems to have had it's rise from the treacherous and double Dealing of the *Thessalians* with their Confederates; a memorable instance of which we have in the *Peloponnesian War*, where in the midst of a Battel they turn'd Sides, and deserting the *Athenians*, went over to the *Lacedæmonians*: which reason seems more probable than that mention'd by *Zenodotus*, *νῆξ*. Their solemn Vow of an *Hecatombe* of Men, made every Year to *Apollo*, without any design of ever paying it; which they did in imitation of their Fore-father *Thessalus*, who made such a Vow to *Apollo*, but considering how impious and unpleasing to the God it was like to be, neglected the performance of it. The *Locrians* were not much less infamous on the same account, whence those Proverbial Sayings, *Λοκρεὶ τὰς συνθήκας*, and, *Λοκρῶν συνθήματα*, do usually denote fraudulent Persons, and Practices, as we learn from *Zenodotus*. I shall forbear to enumerate any more particulars, only I cannot pass by the *Lacedæmonians*, who, as they were the most renown'd of all the *Grecians* for their Valour, Temperance, and other Virtues, so were the most scandalous for their Treachery, and Contempt of Oaths; whence they are by *Lycophron* (a) call'd *Αἰμῶλοι*, which the *Scholiast* upon that place expounds, *ψεύσαι, καὶ δόλῳ*, i. e. lyars, and deceitful; *Enripides* (b) bearing him witness herein, when he saith,

*Σπάρτης ἔνδοκοι, δόλια βελούματα.*

*Spartans*, fam'd ever for base Treacheries.

*Aristophanes* speaks yet more plainly and fully, when he tells us, They neither accounted Altars, Promises, nor Oaths sacred; his words are these,

*Οἶσιν ἔτι βωμοὶ, ἔτι πίστις, ἔθ' ὅρκῳ μὲναι.*

Who neither Altars, Oaths, nor Trust revere.

And that this was not altogether a Calumny, the *Aphorism* of *Lysander*, one of their most eminent Generals, doth sufficiently evidence, *νῆξ. Ἐξαπατῶν χρηὴ πῦδας καὶ ἀσπαράλλοις, πολέμους ὃ ὅρκους*. Boys, saith he, are to be deceiv'd with Dice, or Nine-pins, but Enemies with Oaths. Others there are, that will have this to be the Saying of *Dionysius* the Tyrant (c). However that be, 'tis certain the *Lacedæmonians*, tho' perhaps more just and punctual in private Affairs, had very small regard for an Oath in publick Business; for even their Great *Agésilas* seems to have thought it but a weak Obligation,

(a) *Cassandr. v. 1124.* (b) *Asdromach. v. 445.* (c) *Alex. ab Alex. lib. V. cap. X.*

whenever it stood in competition with the Publick good, that great Mark, and ultimate End, to which they thought all their Actions were to be directed; insomuch that it was accounted lawful to promote it by the most unjust Means in the World; for, as *Plutarch* (a) affirms, to serve their Countrey was the Principle and Spring of all their Actions, nor did they account any thing just or unjust, by any measures but that.

The *Athenians* seem to have had some few grains more of honesty, as the story of *Themistocles* in *Plutarch* doth evidence; for He telling the People He had form'd a Design, which, if accomplish'd, would be very advantageous to the Common-wealth, but might not, at that time, be communicated to the whole Assembly; they order'd him to impart it to *Aristides* in private, who having heard the Matter, came and reported to the People, that it was indeed a very beneficial Contrivance, but withal the most unjust in the World; whereupon they immediately commanded *Themistocles* to desist from his Intention. *Dio-genian*, in his Book of *Collections*, tells us that *Ἀνίκος μάγιστος*, was taken for a sincere, and uncorrupt Witness; as also *Ἀνίκη πίστις*, for a true, honest, and untainted Faith: and tho' some would have this Proverb taken from the Goddess *Fides*, who had a Temple at *Athens* mention'd by *Plautus* (b); and others not from the Manners of the People, but the nature of their Soil, which was so unfruitful, that it brought forth just as much as was sown, and no more, whence *Atica fides*, is applied to any Man that restores all that he was entrusted with; yet *Velleius Paterculus* (c) assures us, it was taken from their Faithfulness, and unshaken Loyalty to the *Romans*; whence *Atica fides*, is by *Flaccus* (d) call'd *certa*; by *Horace* (e) *impolluta*; and by *Silius* (f) *Pura*; and many other specious Epithets you may find given to it by the Poets. Notwithstanding all this, their Honesty was not so firm and unmoveable, but that it might sometimes be shaken by the alluring and specious Temptation of the Publick good; I will conclude this Chapter with an instance of it, taken out of *Plutarch* (g), which is the more remarkable, and more clearly evidences the Disposition and Temper of that State, because it was approv'd by the Consent of the People, and put in Execution by *Aristides*, a Man of greater renown for Justice and upright Dealing, than any that City ever brought forth. He, when the *Grecians* (after they had utterly routed all the remainders of *Xerxes's* numerous Army) design'd a common Invasion upon *Persia*, took a solemn Oath in the Name of the *Athenians* to observe the League; but afterwards, when things were brought to such a pass, as constrain'd them to govern with a stronger Hand, than was consistent with it, advis'd them to throw the Perjury upon him, and manage Affairs, as their convenience required. Upon the whole matter, *Theophrastus* tells us, (saith *Plutarch*) that this Person was

(a) *Vita Aeschili*. (b) In *Aulul*. (c) *Histor. lib. I*. (d) *Argon. lib. IV*. (e) *Lib. III. Od. XVI*. (f) *Bell. Punic. lib. XIII*. (g) *Vit. Aristidis*.

in his own private Affairs, and those of his Fellow-Citizens nicely just, but in publick Matters did many things according to the State, and Condition of his Countrey, for whose sake He frequently committed Acts of Injustice. Then he adds, that it was reported of him, that to one who was in debate, Whether he should convey a certain treasure from *Delos* to *Athens*, contrary to the League, at the perswasion of the *Samians*, He should say, *That the thing was not just, but expedient*.

## CHAPTER VII.

### Of the Grecian Divination, and Oracles, in general.

**MANTIKH**, is a general Name for all sorts of Divination, and signifies the knowledge of Things obscure, or future, which cannot be attain'd by any Ordinary, or Natural Means. It is divided by *Plato* (a), (who is follow'd herein by *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*) into two Species, one of which is call'd *ἄνευ νοῦ, ἀδίστακτον*, and *naturalis*, i. e. unartificial, or natural Divination, as not being attain'd by any Rules, Precepts, or Observations, but inspired into the Diviner, without his taking any farther Care or Trouble about it, than to purifie and prepare himself to receive the Divine Affluents. With this sort were all those endued, that deliver'd Oracles, and fore-told future Events by Inspiration, without observing any external Signs, or Accidents; such were the *Sybil*s, and other Enthusiasts. Some there are, that reduce Divination by Dreams under this Species, because in them Revelations were made without any Pains, or Art of the Dreamers; but herein lyes the mistake of this Argument, that not the Dreamers, but the Interpreters of Dreams were the Diviners; and that their skill was the effect of Art and Observation, is evident from the many Books written upon that Subject, and the various Signs deliver'd in them to make Conjectures by; in like manner, it was not so much the business of an *Augur* to see the Birds of Divination, which might casually happen to any rude and unskillful Fellow, but after he had seen them, to interpret what was portended by them.

These therefore, with others of the like Nature, are to be referr'd to the second Species of Divination, call'd *Τεχνην*, or Artificial, because it was not obtain'd by immediate Inspiration, but was the effect of long Experience, and Observation; as Sooth-saying: or depended

(a) *Thadros*.



chiefly upon humane Art, Invention, or Imposition, which nevertheless was not suppos'd to be altogether destitute of divine Direction and Concurrence; such was Divination by Lots.

I shall begin with the first sort of Divination, as having a more immediate dependance on the Gods; and first with the noblest part of it, I mean Oracles, which are call'd in Greek *χρησμίαι*, *χρησμιδαι*, *χρησμιδματα*, *μαντεύματα*, *δωρεΐα*, *δωρίσματα*, *δίσφατα*, &c. The Interpreters, or Revealers of Oracles, *χρησμολογοί*, &c. The Consultants, *δωρεΐστοι*, &c. The Places, in which they were deliver'd, *χρησμία*, *μαντεία*, &c. Tho' I am not ignorant that some of these Names were sometimes applied to other sorts of Divination.

Of all the sorts of Divination, Oracles had always the greatest Repute, as being thought to proceed in a more immediate manner from the Gods; whereas others were deliver'd by Men, and had a greater dependance on them, who might either out of Ignorance mistake, or out of Fear, Hopes, or other unlawful and base Ends conceal, or betray the Truth; whereas they thought the Gods, who were neither obnoxious to the Anger, nor stood in need of the Rewards, nor car'd for the Promises of Mortals, could not sure be prevail'd upon to do either of them. Upon this account, Oracles obtain'd so great Credit, and Esteem, that in all Doubts and Disputes their Determinations were held sacred and inviolable; whence as *Strabo* (a) reports, vast numbers flock'd to them to be resolv'd in all manner of Doubts, and ask Counsel about the management of their Affairs: insomuch, that no Business of great Consequence and Moment was undertaken, scarce any Peace concluded, any War wag'd, any new Form of Government instituted, or new Laws enacted, without the advice and approbation of an Oracle; *Craesus* (b), before he durst venture to declare War against the *Persians*, consult'd not only all the most famous Oracles in Greece, but sent Embassadors as far as *Libya*, to ask advice of *Jupiter Hammon*, *Minos* (c), the *Cretan* Law-giver, convers'd with *Jupiter*, and receiv'd instructions from him, how he might new model his Government. *Lycurgus* also made frequent Visits to the *Delphian Apollo*, and receiv'd from him that Plat-form, which afterwards he communicated to the *Lacedemonians*. Nor does it matter whether these things were really true or not, since 'tis certain they were believ'd to be so; for hence appears what great Esteem Oracles were in, at least amongst the Vulgar sort, when Law-givers, and Men of the greatest Authority were forc'd to make use of these Methods to win them into Compliance. My Author goes yet higher, and tells us, that inspired Persons were thought worthy of the greatest Honours and Trusts; insomuch, that sometimes we find them advanc'd to the Throne, and invested with Regal Power; for that being admitted to the Counsels of the Gods, they were best able to provide for the Safety and Welfare of Mankind.

This reputation stood the Priests, that had their dependance on the

(a) Lib. XVI. (b) Herodot. Lib. I. (c) Strabo loc. cit.

Oracles,

Oracles, in no small stead; for finding their Credit thus thoroughly establish'd, they allow'd no Man to consult the Gods, before he had offer'd costly Sacrifices, and made rich Presents to them: whereby it came to pass, that none but great and wealthy Men were admitted to ask their Advice, they alone being able to defray the charges required on that account; which contributed very much to raise the esteem of Oracles among the common People; Men generally being apt to admire the things they are kept at some distance from; and, on the other hand, to condemn what they are familiarly acquainted with. Wherefore to keep up their Esteem with the Better sort, even they were only admitted upon a few stated Days; at other times neither the greatest Prince could purchase, nor Persons of the greatest Quality any ways obtain an Answer; *Alexander* himself was peremptorily denied by the *Pythia*, till she was by down-right force compell'd to ascend the *Tripos*, when finding her self unable to resist any longer, she cry'd out *Ανίκητος εἰ*, Thou art invincible; which words were thought a very lucky Omen, and accepted instead of any further Oracle.

As to the causes of Oracles, it has been disputed whether they were the revelations of Demons, or only the delusions of crafty Priests. *Van Dale*, a Dutch Wit, has taken pains to write a large Treatise in defence of the later Opinion; but his Arguments, I think, are not of such force, but that they might without difficulty be refuted, if either my Design required, or Time permitted me to answer them. However that be, it was the common Opinion, that *Jupiter* was the first Cause of this and all other sorts of Divination, 'twas He that had the Books of Fate, and out of them reveal'd either more or less, as he pleas'd, to inferior Demons; for which reason he was nam'd *Πανομειδής*, as *Eustathius* tells us in his Comment upon this verse of *Homer* (a),

Ενθα πανομειδής Ζηνὶ ἐξέρισκον Ἀχαιοί.

— then at he holy Fane  
To mighty Jove was the glad Victim slain,  
To Jove from whom all Divination comes,  
And inspir'd Oracles unriddle future Dooms.

Mr. Huchin.

Of the other Gods *Apollo* was reputed to have the greatest skill in making Predictions, and therefore it was one of his Offices to preside over, and inspire all sorts of Prophets, and Diviners; but this was only in subordination to *Jupiter*, and by converse with, and participation from him, as *Aeschylus* (b) gives us to understand, when he saith,

(a) Iliad. 6. v. 250. (b) Sacerdotibus.

Στέφαν

Στείλειν ὅπως τύχῃσα, ταῦτα γὰρ πατρὸς  
 Ζεὺς ἐγχαλῆι Λαζία. ———

Send, quickly send, for so by *Jove* inspir'd  
*Phabus* commands. ———

Mr. Hutchin.

On the same account, in another place (a), when he brings in *Apollo*, commanding Men to reverence his own Oracles, He adds, They must also pay due respect to those of *Jupiter*, without mentioning any of the other Prophetick Deities; His words are these,

Καὶ γὰρ τε χερσὶνὸς τὸς ἐμὸς πῖ, καὶ Διὸς  
 Ταρβείν κτενύω. ———

To mine, and *Jove's* most sacred Oracles  
 Pay due Obeysance. ———

Mr. Hutchin.

The manner of delivering Oracles was not in all Places, nor at all Times the same; in some Places the Gods reveal'd them by Interpreters, as did *Apollo* at *Delphi*; in others, more immediately, giving answers themselves, which they either pronounc'd *vivæ voce*, or return'd by Dreams, or Lots, (the former of which were suppos'd to be inspired, and the latter directed by the Gods) or some other Way. At some places, both these ways were us'd; for instance, those that consulted *Trophonius*, after having propos'd their Questions, first receiv'd an answer in a Dream; and, if that was obscure, and hard to be understood, had the meaning of it interpreted by Men kept for that purpose, and instructed in that Art by the Deity: several other ways also this God us'd to give answers to Enquirers, as *Pausanias* reports in his Description of *Boeotia*; and in another place (b), the same Author tells us, an Answer was return'd by him in these Heroick Verses,

Πεῖν δεῖ συμβαλέειν ἐχθροῖς, σῆσάτε πέπαιον,  
 Λαπίδα κομψήσαντες ἐμῷ, πύλῃ εἶσατο νηῷ  
 Θέρος Αἰετομήνης Μιωήνιθ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πῖ  
 Ἀνδρῶν Δυσμενέων φθίσω στρατὸν ἀπεισάνων.

Let not the bloody Ensigns be display'd,  
 Nor least attack upon your Foes be made,  
 Before an ample Trophy you erect  
 And to my hallow'd Shield pay due respect,

(a) *Eumenidibus*. (b) *Mesienic*.

Which

Which in the Temple to my growing praise  
 The valiant *Aristomenes* did raise:  
 Thus when you've done, you may expect that I  
 Will crown these toils of War with joyful Victory.

Mr. Hutchin.

This answer was given to the *Thebans* before the Battle at *Leuctra*, wherein, by the conduct of *Epaminondas*, they gave the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates a notable Overthrow.

Thus much of Oracles in general. I shall in the next place endeavour to give a particular Description of them, especially such as were of any Note, together with a short account of the Ceremonies required of those that consulted them, the manner of returning Answers, with other things remarkable in each of them. And because *Jupiter* was reputed to be the first Author of them; I shall begin with those, that were thought to be more immediately deliver'd by Him.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### Of the Oracles of Jupiter.

**DODONA** (a), is by some thought to have been a City of *Thessaly*; by others it was plac'd in *Epirus*; and others, to reconcile these two Opinions, will have two *Dodona's*, one in *Thessaly*, and another in *Epirus*. They that place it in *Epirus*, (and that is generally believ'd to have been the seat of the Oracle, whether there was another *Dodona* in *Thessaly*, or not) are no less divided in their opinions about it; for some of them will have it in *Thesprotia*, others in *Chaonia*, or *Molossia*; but *Eusebius* (b) has undertaken to decide the Controversie, telling us that it did indeed once belong to the *Thesprotians*, but afterwards fell into the hands of the *Molossians*; and He is herein confirm'd by *Strabo* (c).

It was first built by *Deucalion*, who in that universal Deluge, wherein the greatest part of *Greece* perish'd, retreated to this place, which by reason of it's height secur'd him from the waters. Hither resorted to him all that had escap'd from the Inundation, with whom he peopled his new-built City, calling it *Dodona*, either from a Sea-nymph of that name, or *Dodon* the Son, or *Dodone* the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Europa*; or from the River *Dodon*, or *Don*, for so it is call'd by *Stephanus*; or, as some say, from *Dodanim* the Son of *Javan*, who, they tell us, was Captain of a Colony sent to inhabit those parts of *Epirus*. At

(a) *Euseb. Iliad. B. p. 254. & Il. π'. p. 1074. Edit. Basil. Stephanus Byzant.*  
 (b) *Odyss. E. p. 544.* (c) *Geogr. lib. X.*

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the same Time, *Deucalion* is said to have founded a Temple, which He consecrated to *Jupiter*, who is thence call'd *Dodonæus*. This was the first Temple in *Greece*, but the Oracle seems to have been a considerable Time before it; for *Herodotus* in the second Book of his History reports, that it was the most ancient of all Oracles in *Greece*, which would be false, had it not been before *Deucalion's* time; for He, as the Poets tell us, having escap'd the Deluge, consulted the Oracle of *Themis* on Mount *Parnissus*, what means he should use to replenish the Countrey with People; and the same Oracle, they tell us, was joyntly possess'd by the *Earth*, and *Neptune*, before it belong'd to *Themis*.

The Original of it, tho' like all other things of such Antiquity, wrapp'd up in Fables, I will repeat to you out of the fore-mention'd place of *Herodotus*, where he hath given us two accounts of it, the first of which, He tells us, he receiv'd from the Priests of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* in *Aegypt*; it was this: That the *Phœnicians* had carried away two Priestesses from that place, one of which they sold into *Libya*, the other into *Greece*; that each of these had erected the first Oracle in those Nations, the one of *Jupiter Hammon*, the other of *Jupiter Dodonæus*. The other account was given him by the Priestesses at *Dodona*, and confirm'd by all those that ministred in the Temple, viz. That two black Pigeons taking their flight from *Thebes* in *Aegypt*, one of them came to *Libya*, where she commanded that an Oracle should be erected to *Hammon*; the other to *Dodona*, where she sat upon an Oak-tree, and speaking with an Humane voice, order'd that there should be in that place an Oracle of *Jupiter*. Afterwards *Herodotus* delivers his own opinion about the matter, which was this; That if the *Phœnicians* did really carry two Women from *Thebes*, and sell one of them in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, it might be probable that she, that was transported into *Greece*, was sold to the *Thespians* in that Countrey, which in his time was call'd *Hellas*, but formerly nam'd *Pelasgia*, where she instituted the Oracle to *Jupiter*, and gave instructions after what manner he was to be worshipp'd. To confirm this conjecture, he adds, that those two Oracles have a near resemblance to each other. Moreover he tells us, the two Women were said to be Black, because they came from *Aegypt*; and were call'd *Doves*, because their language was barbarous, and as unintelligible as that of Birds; afterwards when they had learn'd the *Greek* Tongue, they were said to speak with an Humane voice. *Eustathius* (a) gives two reasons more for this appellation; the first is, That they were call'd *Πέλειαι*, or *Doves*, *q. Πελοιδόεντες*, because they made their predictions by the observation of those Birds; as they, who made use of Crows in Divination, were nam'd *Κορακοιδόεντες*. The other reason is, that in the *Molossian* language old Women were call'd *Πέλειαι*, and old Men *Πέλειοι*, and that those Prophetesses being old Women, either by a mistake of the word, or a Poetical equivocation were com-

(a) Odyss. E. p. 544, 545 Edit. Basil.

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monly call'd *Doves*; and why aged Persons should be thus term'd, the old Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (a) informs us; for, saith He, the three old Prophetesses were call'd *Πέλειαι*, *q. Πεπολιωμένοιαι*, because of their grey Hair. I will add in the last place *Servius's* reason, which he gives us in his Comment upon *Virgil's* tenth *Eclogue*, viz. That in the *Thesalian* Tongue the word *πελειάς* is us'd to signify a Prophetess, as well, as a Dove; and it seems also no unusual thing amongst the ancient *Greeks*, for Prophetesses to have the name of *Doves*, and therefore the Enigmatical Poet calls *Cassandra* by that Name twice in one Sentence (b),

Τῆμος βιάειν φάσα πρὸς τῶν Λέχων  
Γαμφῶσιν ἄρπυιόινας ἐκκυδίσουσαι.

As when a rav'nous Vultur first espies  
A trembling Pigeon, straight-way fousing flies  
Thro' liquid Air, to bear the wish'd for Prize,  
To his Ætherial Nest; so I forlorn  
Shall as a weak, and tim'rous Dove be born,  
B' insulting Ajax to a foreign Bed.

Mr. Huchin.

Others say, that this Oracle was founded by the *Pelasgians*, who were the most ancient of all the Nations that inhabited *Greece*; of this Opinion is *Strabo* (c), being led hereunto by the Testimony of *Homer*, who calls the same *Jupiter*, by the two Names of *Dodonæus* and *Pelasgi-ous*, in this verse (d),

Ζεῦ, ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ. ———

*Pelasgian Jove*, that far from *Greece* resides  
In cold *Dodona*. ———

*Hesiod*, whose Testimony also *Strabo* makes use of, is more plain, when he saith,

Δωδώνη, φησὶν τε Πελασγῶν ἔδραν ἔχειν.

He to *Dodona* came, and th' hallow'd Oak,  
The Seat of the *Pelasgi*. ———

And this seems somewhat more probable; especially, if what is commonly reported of *Deucalion*, deserve any Credit, viz. That he sav'd himself from the Deluge, not on the Top of the Mountain at *Dodona*, but on

(a) *Trachin.* v. 176 (b) *Cassandra.* v. 357. (c) *Geogr. lib.* VII. (d) *Il.* π'.

*Parnassus*, where was the Oracle of *Themis* consulted by him after his deliverance. *Strabo* relates another fabulous Opinion concerning the foundation of this Oracle, out of *Suidas's Thessalica*, who, (saith my Author) out of a design to gratifie the *Thessalians* with a new invented Fable, hath reported that the Oracle of *Dodona* was translated into *Epirus* out of *Pelagias*, a Countrey of *Thessaly*, being accompanied by a great number of Women, from whom the Prophetesses in after-ages were descended, and that *Jupiter* receiv'd from them the appellation of *Pelagicus*.

The Persons, that deliver'd the Oracles, were, at the first, Men, as *Strabo* (a), and *Eustathius* (b) have observ'd out of *Homer*, who calls them in the masculine gender *Τεπερίτας*, and *Σελλᾶς* (c),

Ζεῦ, ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πηλεργιγᾶ, πηλεῖσι ναίων,  
Δωδώνης μεδῶν δρυχεμέρε· ἀμφὶ δ' Σελλοῖ  
Σοὶ ναῖουσ' ἑσπορήται ἀνιπλόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

Parent of Gods, and Men, *Pelagian Jove*,  
King of *Dodona*, and it's hallow'd Grove;  
King of *Dodona*, whose intemp'rate Coast  
Bleak Winds infest, and Winters chilling Frost,  
Round thy Abode thy Priests with unwall'd Feet  
Lie on the naked Earth. ———

Mr. *Hutchin*.

Where some, saith *Eustathius* upon that place, read ἀμφὶ δέ σ' Ἑλλοί, making those Priests to be call'd *Helli*; but the former Lesson, he tells us, is generally receiv'd. The *Selli*, are so call'd from *Selle*, a Town in *Epirus*; or, according to *Eustathius*, from the River call'd by *Homer* (d) *Selleis*,

Ἦχαγεν ἐξ Εφύρης, ποταμῷ ἀπὸ Σελλῶντιοῦ.

Whom He from *Ephrya*, and *Selleis* brought.

But herein he contradicts *Strabo*, who tells us in the fore-mention'd place, that this River doth not belong to *Ephrya* in *Thesprotia*; for that neither there, nor yet in *Molossia* was ever any River of that Name, but to another *Ephrya*, which is a City of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*. The same were call'd *Ellis*, or *Helli*, from *Ellus* the *Thessalian*, from whom *Ellopie*, a Countrey about *Dodona* receiv'd it's name; and *Philochorus* in *Strabo* is of opinion, that these Priests were nam'd *Ellis*, from this Region; but *Pliny* will have the *Selli*, and the Inhabitants of *Ellopie*, to have been a different People. *Apollodorus* in *Strabo*, thinks they

(a) Loc. cit. (b) Loc. citat. (c) Loc. cit. (d) *Iliad*. c. v. 531.

were

were call'd *Ἑλλοί*, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλῶν, from the Fens and Marshes near the Temple of *Dodona*. From the two Epithets of ἀνιπλόποδες, and χαμαιεῦναι, given them by *Homer*, *Strabo* concludes they were barbarous and unciviliz'd; *Eustathius* (a) tells us, they were nam'd χαμαιεῦναι, because they slept upon the Ground in Skins, and in that posture expected Prophetical Dreams from *Jupiter*; Others, he tells us, would have them call'd χαμαιεῦναι, because they did not lie in Beds, but upon the bare Ground; and ἀνιπλόποδες, because they never went out of the Temple, and therefore had no occasion to wash their Feet; whence *Euripides* in his *Erechtheus*, saith of them,

Πηγαῖσι δ' ἐχ' ὑχθαίνουσι πόδας. ———

Nor bath'd their Feet in any purling Stream.

Lastly, others will have these Names to be understood in a Symbolical and Figurative sence, thus; χαμαιεῦναι μὲν, ἀνιπλόποδες δ', τὰς χαμαὶ μὲν εὐναζέμενοι, ἀνιπλόμενοι δ' τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀλυσσάταις, ἀπὸ τὴν ἐν μαντείαις φιλοσοφίαν. i. e. Their Bodies indeed did lie upon the Ground, but their Minds, by the assistance of Prophetical Philosophy, mounted up higher, soaring above these lower Regions.

There is a report grounded upon the Testimony of *Pherecydes*, that before the time of the *Selli*, the Temple of *Dodona* was inhabited by the seven Daughters of *Atlas*, that were the Nurses of *Bacchus*, and from this Temple call'd *Dodomides*. Their names were these; *Ambrosia*, *Endora*, *Pasithoe*, *Coronis*, *Plexaura*, *Pytho*, and *Tyche*, or *Tyche*. However that be, 'tis certain that in later Ages, the Oracles were pronounc'd by three old Women; and *Strabo* tells us this Change was made, when *Jupiter* admitted *Dione* to cohabit within, and receive Divine honours in this Temple; nor was it strange or unusual that the same Temple should belong to two Deities, for *Apollo* and *Bacchus* were worshipp'd in the Temple at *Delphi*, *Apollo* and *Branchus*, or, as *Stephanus* (b) affirms, *Jupiter* and *Apollo* at *Miletus*.

*Strabo* (c) in his Description of *Boetia* tells us, that of the People consulting this Oracle, all others receiv'd Answers from Women, but the *Boetians* receiv'd theirs from Men; and the reason of this Custom we have in the same place, which was this; In a War between the *Boetians* and *Pelagians*, the *Boetians* coming to *Dodona*, to enquire of *Jupiter* the event of the War, receiv'd Answer; That their Enterprize should have success, if they would act wickedly; upon this the *Boetians* suspecting that the Prophetess spoke in favour of the *Pelagians*, (for that they were the first founders of that Oracle) seiz'd her, and cast her into the fire, justifying the Law-fulness of the Fact.

(a) *Il.* π. p. 1274. Edit. Basil. (b) *Voces* Δ. Δ. Δ. (c) *Geogr. lib.* IX.

On the other hand, they that ministred in the Temple thinking it impious to put to death (especially in so sacred a place) Persons uncondemn'd, would have had them refer the matter to the two surviving Prophetesses; but the *Baotians* alledging that no Laws in the World permitted Women to do Judgment, it was agree'd that two Men should be in joynt Commission with them; when the time to pass Sentence was come, they were condemn'd by the Women, and absolv'd by the Men; whereupon (as was usual when the number of Voices was equal on both sides) the *Baotians* were acquitted, and dismiss'd: Ever after it was establish'd, that Men only should give Answers to the *Baotians*.

The Prophets of this Temple were commonly call'd *Tomuri*, the Prophetesses *Tomuræ*, from *Tomionus*, a Mountain in *Thesprotia*, at the Foot of which stood the Temple. So commonly was this word made use of, that it came at last to be a general name for any Prophet; for so *Hesychius* expounds it, and *Lycophron* (a) hath us'd it in this sense, applying it to *Phylis* the Son of *Mercury*,

Τόμυρε, πρὸς τὰ λῶνα νημαίτιςατε.

The best of Prophets, and the truest too.

Near the Temple there was a sacred Grove full of Oaks, in which the *Dryades*, *Fauni*, and *Satyri* were thought to inhabit, and were frequently seen dancing and sporting wantonly under the shade of the Trees. Before sowing was invented, when Men made use of Acorns instead of Corn, those of this Wood were very much esteem'd; inasmuch, that *Virgil* hath mention'd them by way of eminence (b),

*Liber, & alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus  
Chaonia pingui glandem mucavit arista.*

*Bacchus*, and *Ceres*, taught by you the Field  
Doth Grain for old *Chaonian* Acorns yield,  
And Wine for Water.

Mr. Hutchin.

And again in the same Book (c),

*Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram  
Instituit; cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacrae  
Deficerent situae, & viliam Dodona negaret.*

Acorns, and Wildings, when the Woods deny'd,  
Nor old *Dodona* longer Food supply'd,

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 223. (b) *Georg.* v. 47. (c) *Verf.* 146.

Then

Then *Ceres* taught to till the pregnant Earth.

Mr. Hutchin.

These Oaks were endued with an Humane Voice, and Prophetical Spirit, for which reason they were call'd *Προφηγεῖς*, and *μαρτυροῦντες*, i. e. speaking, and prophesying Oaks. And *Argo*, the Ship of the *Argonauts*, being built with the Trees of this Wood, was endu'd with the same Power of speaking, and therefore *Lycophron* (a) calls it *λάληδρον κίωσαν*, a chattering Mag-pye. The reason of which fiction some think was this; The Prophets when they gave Answers, plac'd themselves in one of these Trees, (for some will only allow this vocal Faculty to one of them) and so the Oracle was thought to be utter'd by the Oak, which was only pronounc'd out of it's hollow Stock, or from amongst it's Branches.

I must not omit the other way of Prophefying us'd in this place, which was by the sound of brazen Kettles, which, as *Demon* in *Suidas* reports, were so artificially plac'd about the Temple, that by striking one of them the sound was communicated to all the rest. *Aristotle*, (saith my Author) was of another opinion, and reports, that there were two Pillars, on one of which was plac'd a Kettle, upon the other a Boy holding in his hand a Whip, with lashes of Brass, which being by the violence of the Wind struck against the Kettle, caus'd a continual sound; whence came the Proverb *Δωδωναίαν χαλκῆν, ὅτι τῶν μακρολόγντων*, (saith he) or rather, *ὅτι τῶν μακρολογόντων*, for it was applied to talkative Persons. Another Saying we have not much different from the former, viz. *Κερκυραίων μάστιξ*, which (as some are of opinion) was taken from this Whip, which, together with the Boy, and Kettle, were all dedicated by the *Coreyreans* (b). About what Time, or upon what Account this Oracle came to cease, is uncertain, but *Strabo* (c), who flourish'd under *Augustus Caesar*, saith, that in his time the Gods had, in a manner, deserted that, and most other Oracles.

The same Author (d), in his Description of *Elis*, makes mention of an Oracle of *Olympian Jupiter*, which was once famous, but did not continue long in Repute; yet the Temple, in which it stood, still preserv'd it's ancient Splendor, and was adorn'd with magnificent Structures, and enrich'd with Presents from every part of *Greece*. *Pindar* also hath taken notice of an Altar dedicated to *Jupiter* at *Pisa*, where Answers were given by the Posterity of *Iamus* (e).

There was another very ancient Oracle of *Jupiter* in *Crete*, mention'd also by *Strabo*, from which *Minos* is said to have receiv'd a Plat-form of the Laws afterwards enacted by him; whence *Homer* saith of him,

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 1319. (b) *Epitom. Strab.* lib. VII. (c) *Lib.* VII. (d) *Lib.* VIII. (e) *Olymp. initio* Od. VI.

Εννέωρ

Εννέω: βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλη δαεισίη.

*Minos*, that counsels dar'd with *Jove* to mix,  
Nine years *Crete's* Scepter sway'd.

That is, (as *Plato* in *Strabo* expounds it) He descended into the sacred Cave of *Jupiter*, (for this Oracle was under ground) and receiv'd from him those precepts, which He afterwards made publick for the common benefit of Mankind. The Will of the Gods was reveal'd in this place by Dreams, in which the Gods came and convers'd familiarly with the Enquirers; as we learn from the Story of *Epimenides* (a), who lay asleep in this place many years; with him also *Pythagoras* descended into this Cave to consult the Gods, as *Diogenes Laertius* hath related in the Life of *Pythagoras*. There was a Temple in the same place dedicated to *Jupiter*, from which to the City *Cnossus* (b) there was a High-road, very pleasant, and delightful. It stood upon Mount *Ida*, and tho' *Maximus Tyrius*, in the fore-mention'd place, calls it Δι-κταῖος Διὸς ἄντρον, yet in his twenty-second Dissertation, he saith it was plac'd on *Ida*, to which *Diogenes Laertius*, and others agree. It was sometimes call'd Ἀρχέσιον, from the word ἀρχέσις, which signifies to help, or defend; because the Sons of *Titan*, being vanquish'd by *Saturn*, fled into this Cave, and there escap'd the Fury of their pursuing Conqueror (c).

## CHAPTER IX.

### Of the Oracles of Apollo.

I Come in the next place to speak of the Oracles sacred to *Apollo*, who was thought more peculiarly to preside over Prophets, and inspire into them the knowledge of future Events; for which reason it is, that the Enigmatical Poet calls him Κερδω, or Gainful, from κέρδος, which signifies Gain, because of the profit which Mankind receiv'd by his Predictions, saith *Tzetzes* (d) upon that place.

The Oracles of *Apollo* were not only the most numerous, but of greatest Repute; and amongst them the *Delphian* challeng'd the first place, as well for it's Antiquity, (wherein it contended even with that of *Do-*

(a) *Maximus Tyrius* Diss. XXVIII. (b) *Plato* de Leg. lib. I. (c) Etymolog. Auctor. (d) *Cassandr.* v 208.

dona) as for the truth and perspicuity of it's Answers, the magnificence of it's Structures, the number and richness of the sacred ἀναθήματα, or Presents, dedicated to the God, and the Multitudes which from all Parts resorted thither for Counsel; in all which respects it surpass'd, not only all the Oracles of other Gods, but even those sacred to *Apollo* himself.

The place in which the Oracles were deliver'd was call'd *Pythium*, the Priestess *Pythia*; the Sports also instituted in honour of *Apollo* were nam'd *Pythian*, and *Apollo* himself *Pythius*; either from *Python* a Serpent, or a Man for his Cruelty so call'd, who possess'd this place, and was overcome by *Apollo*: or ἀπὸ τῆς πύθην, i. e. to putrifie; because the Carcase of *Python* was suffer'd to lye there and putrifie, and this reason is given us by *Homer* (a): or ἀπὸ τῆς πυθίδου, i. e. to enquire; because the Oracle was there consulted and enquired of, and this is *Strabo's* (b) opinion: or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphi*, the place of this Oracle, given it from *Pythius* the Son of *Delphus*, the Son of *Apollo*.

The City *Delphi* (as *Strabo* (c) reports) was by some thought to be plac'd in the middle of the World; and the Poets feign that *Jupiter*, being desirous to know the middle part of the Earth, sent forth two Eagles, (or Crows, as *Pindar*, or Swans, as others relate) one from the East, the other from the West, and that they met in this Place. However that be, *Strabo* telleth us, it was plac'd in the middle of *Greece*; whence it is by the Poets commonly call'd Ομφαλον, which word signifieth a Navil, because that is the middle part of Man's body; and therefore *Sophocles* calls this Oracle μαστόμαλον μαντήσιον: and in allusion to that name, *Strabo* and *Pausanias* say, there was to be seen in the Temple the figure of a Navil, made of white Stone, with a Ribband hanging from it, instead of the Navil-string, and upon it were plac'd two Eagles, in memory of the Eagles sent forth by *Jupiter*. But *Lactantius*, and *Phlegonius* are of opinion, that this Name was not deriv'd from the Situation of the Place, but from the divine Answers that were given there, and are in *Greek* call'd Ομφαί.

Concerning the Original of this Oracle there are various Reports, *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* (d) tells us, it first belong'd to *Earth*, by whom *Daphne*, one of the Mountain-Nymphs, was constituted Priestess; the same Author afterwards saith, that in a *Greek* Poem call'd *Eumolpia*, it is reported to have been sacred both to *Earth*, and *Neptune*; and that *Earth* gave Answers her self, but *Neptune* had an Interpreter nam'd *Pyrico*, and that afterwards *Neptune* resign'd his part to *Earth*. This Goddess was succeeded by *Themis*, who gave Oracles about the time of *Deucalion's* Deluge, and was consulted by him: some

(a) Hymn. in *Apollinem* v. 372. (b) *Geogr. lib.* IX. (c) *Lib.* IX. (d) *Lib.* XVI. cap. XVI.

there are, that will have *Themis* to have possess'd this Oracle from the beginning; and in *Calius* (a) we find, that others say it belong'd to *Saion*. However that be, at length it came into the hands of *Apollo*; nor did he long enjoy it alone, for in the War against the Sons of *Titan*, *Bacchus* being mangled and torn in pieces by them, was afterwards restor'd to his Brother *Apollo*, who receiv'd him into his Temple, and order'd that divine Honours should be paid him there. This Fable you may find quoted out of *Callimachus* and *Euphorion*, by *Isaac Tzetzes* in his Comment upon *Lycophron* (b), where *Agamemnon* is brought in sacrificing to *Bacchus* in the Temple of *Delphinian Apollo*. Hence some say, the City *Delphi* was so call'd, *q. Ἀδελφοί*, which word signifieth Brethren, because *Apollo* and *Bacchus* were both Sons of *Jupiter*.

We find it related in *Diodorus the Sicilian* (c), that this Oracle was first discover'd by Goats, in memory whereof the *Delphians*, when they ask'd Counsel of the God, for the most part offer'd a Goat. The manner of the discovery was thus: Upon Mount *Parnassus*, where Goats were wont to feed, there was a deep Cavern, with a small, narrow Mouth, to which when any of the Goats approach'd, they began immediately to leap after an unusual and antick manner, uttering strange and unheard of sounds; the Goat-herd (*Phuarch* calls him *Crias*) observing this, and wondring what should be the cause of it, went himself to view the Cavern, whereupon he also was seiz'd with a like Fit of Madness, leaping and dancing, and fore-telling things to come. This being nois'd abroad, vast Multitudes of People flock'd to the Place, where as many as look'd in, were inspir'd after the same manner. At length, when many were possess'd with such a degree of Divine Phrenzy, as to throw themselves headlong into the *Vorago*; there was an Edict put out, whereby it was made unlawful for any Man to approach to it; and a *Tripus* was plac'd upon the Mouth of it, upon which a Virgin was appointed to sit, and there deliver the Answers of the God. This is the most common Account of the Original of this Oracle: *Pausanias* hath given some others, which I shall forbear to mention, being unwilling to abuse the Reader's patience in the repetition of any more vain and useless Fables. Thus much however is certain (if any thing at such a distance may be call'd so,) viz. That this Oracle was very ancient, and flourish'd above an hundred Years before the *Trojan War*.

Concerning the *Tripus* plac'd upon the mouth of the Cavern, there are different Opinions: some say, it was a Pot fill'd with dust, thro' which the *Afflatus* pass'd into the Virgin's Belly, and thence proceeded out of her Mouth. The *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (d) saith, it was a wide-mouth'd Brass-Pot, fill'd with *ῥαῖς*, or Pebbles, by the leaping of which the Prophetess made her Conjectures. Others are of opinion, that it was a large Vessel supported by three Feet, into

(a) Le&. Ant. lib. XVI. cap. XI. (b) Vers. 209. (c) Biblioth. Hist. l. XVI. (d) *Isidore*.

which

which the Prophetess plung'd her self, when she expected an Inspiration. But, according to the more common opinion, *Calius* (a) hath prov'd at large, that it was not a Vessel, but a Table, or Seat, on which the *Pythia* lean'd, or sat. The cover of the *Tripus*, or, as some say, the *Tripus* it self, they call'd *Ολμῶς*, which word properly denotes a Mortar, or round Stone, according to *Hesychius*; whence *Apollo* is call'd in *Sophocles*, *Ενολμῶς*, and his Prophetess, *Ενολμῆς*. And this, as some are of opinion, gave occasion to the Proverb, *Εν ὀλμῶς ὀνείδω*, which is applied to those that speak prophetically; but others derive it from a certain Diviner, call'd *Holmus*; and others (amongst whom is *Aristophanes* the Grammarian, in *Zenodorus*) refer it to the old superstitious Custom of sleeping in these ὀλμοί, when they desired a Prophetical Dream. *Phrynus* will have the *Tripus* to have been sacred to *Apollo*, either because of the perfection of the Number Three; or in allusion to the three celestial Circles, two of which the Sun toucheth, and passeth over the third in his Annual Circuit. The *Tripus*, saith the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (b), had three Legs, by which were symbolically signified the knowledge of the God, as distinguish'd by the three Parts of Time, viz. Present, Past, and, Future,

Οἱ τ' ἤδει τὰ τ' ἐντα, τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα, πρὸς τ' ἐντα.

Who knew things past, and present, and to come.

The same *Tripus* was not always us'd; the first, it is probable, might be plac'd there by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countrey; afterwards, when *Pelops* married *Hippodamia* the Daughter of *Oenomaus*, King of the *Eleans*, he presented to *Apollo* a *Tripus*, wrought by *Vulcan*, which seems to have been that famous one made of Brass, so famous amongst the Poets. There was also another *Tripus* of Gold, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (c) reports, dedicated to *Apollo* on this account: Certain Fisher-men at *Mileus*, having sold their next draught to some Persons that stood by, cast their Nets into the Water, and drew up a Golden *Tripus*; whereupon there arose a very hot Contention between the Fisher-men and their Chap-men; the Fisher-men alledging, that they sold nothing but the Fish they were to take, and that therefore the *Tripus* belong'd to them; The Buyers, on the other hand, replyed, that they had bought the whole draught, and therefore laid a just claim to whatever came to the Net; at length, when neither side would yield, they agree'd to submit the matter to *Apollo's* determination, whereupon they came to *Delphi*, and there receiv'd this Answer,

(a) Le&. Antiq. lib. VIII. cap. XV. (b) *Initio Pluri*. (c) *Loco citat.*

H h 2

Exy 2



Εχθονι Μιλήτης, τρίποδος πίε Φοῖβον ἑρωτᾷς;  
 Ος σοφίη πάντων πρῶτος, τέτρε τρίποδα δέξ.

Art Thou, a Native of *Miletus*, come  
 T' enquire what must be with the *Tripod* done;  
 Give it to Him, who's wisdom claims a right  
 Above all others. —————

Mr. Huchin.

This Oracle was given at the time when the seven Wise-men flourish'd in *Greece*; the *Tripus* therefore was presented to one of them, (which that was, is not agree'd on by ancient Writers) He modestly refusing it, they offer'd it to another, and so on to the rest, till it had been refus'd by them all; whereupon it was determin'd to consecrate it to *Apollo* himself, as being the Fountain of all Wisdom. The *Tripus* was call'd by the *Latins* *Corina*, of which appellation there are several reasons assign'd, for which I refer you to the Grammarians. Others say, *Corina* was only the Cover of the *Tripus*, and therefore derive it from the word *corium*, i. e. a Skin, because it was made, as they say, of *Python's* Skin. Lastly, others more probably think it signified the Tent, within which was kept the sacred *Tripus*, and that because of it's figure, which was, like that of a Cauldron, round; upon the same account *Corina* was us'd to signify the Tiring-room in the Theater, or the Curtains, or Hangings, out of which the Players us'd to be usher'd on to the Stage; for the same reason the celestial *Hemisphere* is by *Ennius* call'd *Calis corina*; and the *Tholus*, or round Compass at the top of a Theater, is by another nam'd *corina Theatri*.

The Person, that deliver'd the Oracles of the God, was a Woman, whom they call'd *Pythia*, *Pythonissa*, and *Phæbas*: the most celebrated of these, saith *Pausanias* (a), was *Phemonoe*, who is remarkable, not only as being the first Priestess of that Oracle, but more especially because she was the first (as most say,) that cloath'd the Oracles with Heroick Verse. But *Bæo*, a *Delphian* Lady, in one of her Hymns, reports that *Olen*, with the *Hyperboreans*, first instituted this Oracle, and return'd Answers in Heroick Verse, of which He was the first Inventor; Her words we find in *Pausanias* to be thus,

Ενθα τοι ἄμνησον χερσέλειον ἐκτελέσαντο  
 Παιῖδες Ὑπερβορέων, Πάρασθ', ἢ δῖος Ἀγχεύς, &c.

Where *Hyperboreans* to thy lasting praise  
 Eternal Oracles did consecrate.

Then she proceeds to enumerate some others of the *Hyperboreans*, and in the End of the Hymn adds,

(a) *Thucien*.

Ωλλύ,

Ωλλύ θ', ὅς γέντο πρῶτος Φοῖβου περὶ φάτας,  
 Πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ἔπων τεκτὴναι' ἀοιδῶν.

No *Grecian* yet warm'd with Poetick Fire  
 Could fit th' unpolish'd Language to the Lyre,  
 Till the first Priest of *Phæbus* *Olen* rose,  
 And chang'd for smother Verse, their stunning Prose.

Mr. Huchin.

But herein She contradicts (saith my Author) the common opinion of Mankind, grounded on the Testimony of ancient Writers, who unanimously agree in this, That never any but Women were the Interpreters of this God.

*Venerius* (a) is of opinion, that there were more than one *Pythia* at the same time; which he gathers out of *Herodotus*, who in the sixth Book of his History reports, that *Cleomenes* corrupted with bribes the Prophetess *Perialla*, who was *vaicinantium mulierum amplex*, the President of the Prophetesses: How true this may be I know not, but I do not remember that ever I have read of above one at the same time; and tho' the words quoted by *Venerius* are in the *Latin* Version, yet no such thing is said, or can be infer'd from the *Greek*, where *Perialla* is only call'd *περιμαντις*, which word (however it may seem to signify a Prophet superiour to the rest) according to it's common acceptation implyes no more than *μαντις*, for so *Eschylus* (b) hath us'd it, when he saith *περιμαντις κακῶν*, i. e. one that fore-telleth evils to come. And in like manner *Herodotus* himself in another place hath us'd the Verb *περιμαντεύετο*: more instances would be needless.

These Women were, at the first, Virgins, till one of them was deslowr'd by *Echecrates* a *Thessalian*; and then choice was made of Women above fifty years of Age; that so they might either be secur'd from the Attempts of Lust, or, if they should be at any time forc'd to the violation of their chastity, having pass'd the time of Child-bearing they might remain undiscover'd, and not bring the Oracles, or Religion into Contempt: nevertheless they wore the habit of Virgins, thereby to signify their Purity, and Virginal Modesty. They were oblig'd to observe the strictest Laws of Temperance and Chastity; not being allow'd to wear rich and costly Apparel, or use phantastical Dresses; and *Plutarch* (c) hath told us, they neither anointed themselves, nor wore Purple Garments. The *Pythia*, before she ascended the *Tripus*, us'd to wash her whole Body, especially her Hair, in *Castalis*, a Fountain at the Foot of *Parnassus*, where the Poets, Men inspir'd by the same Deity, us'd to wash and drink. At her

(a) De Divination. & Orac. Antiq. (b) *Helena*. (c) Lib. de *Pyth. Orac.*

first sitting down upon the *Tripus*, She us'd to shake the Laurel-tree that grew by it, and sometimes to take the Leaves, and eat them. Her self also, and the *Tripus* were crown'd with Garlands of the same Plant, as we learn from the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (a) at this Verse, where one asketh,

Τί σὺ δ' ὁ Φοῖβος ἔλακεν ἐκ στεμμάτων ;

What from the Oracle with Garlands trimm'd  
Has *Phœbus* utter'd.

Nor did the *Pythia* only make use of Laurel in this manner, but other Prophets also, because it was thought to conduce to inspiration; whence it was peculiarly call'd *μαντικὸν φυτόν*, the Prophetick Plant. The *Pythia* being plac'd upon the *Tripus*, receiv'd the Divine *Affluant* in her Belly; and she is commonly call'd *ἐγασπίμβος*, or *σπυρμυγνις*, because the *Demon* sometimes spoke within her. She was no sooner inspired, but she began immediately to swell, and foam at the mouth, running round, tearing her Hair, cutting her Flesh, and in all her other Behaviour appearing like one phrenetick and distracted. But she was not always affected in the same manner, for if the Spirit was in a kind and gentle Humour, Her Rage was not very violent; but if sullen and malignant, She was thrown into extreme Fury; in-somuch, that *Plutarch* (b) speaks of one that was enrag'd to such a degree, that She affrighted, not only those that consulted the Oracle, but the Priests themselves, so that they run away and left her; and so violent was the Paroxysm, that in a little Time after she dyed. Some say, that under the *Tripus* hath been seen a *Dragon* that return'd Answers.

The Time of consulting the Oracle, was only one Month in a Year. This Month, *Plutarch* (c) tells us, was call'd *Εὐσιος*, which, as many are of Opinion, was so nam'd *γ. Φῶσιος*, from *φύειν*, i. e. to Spring up, because it was in the beginning of Spring, when all things flourish and put forth buds; but this (saith he) is not the true reason, for the *Delphians* do not use B for Φ (as the *Macedonians*, who for *Φίλιππος*, *Φαλακρίς*, and *Φεργάνη*, say *Βίλιππος*, *Βαλακρίς*, and *Βεργάνη*) but instead of Π; for they usually say *βατῆν*, for *πατῆν*, and *βικρὸν*, for *πικρὸν*: *Εὐσιος* therefore is put for *Πύσιος*, so call'd *ἀπὸ τὴν πίσιν*, because in that Month they were allow'd to enquire of *Apollo's* Oracle, and this is their genuine and Country-way of speaking. The seventh day of this Month they call'd *Apollo's* Birth-day, naming it *Πολύρθεος*, (not *πολύρθος*, as some read it) not because they bak'd a sort of Cakes call'd *ῥῥῆς*, but because the God did then return a great many Answers; and at the

(a) In *Plato*. (b) *De Defect. Orac.* (c) *Quæst. Græc.* IX.

first

first the *Pythia* gave Answers only on this Day, as *Callisthenes* and *Maxantrides* report. To this purpose *Plutarch*. And even in later ages, Oracles us'd only to be given once every Month.

Whoever went to consult the Oracle, was required to make large Presents to the God, whereby it came to pass, that this Temple in Riches, Splendor, and Magnificence was superiour to almost all others in the World. And *Aphetoria opes* (so call'd from *Ἀφῆτωρ*, a name of *Apollo*, given him, as some say, from sending forth Oracles) have been proverbially us'd for abundance of wealth. Another thing required of those that desired Answers, was, that they should propound their Questions in as few words as might be: this we learn from *Philostrophus* (a), in the Life of *Apollonius*. It was the Custom also, to offer Sacrifice to *Apollo*, in which except the Omens were favourable, the Prophetess would not give any Answer. At these Sacrifices there were five Priests, saith *Plutarch* (b), nam'd *Οἱσι*, i. e. Holy, that assisted the Prophets, and perform'd many other Offices with them, being suppos'd to be descended from *Deucalion*; there was one also that presided over these, call'd *Οσιωτής*, or Purifier; tho' *Plutarch* saith, that the Sacrifice slain when any of the *Οἱσι* were declar'd, was call'd by that name; unless instead of *τὸ θυθύμενον ἱερεῖον*, or the Sacrifice kill'd, we might be allow'd to read *τὸ θυθύμενον ἱερεῖον*, or the Person that kill'd the Sacrifice. There was another Priest also that assisted the Prophetess in managing the Oracle, whom they call'd *Ἀφῆτωρ*, upon the same account that *Apollo* was so named.

The Answer was always return'd in *Greek*, as appears from *Cicero* (c), who, speaking of the Oracle, reported by *Emilius* to be given to *Pyrrhus* the *Epirote* by *Apollo*, viz.

*Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.*

Go *Pyrrhus*, go, engage with Warlike *Rome*,  
Fate has decreed th' irrevocable Doom,  
And you the Valiant *Romans* shall o'come.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

concludes it was genuine, because the *Pythia* never us'd to speak in *Latin*: as also for that in *Pyrrhus's* time they had left off delivering Answers in Verse, which had been the Custom in all former Ages, from the first foundation of the Oracle, deriving (as hath been said already) its Original from *Phaemonoc*, the first *Pythia*. And the ancient *Greeks* deliver'd their Laws in Verse, whence it came to pass, as *Aristotle* witnesseth, that *νόμος*, which in its proper acceptation signifieth a Law, is often us'd to signify Verses, or Songs. The ancient Philosophers, as oft as they thought fit to Communicate their Mysteries to the

(a) *Lib. VI. cap. V.* (b) *Loc. cit.* (c) *Lib. II. de Divinatione.*

World,

World, cloath'd them in Verse; in short, those Ages scarce seem to have written any thing Curious, or Excellent, nor any thing of weight or moment, but in Verse. The Verses of the *Pythia* were for the most part, saith *Plutarch* (a), rude and unpolish'd, and not comparable to those of *Homer*, or *Hesiod*; yet, saith he, this is no reflexion upon *Apollo*, the Patron of Poets, because He only communicated the knowledge to the *Pythia*, which She deliver'd in what Dress She pleas'd; the Sence therefore was his, the Words her own. In the same Book he tells us, that some were of Opinion, that there were Poets maintain'd in the Temple, to catch the Oracles as they were given, and wrap them up in Verse. The Verses were for the most part Hexameter, insomuch that this Oracle was thought to be none of *Apollo's*, because it was not Heroick enough to become the Author,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Ἐυριπίδης,  
Ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

To Wisdom *Sophocles* makes just pretence,  
Yet do's to sage *Euripides* give place,  
As he and all Men must to *Socrates*.

Mr. Hudchin.

In later Ages, when Oracles began to grow into dis-repute, this Custom of Versifying was left off, the reason whereof hath been sufficiently disputed already by *Plutarch* in a Treatise on that Subject, to which I refer the Reader. I shall only add one thing more to be observ'd, That as the Custom of giving Answers in Verse never obtain'd so universally, but that sometimes they were deliver'd in Prose, as *Plutarch* hath prov'd by a great many instances; so neither was it ever so wholly left off, but that sometimes Oracles were pronounc'd in Verse, an instance whereof he giveth in his own Time.

The *Delphian* Oracles, if compar'd with some others, might justly be call'd plain, and perspicuous; and, as *Hermias* the Philosopher tells us, it was usual for those that had receiv'd an obscure Answer at *Dodona*, to desire *Apollo* at *Delphi* to explain the Meaning of it; He adds also, that *Apollo* had interpreted a great many of them. Nevertheless, they were generally very obscure, and ambiguous; insomuch, that *Apollo*, as some say, was call'd *Λοξίας*, because his Answers were *Λοξὰ καὶ σκολιὰ*, i. e. crooked, as it were, and hard to be understood. And *Heraclius* in *Plutarch*, speaking of *Apollo*, saith, ὅτε λέγει, ὅτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει, i. e. He doth not speak the Truth plainly, nor yet altogether conceal it, but only give small Hints of it; so that if the Event happen'd contrary to any Man's expectation, he might rather accuse his own ignorance and mistake in mis-interpret-

(a) Lib. de *Pythia* Orac.

ing the Answer, than call in question either the Knowledge, or Honesty of *Apollo*.

The Veracity of this Oracle was so famous, that *Τὰ ἐκ Τειμοδότης*, i. e. the Responses given from the *Tripus*, came to be us'd proverbially, for certain and infallible Truths: and, as *Cicero* rightly argues, it is impossible the *Delphian* Oracle should ever have gain'd so much Repute in the World, or have been enrich'd with such vast presents from almost all Kings and Nations, had not the truth of it's Predictions been sufficiently attested by the Experience of all Ages. But in later Times the case was altered; and so *Cicero* tells us, it was a long while before his Days; nay, *Demosthenes*, who flourish'd three-hundred Years before him, complain'd the *Pythia* did φιλιππίζειν, or speak as *Philip* the *Macedonian* would have her. Another time she was said to receive a bribe of *Clisthenes*, to perswade the *Lacedaemonians* to free the *Athenians* from the Tyrants, that were impos'd on them. *Periolla* the *Pythia* was depriv'd of her Office for being corrupted by one of *Cleomenes's* Agents, to say that *Demaratus*, *Cleomenes's* Colleague, was not the true Son of *Aristo*, to the end it might be thought he was not his lawful Successor, and upon that account be dethron'd.

At what Time, or upon what Account this Oracle came to cease, is uncertain; *Sirabo* (a) hath told us, that in his time it had lost it's ancient Reputation; and in *Juvenal's* (b) time, the Gods had quite forsaken it, if any credit may be given to him, when he saith,

———— Delphis Oracula cessant.

The *Delphian* Oracles are now no more.

*Lucan* (c) telleth us, that it had ceas'd a long time before the the Battle at *Pharsalia*,

———— Non ullo Secula dono  
Nostra carens majore Deum, quam Delphica sedes  
Quod siluis. —————

No greater gift can bounteous Heaven bestow,  
Nor do's our Age a greater Blessing want  
Than silenc'd *Delphi*. —————

Mr. Hudchin.

But this must not be understood of a total Defect, or perpetual Silence; for this Oracle, as *van Dale* (d) hath abundantly prov'd, did several times loose it's prophetick faculty, and again recover it. *Lucian* (e) reports, that Answers were given in his Time, which was about the Reigns of *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Son *Commodus*. But he

(a) Lib. IX. (b) Sat. VI. v. 554. (c) Lib. V. (d) Dissert. de Orac. (e) *Alexandro Pseudomant.*

is at a loss, whether those Oracles were indeed *Apollo's*, or only supposititious. And farther, 'tis certain that this, and those at *Delos*, and *Dodona*, with some others, continued till the Reign of *Julian* the *Apostate*, and were consulted, saith *Theodoret*, by him; and at what time they were finally extinct, is altogether uncertain: whoever desireth to be more particularly inform'd about their cessation, may consult *van Dale's* Treatise on that Subject.

When the God forsook *Delphi*, he betook himself to the *Hyperborean Scythians*, as we learn from *Claudian*,

— pulcher Apollo  
Lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras.

Ah! abject *Delphi*, see thy God resides  
In distant *Hyperborean* Climates. —————

Mr. Dechair.

*Abaris*, a *Scythian*, one of *Apollo's* Priests, is said to have written a Book concerning his Oracles, and removal to that Place. And the *Athenians*, at a time when the Plague rag'd over all *Greece*, receiv'd an Oracle from thence, commanding them to make Vows and Prayers in behalf of the rest; and they continued to send Gifts and Offerings thither, as they had formerly done to *Delphi*.

I might enlarge about the Magnificence and Splendor of the *Delphian* Temple, but I fear I have already trespass'd too far upon the Reader's patience; if any one therefore have Curiosity and Leisure enough to employ about such Trifles, he may have a large and exact Description of all the magnificent Structures, rich Presents, curious pieces of Art, and other Rarities belonging to that Place, in *Pausanias*.

*Delos* was the most celebrated of all the *Cyclades*, which were a Knot of Islands in the *Aegean* Sea. It is famous among the Poets for having been the Birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, and was therefore accounted so sacred and inviolable, that the *Persians*, when they pillag'd, or destroy'd almost all the other *Grecian* Temples, durst not attempt any thing upon the Temple in this Island; which was seated on the Sea-shore, looking towards *Eubaa*, in the very place, where *Apollo* was feign'd to be born. He had in Image erected in this place in the shape of a *Dragon*; and gave Answers for their Certainty, and Perspicuity, not only not inferiour to those at *Delphi*, but, as some report, (a) far exceeding them, and all other Oracles of *Apollo*; being deliver'd in clear, plain Terms, without any ambiguity, or obscurity. But these Answers were not to be expected all the Year, *Apollo* only kept his Summer's Residence in this Place, and in Winter retired to *Patara*, a City of *Lycia*, as *Servius* hath observ'd in his Comment upon these words of *Virgil*,

(a) *Alexand.* ab *Alex.*

*Qualis*

*Qualis ubi hybernâ Lyciâ, Xanthique fluentia  
Deserit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo* (a).

Such Pomp and Splendor God *Apollo* grace,  
When He his Winter *Lycia*, or that Place  
Which *Xanthus* Silver Streams wash kindly, leaves,  
And *Delos* visits, whence He answers gives  
In Summer Seasons. —————

Mr. Dechair.

The Altar was by some reckon'd amongst the seven Wonders of the World; it was erected by *Apollo* at the age of four Years, and compos'd of the Horns of Goats kill'd by *Diana* upon Mount *Cynthus*, which were compacted together in a wonderful manner, without any visible Tye or Cement, whence *Ovid* saith of it,

*Miror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.*

— 'tis strange to see  
How each in th'other twin'd the Goat-horns lie,  
And make an Altar bound with n'ere a Tye.

Mr. Dechair.

To Sacrifice any living Creature upon this Altar was held unlawful, and a prophanation of the Place, which it was the Gods Will to have preserv'd pure from blood, and all manner of Pollution. *Thucydides* (b) reports, that no Dogs were permitted to enter into the Island; and it was unlawful for any Person to dye, or be born in it; and therefore, when the *Athenians* were by the Oracle commanded to purifie it, they dug up the dead Bodies out of their Graves, and wasted them over the Sea, to be interred in one of the adjacent Islands; this done, the better to preserve it from pollution, they put forth an Edict, commanding that whoever lay sick of any mortal or dangerous Disease, and all Women great with Child, should be carried over to a little Isle call'd *Rhena*.

I must not omit in this place the annual Procession made by the *Athenians* to *Delos*, in honour of *Apollo*. The first Author of this Custom was *Theseus*, who, being sent with the rest of the *Athenian* Youths into *Crete*, to be devour'd by the *Minotaur*, made a Vow to *Apollo*, that if He would grant them a safe return, they would make a solemn Voyage to his Temple at *Delos* every Year. This was call'd *Θωεία*, the Persons employ'd in it *Θωεῖοι*, and *Δηλιασται*, from the name of the Island, the Chief of them *Ἀρχιδεῖος*, and the Ship in which they

(a) *Aeneid.* IV. v. 143. (b) *Lib.* IV.

went *Θιweis*, or *Δηλιάς*, which was the very same that carried *Theseus* and his Companions to *Crete*; being (saith *Plutarch*) preserv'd by the *Athenians* till *Demetrius* the *Phalerian's* time, they restoring all ways what was decay'd, and changing the old and rotten Planks for those that were new and entire; inasmuch, that it furnish'd the Philosophers with matter of Dispute, Whether after so many Reparations and Alterations it might still be call'd the same individual Ship; and serv'd as an Instance to illustrate the Opinion of those, that held the body still remain'd the same numerical substance, notwithstanding the continual decay of old parts, and acquisition of new ones, through the several Ages of Life; for which reason *Callimachus* (a) calls it's Tackle *everliving*,

— ἀεζώντα Θιweίδου, ἱερὰ Φοῖβου,  
Κικροπίδαι πέμπουσιν τοπήια νηὸς ἐκείνης.

To great *Apollo's* Temple ev'ry year,  
The sturdy *Theoris* th' *Athenians* send,  
Yet spight of envious Time, and angry Seas  
The Vessel ever whole will be.

Mr. Dechair.

The beginning of the Voyage was computed from the time that *Apollo's* Priest first adorn'd the Stern of the Ship with Garlands, saith *Plato* (b); and from that time they began to cleanse and lustrate the City; and it was held unlawful to put any Malefactor to death till it's return; which was the reason that *Socrates* was repriev'd thirty days after his condemnation, as we learn from *Xenophon* (c). The *Theoris* wore Garlands of Laurel upon their Heads, and were accompanied by two of the Family of the *Κίρκου*, who were appointed to be *Παράσιτοι* at *Delos* for that Year, of which Office I have already treated. Before them went certain Men with Axes in their Hands, in shew as if they design'd to clear the Ways of Robbers; in memory, that *Theseus*, in his Journey from *Troizen* to *Athens*, free'd the Countrey from all the Robbers that infested those Parts. To this Custom *Aeschylus* (e) seems to allude, when he saith,

Πέμπουσιν δ' αὐτὸν, καὶ σβίλλουσιν μέγα  
Κιλάδοποιὸν παῖδα Ἡραΐδα, χθόνα  
Ἀθήμαρον πόντες ἡμωρωμένην.

Mov'd with a Sense of Piety  
To Him th' *Athenians* do repair,

(a) Hymno in *Belum*. (b) In *Phadone*. (c) Memorab. lib. IV. (d) *Emenid*. initio.

Still

Still as they on their Journey go,  
Whatever Parts infested be  
With Robbers cruel Outrages,  
Setting 'em free. —

Mr. Dechair.

When they went thither they were said *ἀναβαίνειν*, to ascend; when they return'd *καταβαίνειν*, to descend. When they arriv'd, they offer'd Sacrifice, and celebrated a Festival in Honour of *Apollo*: this done, they repair'd to their Ship, and sail'd homewards. At their return, all the People ran forth to meet them, opening their Doors, and making Obedience as they pass'd by; the neglect of which respect makes *Theseus* complain in *Esripides* (a),

Οὐ γὰρ τις μ' ὡς Θιweὶν ἀξιοῖ δέμιον  
Πύλας ἀνοίξας ἀρρήτως ἀεγαννέπαι.

My scornfull Citizens I find neglect,  
Rushing to crowd about the open'd Doors,  
And pay Me that Respect which is decreed  
For one that from the Embassy returns.

Mr. Dechair.

The next Oracle I shall speak of, is that of *Apollo Didymæus*, so nam'd (b) from the double light imparted by him to Mankind, the one directly and immediately from his own Body, which causeth the Day; the other, mediately, and by reflection from the Moon, which enlightneth the Night. The place of it was also call'd *Didyma*, and belong'd to the *Milesians*. It was also call'd the Oracle of the *Branchidae*, and *Apollo* himself was call'd *Branchides*, from *Branchus*, who was reputed the Son of *Machareus*, but begotten by *Apollo*; for it was no unusual thing for the ancient Heroes to be call'd the Sons of two Fathers, the one Mortal, who was always their Mothers Husband; the other some lascivious Deity, that had fallen in Love with her: so *Hercules* was reputed the Son of *Jupiter* and *Amphitryon*; *Hector* of *Priamus* and *Apollo*, with many others. This *Branchus* having on a certain time kiss'd *Apollo*, receiv'd from him a Crown and Scepter, together with the gift of Prophecy, and presently after disappear'd. Some time after, a magnificent Temple was erected in honour of Him, and dedicated to Him and *Apollo*; whence *Strabo* saith he was

— patrioque aequalis honori.

In honour equal to his Father *Phæbus*.

(a) *Hippolyto*. (b) *Macrob. Saturnal*. lib. I cap. XVII. (c) *Theb*. III.

Others derive the Name from *Branchus*, a *Thessalian* Youth, belov'd by *Apollo*, who receiv'd him into his own Temple, and commanded that Divine honours should be paid him after Death. But *Stephanus* the *Byzantine* (a) telleth us, that this Oracle was sacred to *Jupiter* and *Apollo*, and perhaps it might belong to all three.

In the time of the *Persian* War (b), this Temple was spoil'd and burn'd, being betray'd into the Hands of the *Barbarians* by the *Branchide*, or Priests that had the care of it; but they, conscious of their own wickedness, and fearing lest they should meet with condign Punishment, desired of *Xerxes*, that as a requital of their Service, he would grant them a Habitation in some remote part of *Asia*, whence they might never return into *Greece*, but live secure, being plac'd beyond the reach of Justice; *Xerxes* granted their Request; whereupon, notwithstanding a great many unlucky Omens appear'd to them, they founded a City, and call'd it after their ancient name, *Branchide*. But for all this, they could not escape Divine Vengeance, which was inflicted on their Children by *Alexander* the Great, who, having conquer'd *Darius*, and possess'd himself of *Asia*, utterly demolish'd their City, and put all it's Inhabitants to the Sword, as detesting the very Posterity of such impious Wretches.

The *Persians* being vanquish'd, and Peace restor'd to *Greece* (c), the Temple was rebuilt by the *Milesians*, with such magnificence, that it surpass'd all the other *Grecian* Temples in Bigness, being rais'd to such a bulk, that they were forc'd to let it remain uncover'd; for the compass of it was no less than that of a Village, and contained, at least, four, or five *Stadia*.

Another of *Apollo's* Oracles, we read of in *Abæ*, a City of *Phocia*, mention'd by *Herodotus* (d), and *Stephanus* the *Byzantine* (e); by the latter of which we are told, it was more ancient than the *Delphic*. *Sophocles* (f) also hath taken notice of it,

Οὐκ ἔπ' ἄνθρωπον εἶμι  
Γὰρ ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν οἴεσθαι,  
Οὐδ' εἰς τὸν Ἀγαῖον ναόν.

Hence all Religion, now I will no more  
Trouble that hallow'd Fane, which equally  
Parts the divided Earth, no Journeys make  
To *Abæ* for the Answers of a God;  
In vain 'tis to be good.

Mr. Dechar.

The *Scholiasts* on this place are of opinion, that *Abæ* was a City in *Lycia*, but are sufficiently refuted by the testimonies already cited.

(a) Voce *Δρυμα*. (b) *Strabo* lib. XIV. & *Suidas* in voce *Βραχιδίαι*. (c) *Strabo* loc. cit. (d) Lib. I cap. XLVI. (e) Voce *Αβαι*. item *Hesychius*, & *Phavorinus*. (f) *Oedip. Tyr.* v. 908.

At

At *Claros*, a City of *Ionia*, not far from *Colophon*, there was another Oracle sacred to *Apollo*, first instituted by *Manto*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*, who fled thither in the second *Theban* War, when the *Epigoni*, i. e. the Sons of those that were slain in the former War, invaded *Thebes*, under the conduct of *Alcmaeon*, in revenge of their Fathers Deaths. The Person that deliver'd Answers, was a Man, who was generally chosen out of some certain Families, and for the most part out of *Mileus* (a): He was usually unlearn'd, and very ignorant, yet return'd the Oracles in Verses wonderfully satisfactory, and adapted to the intention of the Enquirers; and this by the Virtue of a little Well, feign'd to have sprung out of the Tears of *Manto*, when she bewail'd the desolation of her Countrey: into this He descended when any Man came to consult him; but paid dear for his Knowledge, for the Water was very prejudicial to his Health, and, as *Pliny* (b) hath told us, a means to shorten his Life.

At *Larissa*, a Fort of the *Argives*, there was an Oracle of *Apollo* surnam'd *Δεσπιδότμος*, from *Diras*, a Region belonging to *Argos*. The Answers in this place were return'd by a Woman, who was forbidden the company of Men; every Month she sacrific'd a Lamb in the Night, and then, having tasted the Blood of the Victim, was immediately seiz'd with a Divine Fury.

*Apollo* had another famous Oracle at *Euresti*, a Village in *Boeotia* (c), seated in the way between the *Thessians*, and *Plataeans*.

At *Tegyra*, a City in *Boeotia*, there was an Oracle sacred to *Tegyrian Apollo*, which was frequented till the *Persian* War. but after that remain'd for ever silent (e).

No less famous was *Pion*, a Mountain in *Boeotia*, for the Oracles given by *Apollo* surnam'd *Pion* from that Place, where was a Temple dedicated to him. This Oracle ceas'd when *Thebes* was demolish'd by *Alexander* (d).

*Apollo*, surnam'd *Δαφνιδότμος*, from *Daphne* his beloved Mistress, or the Laurel, into which she was transform'd, had an Oracle near the *Castalian* Fountain, the Waters of which were also endu'd with a prophetic Virtue (f).

*Apollo* was call'd *Ismenius*, from *Ismenus* a River, and Mountain in *Boeotia*, in which he had a Temple, and gave Answers to those that came to enquire of him.

*Pausanias* (g) hath told us of another place in *Boeotia*, where *Apollo* return'd Answers, viz. a Stone call'd *Σωρεγνιστήρ*, upon which he had an Altar, erected out of the Ashes of Victims offer'd to him; whence he was call'd *Spodius* from *Σποδός*; i. e. ashes; whence for *Σπόρδης* in *Pausanias*, must be read *Σπείδης*. He did not here, as in other places signify his will *vivā voce*, but by Omens, in the observation of

(a) *Cal. Rhod. Ant. Lect. lib. XXVII. cap. V.* (b) *Nat. Hist. lib. II. cap. CIII.* (c) *Stephanus* in voce *Εὐρεστis*. (d) *Plutarch. Pelopida.* (e) *Pausanias Boeoticus.* (f) *Clement Protrept.* (g) *Pausan. Ibidem.*

which

which He instructed Persons appointed for that purpose; for this way of Divination also was in use amongst the *Grecians*, especially at *Smyrna*, saith my Author, where was a Temple built on the outside of the City-wall for that Purpose. Thus much of the Oracles of *Apollo*.

## CHAPTER X.

### Of the Oracle of Trophonius.

*Trophonius*, the Son of *Eresinus*, and Brother of *Agamedes* (a), being possess'd with an immoderate Thirst of Glory, built himself a Mansion under Ground, at *Lebadea* a City of *Boeotia*, into which when he enter'd, he pretended to be inspir'd with an extraordinary Knowledge of future Events; but at length, either out of Design to raise in People an Opinion, that he was translated to the Gods, or being some way necessitated thereto, perish'd in his Hole (b). *Cicero* (c), giveth us a very different account of his Death, when he tells us, that *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, having built *Apollo's* Temple at *Delphi*, requested of the God, that, as a Recompence for their Labour, he would give them the best Thing that could happen to Man; *Apollo* granted their Petition, and promis'd them, that what they desired should be effected the third Day after; accordingly, on that Day in the Morning they were found dead. Several other Fables concerning him, and the manner of his Death you may find in the *Scholias* upon the *Clouds* of *Aristophanes*.

However that be, *Trophonius* had divine Honours paid him after Death, and was worshipp'd by the name of *Jupiter Trophonius* (d); nor was it a thing unusual for Men Deified to be honour'd with the name of a God, I might give you several instances of the same Nature, but one shall suffice for all, viz. that of *Agamemnon*, who was worshipp'd at *Sparta* by the name of *Jupiter Agamemnon*, as *Lycophron* witnesseth (e),

Εμὸς δ' ἀκοίτης, δμῶιδος νύμφης ἄναξ,  
Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάτης αἰμύλοισι κληθίσταται,  
Τριῶς μάλιστα παρ' Οἰβάλλῃ τέκνοισι λαχόν.

Then shall my Husband, whom a Captive Bride  
I now obey as my superiour Lord,

(a) *Suidas* voce Τριφώνιος. (b) *Thauren*. (c) *Tusc. Quæst.* lib. I. (d) *Strabo* lib. IX. (e) *Callistr.* v. 1123.

By

By subtle crafty *Spartians* you be call'd,  
And worshipp'd so, from their Posterity  
Receiving greatest Honours.

Mr. Dechair.

Which words *Cassandra* speaks of *Agamemnon*, whose Captive and Concubine she was after the Destruction of *Troy*.

This Oracle came first into repute on this Account: On a time, when for the space of two years there had been no Rain in *Boeotia*, all the Cities of that Countrey, with a joynt consent, appointed chosen Persons to go to *Delphi*, there to pay their Devotions to *Apollo*, in the Name of their Countrey, and desire his Advice and Assistance: The God accepted their Piety, but return'd them no other Answer, than that they should go home, and consult *Trophonius* at *Lebadea*. The Embassadors immediately obey'd, and repair'd to *Lebadea*, still remaining as much in the dark, as at the first; there being not the least Sign or Foot-step of any Oracle in that place: at length, when they had search'd a long time to no purpose, and began to despair of success, one *Saon* an *Acrephian*, the Senior of all the Embassadors, espy'd a swarm of Bees, and immediately took up a resolution to follow them; by this means he came to a Cave, into which he had no sooner enter'd, but by some evident tokens perceiv'd, that in that place was the Oracle, *Apollo* had commanded them to enquire of. Upon this he pay'd his Devotion to *Trophonius*, and receiv'd from him a well-come, and satisfactory Answer, together with Instructions in what Manner, and with what Rites and Ceremonies he would have those that should come for Advice, to approach him (a).

The Place of this Oracle was under the surface of the Earth, and therefore it was commonly call'd *καταδύσιον*, and the Persons that consulted it *καταδύνοντες*, because the way to it was a Descent. Concerning it, there are innumerable Fables, which it would not be worth the while to mention in this place; I shall therefore pass them by, only giving you the Accounts *Pausanias* and *Plutarch* have left of it; the former of which consulted it in person, and thereby had opportunity of being an Eye-witness of what he reports. His words are thus translated by Mr. *Abel*:

"Whosoever's exigencies oblige him to go into the Cave, must  
"in the first place make his abode for some set-time in the Chappel  
"of *Good Genius* and *Good Fortune*; during his stay here, he abstains  
"from hot Baths, and employs himself in performing other sorts of  
"Atonements for past offences; he is not wholly debarr'd bathing,  
"but then it must only be in the River *Hercynia*, having a sufficient sustenance from the Leavings of the Sacrifices. At his going  
"down he sacrificeth to *Trophonius* and his Sons, to *Apollo*, *Saron*  
"and *Jupiter*, (who hath the title of *King*) to *Juno Heniocha*, and  
"*Ceres*, call'd *Ewopa*, reported to be *Trophonius's* Nurse. There's a

(a) *Pausanias* *Boeotia*.

Kk

"Priest



" Priest stands consulting the Bowels of every Sacrifice, who according to the Victims's aspects, prophecies whether the Deity will give an auspicious and Satisfactory Answer. The Entrails of all the Sacrifices confer but little towards the Revealing of *Trophonius's* Answer, unless a Ram, which they offer in a Ditch, to *Agamedes*, with supplication for success, that night on which they descend, presents the same Omens with the former; on this depends the Ratification of all the rest, and without it their former Oblations are of none effect: if so be this Ram doth agree with the former, every one forthwith descends, back'd with the eagerness of good Hopes; and thus is the Manner: Immediately they go that night along with the Priests to the River *Hercynia*, where they are anointed with Oyl, and wash'd by two Citizen's Boys, aged about thirteen years, whom they call *Epūqēs*, i. e. *Mercuries*; these are they, that are employ'd in washing whoever hath a mind to consult; neither are they remiss in their Duty, but, as much as can be expected from Boys, carefully perform all things necessary. Having been wash'd, they are not straightway conducted by the Priests to the Oracle, but are brought to the River's Rises, which are adjacent to one another: here they must drink a dose of the Water of it, call'd *Lethe*, or Oblivion, to deluge with oblivion all those things, which so lately were the greatest part of their concerns. After that, they take the Water of *Mnemosyne*, viz. Remembrance, to retain the remembrance of those things, that shall be exhibited to them in their Descent; amongst which is expos'd a Statue, adorn'd with that admirable carving, that it's set up by the People for *Dædalus's* workmanship; whereupon they never exhibit it, unless to Descendants: to this therefore, after some venerable obeysance, having mutter'd over a Prayer or two, in a linnen Habit set off with Ribbands, and wearing Pantofles, agreeable with the fashion of the Countrey, they approach the Oracle, which is situated within a Mountain near a Grove, the foundation of which is built spherical-wise, of white stone, about the size, in circumference, of a very small Threshing-floor, but in height scarce two cubits, supporting brazen Obelisks, encompass'd round with ligaments of brass, between which there are doors that guide their passage into the midst of the Floor, where there's a sort of a Cave, not the product of rude Nature, but built with the nicest accuracy of Mechanism and Proportion; the Figure of this Workmanship is like an Oven, it's breadth diametrically (as high as can be guess'd) about nine cubits, it's depth eight, or thereabouts; for the guidance to which there are no stairs, wherefore 'tis requir'd that all comers bring a narrow and light Ladder with them, by which when they are come down to the bottom, there's a Cave between the Roof and the Pavement, being in breadth about two *πυγμῶν*, and in height not above one; at the mouth of this, the Descendant having brought with him Cakes dipt in Honey, lies along on the

" ground,

" ground, and shoves himself Feet foremost into the Cave; then he thrusts in his Knees, after which the rest of his Body is rowl'd along, by a force not unlike that of a great and rapid River, which overpowering a Man with it's vortex, tumbles him over Head and Ears. All that come within the approach of the Oracle, have not their Answers reveal'd the same way: some gather th'ir Resolves from outward appearances, others by word of mouth; they all return the same way back, with their Feet foremost. Among all that have descended, 'twas never known that any was lost, except one of the Live-guard of *Demetrius*; and besides 'tis credible the reason proceeds from the neglect of the Rituals in his descent, and his ill delign; for he went not out of necessity to consult, but out of an avaricious humour, for the sacrilegious conveyance back of the Gold and Silver, which was there religiously bestow'd; wherefore 'tis said, that his Carcase was thrown out some other way, and not at the Entrance of the sacred Shrine. Among the various Reports that flie abroad concerning this Man, I've deliver'd to Posterity the most remarkable. The Priests, as soon as the Consultant is return'd, place him on *Mnemosyne's* Throne, which is not very far from the Shrine; here they enquire of him, what he had seen, or heard; which when he hath related, they deliver him to others, who (as appointed for that Office) carry him stupify'd with amazement, and forgetful of himself, and those about him, to the Chappel of *Good Genius* and *Good Fortune*, where he had made his former stay at his going down; here, after some time, he's restor'd to his former Senses, and the cheerfulness of his Visage returns again. What I here relate, was not receiv'd at second-hand, but either as by ocular demonstration I have perceiv'd in others; or what I've prov'd true by my own Experience; for all Consultants are oblig'd to hang up engrav'd on a Tablet, what they have seen, or heard.

Thus far *Pausanias*. *Pluarch's* Relation concerns the Appearances exhibited to Consultants; which, tho' they were various, and seldom the same, being it is a remarkable Story, I will give it you, as it is translated by the same Hand.

" *Timarchus*, being a Youth of Liberal Education, and just initiated in the Rudiments of Philosophy, was greatly desirous of knowing the Nature and Efficacy of *Socrates's* Demon; wherefore communicating his project to no Mortal Body but Me and *Cebes*, after the performance of all the Rituals requisite for Consultation, He descended *Trophonius's* Cave; where having stay'd two nights and one day, his return was wholly despair'd of, insomuch that his Friends bewail'd Him as dead: in the Morning He came up very brisk, and in the first place pay'd some venerable acknowledgments to the God; after that, having escap'd the staring Rout, He laid open to us a prodigious Relation of what he had seen or heard, to this purpose: In his Descent, he was beset with a caliginous Mist, upon which he pray'd, lying prostrate for a long time, and

K k 2

" not

"not having Sense enough to know whether he was awake, or in  
 "a dream, He surmises, that he receiv'd a blow on his Head, with  
 "such an echoing violence, as dissolv'd the Sutures of his Skull,  
 "thro' which his Soul migrated; and being disunited from the Bo-  
 "dy, and mixt with bright and refin'd Air, with a seeming con-  
 "tentment, began to breath for a long time. and being dilated like  
 "a full Sail, was wider than before. After this, having heard a  
 "small noise, whistling in his Ears a delightful sound; he lookt  
 "up, but saw not a spot of Earth, only Islands reflecting a glimmering  
 "flame, interchangeably receiving different colours, according to the  
 "various degrees of Light. They seem'd to be of an infinite num-  
 "ber, and of a stupendious size, not bearing an equal parity be-  
 "twixt one another in this, tho' they were all alike, viz. globular: it  
 "may be conjectur'd, that the circumrotation of these mov'd the  
 "Æther, which occasion'd that Whistling, the gentle pleasantness of  
 "which bore an adequate agreement with their well-tim'd motion.  
 "Between these there was a Sea, or Lake, which spread out a Sur-  
 "face, glittering with many Colours, intermixt with an azure; some  
 "of the Islands floated in it's Stream, by which they were driven on  
 "the other side of the Torrent; many others were carry'd to and fro,  
 "so that they were well-nigh sunk. This Sea, for the most part, was  
 "very shallow and fordable, except towards the South, where 'twas  
 "of a great depth; it very often ebb'd and flow'd, but not with a  
 "high Tide; some part of it had a natural Sea-colour, untainted  
 "with any other, as miry and muddy as any Lake.: The rapidness  
 "of the Torrent carry'd back those Islands from whence they had  
 "grounded, not situating them in the same place as at first, or bring-  
 "ing them about with a circumference; but in the gentle turning  
 "of them, the Water makes one rising Row: betwixt these, tho'  
 "Sea seem'd to bend inwards about (as near as he cou'd guess) eight  
 "parts of the whole. This Sea had two mouths, which were In-  
 "lets to boisterous Rivers, casting out fiery foam, the flaming bright-  
 "ness of which cover'd the best part of it's natural Azure. He was very  
 "much pleas'd at this Sight, until he lookt down, and saw an im-  
 "mense *Hians*, resembling a hollow'd Sphere, of an amazing and  
 "dreadful profundity; it had darkness to a miracle; not still, but  
 "thicken'd, and agitated: here he was seiz'd with no small fright,  
 "by the astonishing hubbubs, and noises of all kinds, that seem'd  
 "to arise out of this hollow, from an unfathomable bottom, viz.  
 "he heard an infinity of Yells and Howlings of Beasts, Cries and  
 "Bawlings of Children, confus'd with the Groans and Outrages of  
 "Men and Women. Not long after, he heard a voice invisibly pro-  
 "nounce these words.....

What follows is nothing but a prolix and tedious Harangue up-  
 on various subjects. One thing there is more especially remarkable  
 in this account, viz. That he makes *Timarchus* to return from Con-  
 sultation with a brisk and chearful countenance, whereas 'tis com-  
 monly reported, that all the Consultants of this Oracle became pensive  
 and

and melancholy; that their Tempers were sow'd, and their Counte-  
 nances, however gay and pleasant before, rendred dull and heavy;  
 whence of any Person dejected, melancholy, or too serious, it was  
 usually said, *his Τεταρτὸς μελαγχόλιος*, i. e. He has been consulting  
 the Oracle of *Trophonius*. But this is only to be understood of the Time  
 immediately ensuing Consultation; for, as we learn from *Pausanias*, all  
 Enquirers recover'd their former chearfulness in the Temple of *Good Ge-  
 nius* and *Good Fortune*.

## CHAPTER XI. Of other Grecian Oracles.

*Amphiaraus* was the Son of *Oicleus*, and married *Eriphyle* the Si-  
 ster of *Adrastus*, King of *Argos*; he was an excellent Sooth-  
 sayer, and by his Skill forelaw that it would prove fatal to him, if  
 he engag'd himself in the *Theban War*. Wherefore, to avoid inevi-  
 table destruction, He hid himself, but was discover'd by his Wife  
*Eriphyle*, whom *Polynices* had corrupted with a Present of a golden  
 Chain. Being discover'd, he was oblig'd by *Adrastus* to accom-  
 pany the Army to *Thebes*, where it happened to Him as He had  
 foretold; for, together with his Chariot and Horses, he was swal-  
 low'd up by the Earth. Whence *Ovid* saith of him,

*Notus humo mersus Amphiaraus equis.*

Some say this Accident happen'd in the way betwixt *Thebes* and *Chal-  
 cis*, and for that reason the place is call'd *Apia*, i. e. a Chariot, to  
 this day, saith *Pausanias* (a).

After his Death, he was honoured with Divine Worship; first by the  
*Oropians*, and afterwards by all the other *Grecians*: And a stately  
 Temple, with a Statue of white Marble, was erected to him in the  
 place where he was swallow'd up, saith my Author, being about XII  
*Stadia* distant from *Oropus*, a City in the confines of *Attica* and  
*Bœotia*, which for that reason is sometimes attributed to both Coun-  
 tries. There was also a remarkable Altar, dedicated to him in the  
 same place; it was divided into five parts: The first of which was  
 sacred to *Hercules*, *Jupiter*, and *Pæonian Apollo*: The second to the  
*Heroes*, and their Wives: The third to *Vesta*, *Mercury*, *Amphiaraus*,  
 and the Sons of *Amphilochus*, (for *Alcmaeon*, the Son of *Amphiaraus*,  
 was not allow'd to partake of any of the Honours pay'd to *Am-  
 philochus*, or *Amphiaraus*, because he slew his Mother *Eriphyle*) The  
 fourth to *Venus*, *Panacea*, *Jason*, *Hygia*, and *Pæonian Minerva*. The  
 fifth part to the *Nymphs*, *Pan*, and the Rivers *Achelous*, and *Cephisus*.

(a) *Attica*.

Answers were not deliver'd, as those of *Apollo*, by a *Pythonissa*, but in Dreams: *Jophon* the *Gnosian*, who publish'd the ancient Oracles in Heroick Verses, reports, That *Amphiaraus* return'd an Answer to the *Argives* in Verse; but my Author herein Contradicteth him, and reports farther, that it was the general opinion, that only those, who were inspir'd by *Apollo*, gave Answers after that manner; whereas all the rest made Predictions either by Dreams, or the Flight of Birds, or the Entrails of Beasts. He adds, for a confirmation of what he had said before, viz. that these Answers were given in Dreams, That *Amphiaraus* was excellently skill'd in the Interpretation of Dreams, and Canoniz'd for the Invention of that Art.

They that came to consult this Oracle, were first to be purify'd by offering Sacrifice to *Amphiaraus*, and all the other Gods; whose Names were inscrib'd on the Altar: (a) *Philostratus* adds, they were to fast 24 hours, and abstain three days from Wine. After all, they offer'd a Ram in Sacrifice to *Amphiaraus*; then went to sleep, lying upon the Victim's Skin, and in that posture expected a Revelation by Dream. In the same manner did the People of *Apulia Daunia* expect Answers from *Podalirius*, who died there, and return'd Prophetick-dreams to those that came to enquire of him: whose consulted him, was to sleep upon a Sheep's skin at his Altar, as we learn from these words of *Lycophron* (b),

Δραῖς δὲ μέλων τῶνδ' ἐγκαυμάδῃσι  
Χρῆσι καὶ ὕπνῳ πᾶσι νυκτέσσι φάτιν.

They, whose aspiring Minds curious to pry  
Into the Mystlick Records of Events,  
Ask aid of *Podalirius*, must sleep  
Prostrate on Sheep-skins at his hallow'd Fane,  
And thus receive the true Prophetick Dreams.

Mr. Huchin.

To return. All Persons were admitted to this Oracle, the *Thebans* only excepted, who were to enjoy no benefit from *Amphiaraus* in this way: for, as *Herodotus* reporteth (c), He gave them their option of two Things, viz. His Counsel and Advice, to direct them in time of Necessity; or his Help and Protection, to defend them in time of Danger; telling them they must not expect both: whereupon they chose the latter, thinking they had a greater need of Defence, than Counsel, which they could be sufficiently furnish'd with by *Delphian Apollo*.

This Oracle was had in very great esteem: *Herodotus* (d) reckons it amongst the five principal ones of Greece, consulted by *Craesus*, before his Expedition against *Cyrus*; viz. the *Delphian*, *Dodonean*, *Am-*

(a) Vita *Apollonis Tyanai* lib. II. (b) *Cassandra* v 1050 (c) lib. viii. cap. cxxxiv. (d) Lib. I. c. xlv.

*phiaraus's*,

*phiaraus's*, *Trophonius's*, and the *Didymean*; and *Valerius Maximus* (a) saith, it was not inferior either to the two first of those already mention'd, or that of *Jupiter Hammon*.

Near the Temple was the Fountain, out of which *Amphiaraus* ascended into Heaven, when he was receiv'd into the number of the Gods, which for that reason was call'd by his Name; it was held so sacred, that it was a Capital crime to employ the Waters of it to any ordinary use, as washing the hands, or Purification; nay it was unlawful to offer Sacrifice before it, as was usual at other Fountains: The chief, and perhaps only use it was employ'd in, was this, viz. they that by the advice of the Oracle had recover'd out of any Disease, were to cast a piece of coyn'd Gold, or Silver into it; and this (b) *Pausanias* tells us was an ancient Custom, and deriv'd from the primitive Ages.

At *Phara*, a City of *Achaia*, Answers were given by *Mercurius* Ἀρχαῖος, so nam'd from ἀρχαῖα, i. e. the Market-place, where was a Statue of Stone erected to him, having a Beard, which seems to have been a thing unusual in his Statues; before it was plac'd a low Stone-altar, upon which stood brazen Basons soldered with Lead. They that came for Advice, first offer'd Frankincense upon the Altar, then lighted the Lamps, pouring Oyl into them; after that, they offer'd upon the right side of the Altar a piece of Money, stamp'd with their own Country-impression, and call'd Χαλκοῦς, then propos'd the Questions they desir'd to be resolv'd in, placing their Ear close to the Statue, and after all departed, stopping both their Ears with their Hands, till they had pass'd quite through the Market-place; then they pluck'd away their Hands, and receiv'd the first Voice that presented it self, as a Divine Oracle. The same Ceremonies were practic'd in *Aegypt*, at the Oracle of *Serapis*, as (c) *Pausanias* hath reported.

(d) At *Bura* in *Achaia*, there was an Oracle of *Hercules*, call'd from that City *Buraicus*; the place of it was a Cave, wherein was *Hercules's* Statue: Predictions were made by throwing Dice. They that consulted the God, first address'd themselves to him by Prayer; then taking four Dice, out of a great heap that lay ready there, they threw them upon the Table; all the Dice had on them certain peculiar marks, all which were interpreted in a Book kept for that purpose; as soon therefore as they had cast the Dice, they went to the Book, and there found every Man his Doom.

At *Parra*, (e) a City on the Sea-coast of *Achaia*, not far from the Sacred Grove of *Apollo*, there was a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in which were erected three Statues, two to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, standing; the third to *Earth*, sitting upon a Throne. Before the Temple there was a Fountain, in which were deliver'd Oracles, very famous for the truth of their Predictions. These were not given upon every account, but concern'd only the Events of Diseases. The manner of

(a) Lib. VIII c. XV. (b) *Atticu*. (c) *Achaicu*. (d) *Ibidem*. (e) *Pausanias* *ibidem*.

consulting

consulting was this; They let down a Looking-glass by a small cord into the Fountain so low that the bottom of it might just touch the surface of the Water, but not be cover'd by it; this done, they offer'd Incense and Prayers to the Goddess, then looked upon the Glass, and from the various Figures and Images represented in it, made Conjectures concerning the Patient.

(a) At *Træzen*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, there was an old Altar dedicated to the *Muses* and *Sleep*, by *Ardalus*, one of *Vulcan's* Sons; who was the first Inventor of the Flute, and a great Favourite of the *Muses*, who from him were call'd *Ardalides*. They that came for Advice, were oblig'd to abstain certain days from Wine. Afterwards they lay down by the Altar to sleep, where, by the secret Inspiration of the *Muses*, proper Remedies for their Distempers were reveal'd to them.

(b) At *Epidaurius*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, there was a Temple of *Æsculapius*, famed for curing Diseases; the Remedies of which were reveal'd in Dreams. When the Cure was perfected, the Names of the diseased Persons, together with the manner of their Recovery, were registred in the Temple. This God was afterwards translated to *Rome*, by the Command of *Delphian Apollo*, who told them, that was the only way to be free'd from the Plague, which at that time rag'd exceedingly amongst them: whereupon they sent Embassadors to *Epidaurius*, to desire the God of them; but the *Epidaurians* being unwilling to part with so beneficial a Guest, *Æsculapius* of his own accord, in the shape of a great Serpent, went straight to the Roman ship, where he repos'd himself, and was with great veneration convey'd to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd with great joy; and having deliver'd them from the Distress they lay under, was honour'd with a Temple in the little Island, encompass'd by the River *Tiber*, and worshipp'd in the same Form he had assum'd. This Story is related by *Pliny* (c), and *Ovid* (d).

At *Amphiclea*, call'd by *Herodotus* *Ophitea*, by *Stephanus* *Amphicea*, there was a Temple sacred to *Bacchus*, but no Image, at least, none expos'd to publick view. To this God, saith *Pausanias* (e), the *Amphicleans* ascribe both the Cure of their Diseases, and the Foretelling of future Events; the former he effected by revealing proper Remedies in Dreams; the latter, by inspiring into his Priests Divine Knowledge.

*Strabo*, in his Description of *Corinth*, telleth us, *Juno* had an Oracle in the *Corinthian* Territories, in the way between *Lechaum* and *Page*.

There was also in *Laconia*, a Pool sacred to *Juno*, by which Predictions were made after this manner: They cast into it Cakes made of Bread-corn; if these sunk down, good; if not, something dreadful was portended.

(f) *Cælius Rhodiginus* telleth us out of *Philostratus*, that *Orpheus's* Head at *Lesbos*, gave Oracles to all Enquirers, but more especially to the

(a) *Pausanias* (b) *Idem Corinthiacæ*. (c) *Lib. IV.* (d) *Met. XV. Phœciæ*. (f) *Antiquitat. lib. XV. cap. IX.*

*Græcians*; and told them, That *Troy* could not be taken without *Heracles's* Arrows: He adds, that the Kings of *Persia* and *Babylon*, often sent Embassadors to consult this Oracle, and particularly *Cyrus*, who being desirous to know by what death he was to die, receiv'd this Answer, *Τὰ ἐμὰ, ὦ Κόρη, τὰ πα' i. e.* My Fate, O *Cyrus*, is decreed you. Whereby it was meant he should be Beheaded; for *Orpheus* suffer'd that death in *Thrace*, by the fury of the Women, because he profess'd an hatred and aversion to the whole Sex: his Head being thrown into the Sea, was cast upon *Lesbos*, where it return'd answers in a Cavern of the Earth. There were also Persons initiated into *Orpheus's* Mysteries, call'd *Ὀρφεοτελεσταί*, who assur'd all those that should be admitted into their Society, of certain Felicity after Death: which when *Philip*, one of that order, but miserably poor and indigent, boasted of, *Leotychidas* the *Spartan* reply'd, Why do not you die then, you Fool, and put an end to your Misfortunes, together with your Life? At their Initiation, little else was requir'd of them, besides an Oath of Secrecy.

In *Laconia*, in the way betwixt *Oebylus* and *Thalamia*, (a) *Pausanias* saith, there was a Temple and Oracle of *Ino*, who gave Answers by Dreams, to those that enquir'd of her.

(b) *Plutarch* maketh mention of another famous Oracle in *Laconia*, at the City *Thalamia*, which was sacred to *Pasiphae*, who, as some say, was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, and had by *Jupiter* a Son call'd *Ammon*. Others are of opinion it was *Cassandra*, the Daughter of King *Priamus*, who dying in this place, was call'd *Pasiphae*, παρὰ τὸ πάνσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντικά, from revealing Oracles. Others will have it, that this was *Daphne*, the Daughter of *Amyclas*, who flying from *Apollo*, was transformed into a Lawrel, and honour'd by that God with the Gift of Prophecy. This Oracle, when *Agis*, King of *Sparta*, endeavour'd to reduce the *Spartans* to their ancient manner of Living, and put in force *Lycurgus's* old Laws, very much countenanced and encouraged his Undertaking, commanding the People to return to their former State of Equality. Again, when *Cleomenes* made the like Attempt, it gave the same Advice, in this manner, as my Author relates the Story (c): About that time, saith he, one of the *Ephori*, sleeping in *Pasiphae's* Temple, dream'd a very surprizing Dream; for he thought he saw the four Chairs remov'd, where the *Ephori* us'd to sit and hear Causes, and one only plac'd there; and whilst he wonder'd, he heard a Voice out of the Temple, saying, *This is best for Sparta*.

Upon the top of *Cithæron*, a Mountain in *Boeotia*, was a Cave call'd *Sphragidium*, where many of the Inhabitants of that Countrey were inspir'd by the Nymphs, call'd *Sphragistides*, and thence nam'd, *Νυμφόληπτοι* (d), i. e. inspir'd by the Nymphs.

(a) *Lacœniæ*. (b) *Agide*. (c) *Cleomenes*. (d) *Pausanias Boeoticæ*.

*Ulysses* had an Oracle amongst the *Eurytanes*, a Nation of *Ætolia*, as (a) *Aristotle* is said to report by *Τζετζες*, in his Comment upon *Lycophron*, who hath these words concerning *Ulysses*,

(b) Μάρτιν δὲ νικῶν Εὐρυτῶν σέψα λῆως,  
Ο, τ' αἰπὺ νείων Τραμπύας ἐσθλίων.

*Ætolian* People the dead Prophet crown.

Several other Oracles we read of in Authors, as that of *Tiresias*, and *Ægeus*, with others of less Repute; which for that reason I shall forbear to mention.

## CHAPTER XII.

### Of Theomancy.

HAVING given you an Account of the most celebrated Oracles in Greece which make the first and noblest Species of Natural Divination; I come now to the second, call'd in Greek *Θεομαντεία*, which is a compound word, consisting of two parts, by which it is distinguish'd from all other sorts of Divination; by the former (*viz.* *ἰδός*) it is distinguish'd from Artificial Divination, which, tho' it may be said to be given by the Gods, yet does not immediately proceed from them, being the effect of Experience and Observation. By the latter (*viz.* *μαντεία*) it is oppos'd to Oracular Divination; for tho' *Μαντεία* be a general Name, and sometimes signifie any sort of Divination; yet it is also us'd in a more strict and limited Sense, to denote those Predictions that are made by Men; and in this acceptance it is oppos'd to *Χρησμός*, as the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* has observ'd (c).

Thus much for the Name. As to the Thing, it is distinguish'd from Oracular Divination, (I mean that which was deliver'd by Interpreters, as at *Delphi*, for in others the Difference is more evident) because that was confin'd usually to a fixed and stated Time, and always to a certain Place; for the *Pythia* could not be inspir'd in any other place but *Apollo's* Temple, and upon the sacred *Tripous*; whereas the *Θημάντεις* were free and unconfin'd, being able (after the offering of Sacrifices, and the performance of the other usual Rites) to prophesie at any Time, or in any Part of the World.

(a) *Ithica*. Polite 1. (b) Vers. 799. (c) In *Oedip. Tyr.*

As to the Manner of Receiving the Divine Inspiration, that was not always different; for not only the *Pythia*, but the *Sibyls* also, with many others, were possess'd with Divine fury, swelling with rage, like Persons distracted, and beside themselves. (a) *Virgil* describes the *Sibyl* in this hideous posture,

—Cui talia fami  
Aure fores subito non vultus, non color unius  
Non comæ mansere comæ, sed pectus anhelum,  
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,  
Nec mortale sonans: afflata est numine quando  
Jam propiore Dei—

Thus at the Entrance spake the sacred Maid;  
And now no settl'd Air, or Feature staid  
Thro' the whole symmetry of her alter'd Face,  
For fleeting Colours seiz'd each other's place.  
But when the head-strong God, not yet appear'd,  
With holy Phrensy had the *Sibyl* seiz'd,  
Terror froze up her grizly Hair; her Breast  
Throbbing with holy Fury, still exprest  
A greater horror, and She bigger seems  
Swoln with th' *Afflatus*, whilst in Holy screams  
Sh' unfolds the hidden mysteries of Fate.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

Few that pretended to Inspiration, but raged after this manner, foaming and yelling, and making a strange, terrible noise; sometimes gnashing with their Teeth, shivering and trembling, with a thousand other antick Motions: and therefore some will have their Name (*viz.* *μάντις*) to be derived από τῆ μανίας, i. e. from being mad.

Other Customs also they had common to them, with the *Pythia*; I shall only mention those about the Laurel, which was sacred to *Apollo*, the God of Divination, ever since the Death and Metamorphosis of his Beloved *Daphne*, and thought to conduce very much to Inspiration, and therefore call'd *μαντικὸν φυτόν*, the Prophetick Plant; whence *Claudian* saith of it,

—Veneri præcia *Laureis*.

The Laurel skill'd in Events.

With this therefore they us'd to crown their Heads, as *Æmipides* (b) saith of *Cassandra*. And *Æschylus* (c) also agrees with him herein, when he saith of her,

Καὶ σῶπληα, καὶ μαντεῖα πρὶ δένε σέβη.

Her Hand a Laurel-scepter grasp'd, her Neck  
The same Prophetick Plant with Garlands grac'd.

(a) *Æn. lib. VI. v. 47.* (b) *And* *Agamemnon* v. 1273.

Where by *σκήπτρον*, he means a Staff of Laurel, which Prophets usually carried in their Hands; it was call'd in Greek *θωπτήριον*, as we learn from *Hesychius*. Farther, it was usual for them to eat the Leaves of this Tree; and therefore (a) *Lytrophron* faith of *Cassandra*,

Δαρνυράων φοίβαζεν ἐν λαυρῶν ὄπα.

The Mouth with Lauril-morsels often blest'd,  
In Mystick words unriddl'd future Truths.

And the *Sibyll* in *Tibullus* speaks of it, as one of her greatest Privileges, placing it in the same rank with that of Virginity, a thing held by her very sacred, tho' not always observ'd by other Prophets; for *Cassandra* was *Agamemnon's* Concubine; and tho' the condition of a Captive might lay some force upon her, yet 'tis agree'd by all, that *Helenus* married *Andromache*; and nothing is more commonly known, than that Blind *Tiresias* was led up and down by his Daughter *Manto*. But to return to the *Sibyll*: Her words in *Tibullus* are these,

— Sic usque sacras innoxia *Laureus*  
*Vesear*, & eternum sis mihi *Virginitas*.

With holy Laurel may I e're be fed,  
And live, and die an unpolluted Maid.

Thus much of these Prophets in general; I shall only add, that they, as also other Diviners, were maintain'd at *Athens* at the publick Charge, having their Diet allow'd in the *Πρωταίειον*, or Common Hall, as the *Scholiasft* upon *Aristophanes* observes.

Of the *Θρησκείας* there were three sorts among the *Gracians*, distinguish'd by three distinct manners of Receiving the Divine *Affluus*.

One sort were possess'd with prophesying *Dæmons*, which lodged within them, and dictated what they should answer to those that enquired of them; or spoke out of the Bellies, or Breasts of the possess'd Persons, they all the while remaining speechless, and not so much as moving their Tongues, or Lips; or rather pronounc'd the Answer themselves, making use of the Members of the *Dæmoniac*. These were call'd *Δαιμονόληπτοι*, i. e. possess'd with *Dæmons*; and because the Spirits either lodged, or spoke within their Bodies, they were also named *Εγγασείμωδοι*, (which Name was also attributed to the *Dæmons*) *Εγγασείμωδοι*, *Στενομαίνοντες*, *Εγγασπῖται*, &c. This way of Prophesying was practic'd also in other Countries, and particularly amongst the *Jews*, as also *Necromancy*: For the Prophet *Isaiah* denounceth

(a) *Cassandra* v. 6.

God's heavy Judgments upon those that made use of either of them. (a) His words, as they are translated by the Seventy, run thus, *Και ἂν ἔπωσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ζητήσῃ τὰς ἐγγασείμωδους, καὶ εἰς τὰς γῆς φωνοῦντας, τὰς κακολογῶντας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνῶσιν οὐκ ἴδοντες πρὸς θεόν οὐτὲ ἐκζητήσιν; τί ἐκζητοῦσι πρὸς θεῶν ζώντων τὰς νεκρῶν;* And if they say unto you, Seek unto them, whose speech is in their Belly, and those that speak out of the Earth, those that utter vain words, shall speak out of their Belly: Shall not a Nation seek unto their God? why do they enquire of the Dead concerning the Living? To return: These Diviners were named *Εὐρυκλείς*, and *Εὐρυκλείται*, from *Εὐρύκλει*, the first that practis'd this Art at *Athens*, as the *Scholiasft* upon *Aristophanes* hath inform'd us, at these words,

Μιμωσάμενοι δ' Εὐρυκλείς μαρτεῖαν καὶ λέγοντες  
Εἰς ἀλλοτρίας γαστέρας ἐνδύς, καμωμένη πολλὰ χεῖρας (b).

Like that fantastick Divination,  
Which *Enryclus* of old did first invent,  
To enter Bellies, and from thence pronounce  
Ridic'ulous Whims.

Mr. Huchin.

They were also call'd *Πύθωνες*, and *Πύθωνικοί*, from *Πύθων*, a Prophesying *Dæmon*, as *Hesychius* and *Suidas* have told us: the same is mention'd in the Acts of the Apostles (c), *Ἐγένετο δ' περισυνοῦρων ἡμῶν εἰς πρῶτον, παρθένῳ τινι ἔχοντι πνεῦμα Πύθωνος, ἀπαγομένη ἡμῶν*. Our Translators have rendred it thus: And it came to pass as we went to prayer, a certain Damsel possess'd with a Spirit of Divination met us. But the Margin reads *Python*, instead of *Divination*, which is a general Name, and may be us'd in that place, as more intelligible by the Vulgar. *Plutarch* in his Treatise about the Cessation of Oracles, faith these Familiar Spirits, were anciently call'd *Εὐρυκλείς*, and only *Πύθωνες* in latter Ages: "It is absurd (saith he) and childish to suppose that God himself, like the *Εγγασείμωδοι*, which were formerly call'd *Εὐρυκλείς*, but are now named *Πύθωνες*, should enter into the Bodies of Prophets, and make use of their Mouths and Voices, in pronouncing their Answers.

As to the Original of this Name (*Python*) there are various Conjectures; the most probable of which seems to be, That it was taken from *Apollon Pythius*, the God that presides over all sorts of Divination, and afterwards appropriated by Custom to this species; for so we find a great many Words of a general signification, in time made pecu-

(a) Cap. VIII. v. 19. (b) *Vespis*. (c) Cap. XVI. v. 16.

liar to some one part of what they signified before. To give you an Instance, Τύραννος, among the ancient *Greeks*, was apply'd to all Kings, as well the just and merciful, as the cruel and whom we now call *Tyrannicall*; but in more Modern Ages, was appropriated to that latter sort, and became a Name of the greatest ignominy, and detestation. On the contrary, Words of a narrow and limited Sense, have sometimes pass'd their bounds, and taken upon them a more general and unconfined one: so Μαντία, which at first signified only that sort of Prophecy, that was inspired with Rage and Fury; being derived (as *Plato*, and others after him will have it) ἐκ τοῦ μαννέειν, from being Mad; and us'd by *Homer* (a) in that sense, being set in opposition to some other ways of Divination, as that by Dreams, and Entrails, came at length to be a general Name for all sorts of Divination.

The second Sort of Θευδαίμονες, were call'd Ενθουσιασταί, Ενθουσιαστικοί, and Θουμιασταί, being such as pretended to what we also call *Enthusiasm*; and differed from the former, because they contain'd within them the Deity himself; whereas these were only governed, acted, or inspired by him, and instructed in the knowledge of what was to happen. Of this sort were *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, *Museus*, and several of the *Sibylls*.

A third sort were the Εξαπτικοί, or those that were cast into Trances or Extasies, and so lay like Men dead, or asleep, deprived of all Sense and Motion, but after some time, (it may be Days, or Months, or Years, for *Epimenides* the *Cretan* is reported to have lain in this posture LXXV Years) returning to themselves, gave strange and amusing Relations of what they had seen, and heard. For it was a vulgar Opinion, that Man's Soul might leave the Body, and wander up and down the World; nay, and visit the place of the Deceased too, and see what was done there, and by converse with the Gods and Heroes, be instructed in things useful and necessary for the Conduct of Human Life. *Plato*, in the tenth Book of his *Politiicks*, speaks of one *Pamphilus*, a *Pherean*, that lay ten Days amongst the Carcasses of slain Men, and afterwards being taken up, and plac'd upon the Funeral pile, to be burned, returned to Life, and related what places he had seen in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, and what was done there, to the astonishment of all that heard him. *Plutarch* also, in his Discourse concerning *Socrates's* Demon, saith, it was reported of the Soul of *Hermodorus* the *Clazomenian*, that for several Nights and Days, it would leave his Body, travel over many Countreys, and return after it had view'd things, and discours'd with Persons at a great distance; till at last, by the treachery of a Woman, his Body was delivered to his Enemies, who burn'd the House, while the Inhabitant was abroad. Several other Stories of the same nature, are recorded in History; which whether true or false, it matters not much, since they were believ'd, and receiv'd as such.

(a) *Iliad* ε'.

Thus much for *Natural Divination*. I come in the next place to speak something of that, which is call'd *Artificial*: In doing which, because Divination, or Prediction by Dreams, bears a somewhat nearer Affinity to the *Natural*, than the rest, and is by some reckon'd amongst the Species of it, I shall therefore in the first place give you an Account of the Customs practis'd in it.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## Of Divination by Dreams.

I shall not in this place trouble you with the various Divisions of Dreams, which do not at all concern my present Purpose; my Design being only to speak of those, by which Predictions us'd to be made, commonly call'd *Divine*: and of these, there were three sorts.

The first was Χρηματισμός, when the Gods, or Spirits in their own, or under any assumed Form, seem'd to converse with Men in their Sleep: Such an one was *Agamemnon's* Dream, at the beginning of the second *Iliad*; where the God of Dreams, in the form of *Nestor*, adviseth him to give the *Trojans* Battle, and encourageth him thereto, with the promise of certain Success and Victory. Such an one also was the Dream of *Pindar*, in which (as (a) *Pausanias* reports) *Proserpina* appeared to him, and complain'd he dealt unkindly by her, for that he had compos'd Hymns in honour of all the other Gods, and she alone was neglected by him: She added, that when he came into her Dominions, he should celebrate her Praises also. Not many Days after, the Poet died, and in a short time appear'd to an old Woman, a Relation of his, that us'd to employ a great part of her time, in reading and singing his Verses, and repeated to her an Hymn made by him upon *Proserpina*.

The second is Οράμα, which is that wherein the Ideas, or Images of Things, that are to happen, are plainly and clearly represented; and when Things appear in their own shape and likeness: and this is by some call'd Θεωρηματικός. Such an one was that of *Alexander* the Great, mention'd by (b) *Valerius Maximus*, when he dream'd that he was to be murdered by *Cassander*: And that of *Craesus*, King of *Lydia*, when he dream'd that his Son *Atys*, whom he design'd to succeed in his Empire, should be slain by an Iron Spear, as (c) *Herodotus* relateth.

(a) *Baetick*. (b) *Lib. I. cap. VII.* (c) *Lib. I. cap. XXXIV.*



The third Species, call'd *Oneiros*, is that in which future Events are revealed, by certain Types and Figures; whence it is nam'd *Ἀλλογοεικός*, for an *Allegory*, as (a) *Heracles* of *Pontus* defines it, is a Figure, by which one Thing is express'd, and another signify'd. Of this sort was *Hecuba's*, when she dream'd, she had conceiv'd a Fire-brand; and *Cæsar's*, when he dream'd he lay with his *Mother*; where by was signified, he should enjoy the Empire of the Earth, the common Mother of all living Creatures. From this Species, those, whose Profession it was to interpret Dreams, have desum'd their Names, for they are call'd in *Greek* *Ονειροκρίται*, *Ονειρότων ἑρμηνεύται*, from Judging of Dreams; *Ονειροσκόποι*, from Prying and Looking into them; and *Ονειροπόλοι*, because they were *Conversant* about them. To one of these three Sorts may all Prophetical Dreams be reduc'd; but the Distinction of their Names is not always nicely, or critically observ'd.

The first Author of all Dreams, as well as other Divinations, was *Jupiter*, as I have already intimated,

— κὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν.

For Dreams too come from *Jove*.

saith (b) *Homer*. But this must not be understood, as if Dreams were thought immediately to proceed from *Jupiter*: It was below his Dignity to condescend to such mean Offices, and therefore Inferiour Deities were employ'd in these, and such like Ministrations.

To omit therefore the Apparitions of the Gods, or Spirits in Dreams, upon particular occasions, such as was that of (c) *Patroclus's* Ghost to *Achilles*, to desire his Body might be interr'd: The Earth was thought to be the cause of Dreams, saith *Eschylus* (d):

— ὦ πῖτνια χθὼν,  
Μελανοπτερόων μάτερ ὑνείρων.

Hail reverend *Earth*, from whose prolifick womb  
Sable-wing'd Dreams derive their Birth.

Where the *Scholiast* gives this Reason for it, viz. That the *Earth*, by obstructing the passage of the Light of the Sun, causeth the Night, in which Dreams present themselves, and are upon that account imputed to the *Earth*, as their Mother. Or, that out of the *Earth* proceeds Meat, Meat causeth Sleep, (*Sleep* being nothing but the Ligation of the exterior Senses, caus'd by humid Vapours ascending from the Stomach to the Brain, and there obstructing the Motion of the Animal Spirits, which are the Instruments of Sensation, and all other

(a) De Allegor. Homericis. (b) *Iliad.* α'. (c) *Iliad.* ψ'. (d) *Hecub.* v. 70. Animal

Animal Operations) and from Sleep come Dreams; but these were deem'd meer Cheats, and Delusions, as *Eustathius* telleth us, in his Comment upon the nineteenth Book of *Homer's Odyssey*, not far from the end; and such as these he saith the Poet speaketh of, when he maketh Dreams to inhabit nigh the *Ocean*, the great Receptacle of the humid Element,

Πὰρ δ' ἴσαν Ωκεανὸς τε ῥοαί, καὶ Ἀδρυάδα πέτραι,  
Ἡδὲ παρ' ἡλίοιο πύλας, καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων.

Near to that Place, where with impetuous force  
The rowling Ocean takes his rapid course,  
Near *Phæbus's* glittering Gates, and that dark Cell,  
Which Dreams inhabit.

Mr. *Hutchins*:

Others were ascribed to the Infernal Ghosts, as *Virgil* hath told us, at the end of his sixth *Æneid*,

Sed falsa ad calum mistant insomnia Manes.

By this th' Infernal Deities conveigh  
Into the upper World phantastick Dreams.

*Phœbus* also beareth me witness herein, when he brings in *Electra*, saying that *Agamemnon*, out of a concern for *Orestes* and his Designs, haunted *Clytemnestra* with fearful Dreams,

(α) Οἶμαι μὲν ἐν, οἶμαί πε κακίῳ μέλῳ,  
Πέμψαι τὰδ' οὐτῇ δούρατόν τι δυνέεσσαν.

For He, solicitous of those Affairs,  
In frightful Dreams doth *Clytemnestra* haunt.

Others were imputed to *Hecate*, and to the *Moon*, who were Goddesses of the Night, and sometimes taken for the same Person; were suppos'd also to have a particular Influence, and to preside over all the Actions, and Accidents of the Night, and therefore invoked at Incantations, and other Night-mysteries, as I shall show afterwards.

But the chief cause of all, was the God of Sleep, whose Habitation, as (b) *Ovid* describes it, was among the *Cimmerii*, in a Den dark as *Hell*, and in the way to it; around him lay whole swarms of Dreams of all sorts and sizes, which he sent forth whon, and whither He pleased; but *Virgil* assigns to the false and deluding Dreams another place, upon an Elm at the entrance of *Hell*,

(a) *Electra* v. 480. (b) *Metam.* lib. XI. Fab. X. Min

*In medio ramos amosaque brachia pandit  
Ulmus opaca, ingens: quam sedem somnia vulgo  
Vana tenere serunt, folisque sub omnibus hærens (a).*

I' th' midst an ancient spreading Elm doth grow  
Whose clasping arms diffuse a shade below;  
And here, if Fables don't the World deceive,  
To ev'ry Branch, to ev'ry trembling Leaf  
Clings a phantastick Dream.

Mr. Hutchin.

It may be, he supposes this to have been the Receptacle of some part of them, and the rest to accompany the God of Sleep. Ovid tells us He had three Attendants more ingenious than the rest, which could transform themselves into any Shape, and assume any Form; their Names were *Morpheus*, *Phobetor*, or *Icelos*, and *Phantasus*; the Employment of the first, was to counterfeit the forms of Men, the second imitated the likeness of Brutes, and the last of inanimate Creatures;

*(b) Excitat artificem, simulatoremque figuræ  
Morphea; non illo jussus solertior aliter  
Exprimit incessus, vultumque, somnumque loquendi;  
Adjicit & vestes, & consuetissima cuique  
Verba, sed hic solos homines imitatur. At aliter  
Fit fera, fit volucris, fit longo corpore serpentis,  
Hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus  
Nominat. Est etiam diversæ terius aris  
Phantasos; ille in humum, saxumque, undamque, trabemque,  
Quæque vacans animâ sæliciter omnia transis.*

He rouz'd the Antick Fiend; than whom none can  
More subtly, or more lively mimick Man.  
The Beaux, the Clown, he'll in their Garbs express  
And set his Tongue to each Man's proper Phrase,  
Their Looks, tho' ne're so diff'rent, he can ape;  
But He's oblig'd t' assume an Human Shape.  
The diff'rent shapes of Beasts a second bears,  
And now in snaky Wreathings he appears,  
A hissing Serpent; now again he seems  
A tim'rous Bird, thus mixes all extremes.  
Him *Icelos* th' Immortal Beings call,  
But Men *Phobetor*.

*Phantasus* next, but He, distinct from these,  
Usurps the uncouth shapes of wither'd Trees,  
Of Stones, or other lifeless Substances.

Mr. Hutchin.

(a) *Æneid*. VI. v. 283. (b) *Ovid*. Loc. citat.

In

In *Virgil*, the God of Sleep descended from Heaven upon *Palinurus*; which is not to be understood, as if Heaven was his proper Seat; but that he was sent thence, by some of the Etherial Gods, by whom He had been call'd thither: or else He is to be suppos'd to rove up and down through the Heavens, or Air, to disperse his Dreams among Men, as He sees convenient: (a) *Virgil's* words are these,

*—levis æthereis delapsus Somnus ab astris  
Æra dimovit tenebrosam, & dissipulit umbras;  
Te, Palinure, petens, Tibi tristia Somnia portans.*

When nimble Sleep glides through the liquid Air,  
Dispells the Clouds, and makes the Skies more clear,  
Laden with fearful Dreams, which He doth bear  
For Thee, unhappy *Palinurus*—

Mr. Hutchin.

There was another Deity also, to whom the care of Dreams was committed, call'd *Brizo*, from the old Greek word *βριζω*, which signifies to sleep: *Cælius* saith she was worshipped in the Island *Delos*, and had Boats full of all sorts of Things offer'd to her, except Fish. But she was thought rather to assist at the Interpretation of Dreams, than to be the efficient cause of them; and is therefore by *Hesychius* call'd *βριζομαντις*. This Account *Cælius* hath taken out of the eighth Book of *Athenæus*, who adds farther, that they used to pray to her for the Publick Safety, and Prosperity; but more particularly, that she would touchsafe to protect, and preserve their Ships.

Having treated of the reputed Authors of Dreams, I shall in the next place speak something of the Ways, by which they were suppos'd usually to come. Now these were two, one for delusive Dreams, which pass'd through a Gate of Ivory; and another for those that were true, and they pass'd through a Gate of Horn. Descriptions of these two Gates, you may find every where, both in the Greek and Latin Poets, all which I shall therefore omit, only giving you one in each Tongue: the first is that of (c) *Homer*, where speaking of Dreams, he saith,

*Τῶν οἱ μὴ κ' ἔλθωσι Δῖς πρὶν εὐερέων  
Οἱ δ' ἐλεγχόμενοι ἐπὶ ἀνδράσιν φέροντες.  
Οἱ δὲ Δῖς ξιστὴν κεράων ἔλθωσι θυράζε,  
Οἱ δ' ἔ' ἔτυμα κραινοῦσι βροτῶν ὅτε κεν τις ἴδῃται.*

The second shall be that of (d) *Virgil*, imitated from the former,

(a) *Æneid*. V. v. 838. (b) *Antiq. Lect. lib. XXVII. cap. X.* (c) *Odys. XIX. v. 152.* (d) *Æneid VI. v. 893.*

*Sunt gemine Somni portæ, quarum altera fertur  
Cornea, quæ veris facilis datur exitus Umbris :  
Alterâ candenti perfectâ nitens elephantio,  
Sed falsa ad Cælum mittunt insomnia Manes.*

Vain, and phantastick are the Dreams, that fly  
Thro' the great Gate of polish'd Ivory,  
With senseless Whims these to our Heads repair,  
Gull us with golden Mountains in the Air:  
But when i' th' Morn we wake, our drowzy Eyes  
Big with th' expectance of the lovely Prize,  
With eager haste the giddy Phantasm flies.  
But no such Whims infest our easy Pate,  
When Sleep conveys our Dreams thro' th' other Gate,  
Compos'd of polish'd Horn. For those from hence  
Are true prophetick Dreams, and full of solid Sense.

Mr. Huchin.

In allusion to these Gates, *Philostatus* saith, they us'd to represent Dreams in a white Garment, wrapp'd over a black one, with a Horn in his Hand. And *Eustathius*, in his Comment upon the fore-mention'd Passage of *Homer*, hath made several Conjectures concerning it, most of which are so frivolous and trifling, that barely to mention them would be lost labour; and such as desire farther satisfaction, if they think it worth their while, may consult the Author.

The Time in which true Dreams were expected, was *Νυκτός ἀμολγῆς*, and therefore *Homer* telleth us, that *Penelope* having an auspicious Dream about her Son *Telemachus*, who was travelling in search of his Father *Ulysses*, rejoiced the more, because it appear'd to her at that time,

————— ἢ δ' ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνέρουσε  
Κούρη Ικαρίοιο, φίλον δὲ αἰ ἦτορ ἰδίῃ,  
Ὡς αἰ ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον ἐρρίνιτο νυκτὶς ἀμολγῶ (a).

But when *Penelope* awak'd, her Breast  
With greater Joy and Gladness was possess'd,  
Because at Break of Day the Dream appear'd.

Mr. Huchin.

What Time that was, Grammarians do not agree; some derive it (saith *Eustathius*) from the privative Particle α and *μολέω*, to walk, or *μολίω*, to labour and toil, as tho' it were *ἀμολγῆς*, or *ἀμολγῶς*, and by Epenthesis, *ἀμολγῆς*, as tho' it should signify the dead of the Night, in which People neither labour, nor walk abroad. Others also think it may signify

(a) Fine *Odys.* IV.

the

the middle, or depth of the Night, but for a different reason; for *ἀμολγῆς*, (say they) is the same with *πυκνός*, i. e. thick, or close compacted; and *Hesiod* hath us'd the word in this sense, when he saith,

Μάλα τ' ἀμολγαῖν ———

That is, as *Athenæus* expounds it, *ποιρῶνικὴ ἀμμία*, a thick Cake, such as the Shepherds, and Labouring Men eat. Others allow it the same Signification, but for a third reason; *Αμολγῆς*, (say they) according to the *Glossographers*, amongst the *Athensians*, is the same with *ἀκμή*, which signifies the the midst, or height of any thing, as *ἀκμή θέρος*, that part of Summer, when the Heat is most violent, Midsummer; and Men are said to be *ἐν ἀκμῇ*, when they are in their full Strength; and therefore *ἀμολγῆς*, or *ἀκμὴ νυκτός*, must be the depth, or midst of the Night. But this Signification concerns not our present purpose, for I no where read, that Dreams had any whit the more credit, because they came in the dead of the Night. *Αμολγῆς* therefore was us'd in another sense, for the time in which they us'd to milk Cattle, being derived from *ἀμείλω*, to milk; and then *ἀμολγῆς νυκτός* must signify the Morning, in opposition to *ἡμέρας ἀμολγῆς*, or the Evening milking-time: And that it was us'd in this sense, is evident from *Homer's* twenty-second *Iliad*, where he saith the Dog-star (which riseth a little before the Sun) appears *ἐν νυκτὶς ἀμολγῶς*. His words are these,

Παμφρίνονθ' ὥς ἄστὲρ ἐπασσύνον πεδίοιο,  
Ὅς ἐὰ τ' ὀπώρας εἶσιν, ἀείζηται δὲ αἰ σὺν αἰ  
φαίνονθ' πολλοῖσι μετ' ἄστροις νυκτὶς ἀμολγῶι,  
Ὅν τε καὶ Ὀρίωνος ὀπίκλησιν χαλέεσσιν (a).

————— Rushing he shone,  
As when th' Autumnal Dog-star hast'ning on  
To seat himself 'fore Morning in the Skie,  
Darts down his blazing Beams from high;  
A dazzling Lustre all around is seen,  
It burns the brightest in the heavenly Plain.

Mr. Dechair.

And that this was the Time, in which Dreams were thought to deserve greatest regard, (b) *Horace* assures us,

(a) *Il.* x. v. 26. (b) *I. Sat.* X. 31.

At

*Atq' Ego quum Græcos facerem natus mare citra  
Versiculos, venit me tali voce Quirinus,  
Post mediam noctem visus, quum somnia vera.*

Now being a Roman born,  
And Grecian Numbers once resolv'd to try  
Quirinus kindly did my Wish deny;  
Methought, the Night near spent, when Dreams are true,  
'Twas at the dawn of Day, he came unto my view,  
And spoke such words as these.

Mr. Dethair.

And Ovid was of the same opinion, when he said,

*Namque sub Auroram jam dormitante lucernâ,  
Tempore quo cerni somnia vera solent.*

Near Morn, when Lamps are dwindling out their Light,  
And seem to nod for sleep, that part of Night  
When Dreams are truest offer'd to our Sight.

Mr. Dethair.

Theocritus also agrees with them,

*ἔγγυδι δ' ἥως,  
ἔδετε καὶ ἀτρεκέων ποιμένεσσι ἐνδοῖον ὀνείρων.*

And now Aurora's just about t' appear,  
When surest Dreams do most excuse our Fear.

Mr. Dethair.

The reason of this Opinion was this, viz. They thought all the remainders of the Meat upon their Stomachs might by that time be pretty well digested, and gone; for till then Dreams were believ'd rather to proceed from the Fumes of last-night's Supper, than any Divine, or Supernatural Cause: and therefore Pliny tells us, a Dream is never true presently after Eating, or Drinking; and Artemidorus goes farther yet, when he saith, that there can small credit be given to a Morning Dream, if you have eat too plentifully the Night before; because all the Crudities cannot then be suppos'd to be carried off.

For that reason, they that desired a Prophetick Dream, us'd to take a special Care of their Diet, so as to eat nothing hard of Digestion, as Beans, or raw Fruit. Some, that they might be sure to be free from Fumes, and sleep with an empty Stomach, were so superstitious as to fast one Day before, and abstain from Wine for three. Fish is not soon, or easily digested, and therefore 'tis probable) was thought to obstruct true Dreams; which seems to have been the reason why such quantities of them were offer'd in Sacrifice to the Goddess Brizo; for it was usual

usual to offer to the Gods the things they had an especial kindness for, or a great aversion from; the former, because they were thought delightful, and acceptable to them; the latter, because they had an Antipathie against them, and therefore 'twas believed it afforded no small pleasure to see them burn and perish upon their Altars. (a) *Plutarch* observes, that the *Polypus's* Head was prejudicial to those that desired Prophetical Dreams;

*Πολύποδος κεφαλὴ ἐν μὲν κακόν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν.*

I th' *Polypus's* Head  
Something of Ill, something of Good is bred.

because it is sweet and pleasant to the Taste, but disquieteth Men in their Sleep, and maketh them restless, causing troublefom and anxious Dreams; and therefore he compares Poetry to it, because it containeth many things, as well profitable, as pleasant, to those that make a right Use of it; but to others is very prejudicial, filling their Heads with vain, if not impious Notions, and Opinions. In short, all things apt to burden the Stomach, to put the Blood into a Ferment, and the Spirits into too quick and agitated a Motion; all things apt to create vain or strange Imaginations, to disturb Men's Rest, or any way hinder the free and ordinary Operations of the Soul, were to be avoided; that so the Mind and Phantasy being pure, and without any unnatural, or external Impressions, might be the fitter to receive Divine insinuations. Some choice there was also in the colour of their Cloaths: for *Suidas* hath told us, it was most proper to sleep in a white Garment, as if that could conduce to make the Dreams and Visions the clearer.

Besides all this, (to omit those that expected Dreams from *Amphiamon*, or other Deities, in an Oracular way, of which I have spoken in another place) before they went to Bed, they us'd to sacrifice to *Mercury*; so *Calasiris* in *Heliodorus*, after he had pray'd to all the rest of the Gods, calls upon *Mercury*, to give him *εὐνείων νόμιμα*, i. e. a Night of good Dreams. Now you must know, *Mercury* was thought to be *ἰμνδοτήρ*, the Giver of Sleep, as *Eustathius* telleth us, and therefore they usually carved his Image upon the Bed's-feet, which were for that reason call'd *ἐρμῆναι*, which word *Homer* hath made use of, when he saith that *Vulcan* caught *Mars* in bed with *Venus*,

*Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἐρμῆσιν χεῖς δέσματα κύκλῳ ἄπαντα (b).*

Great massy Chains on ev'ry Bed-post round,  
With a resistless Force God *Vulcan* bound.

(a) Initio Libelli de Audiendis Poetis. (b) *Odyss.* 8. v. 278.

Again, in the twenty-third Book of his *Odyssey*, he hath the same word,

κὺ δ' ἂν σάβηναι ἴδουα  
(a) Ερμῖν' ἀτκήσας

Then having with his Rule first shap'd it out,  
H' a polish'd Bed-post made.

Tho' others will have *έρμης* to be derived from *έρμα*, i. e. a Prop, or Support, because by it the Bed was upheld, and supported. However that be, certain it is that one of *Mercury's* Employments was, to preside over *Sleep*, and *Dreams*, and the Night also, with all things that belongs to it; for so *Homer* hath told us in his Hymn upon this God, wherein he calls him

(b) Ἀνίστηρ', ἐλατῆρα βῶων, ἡγήτορ' ὀνειρώων,  
Νυκτὶς ὀπωπιτῆρα, πύλαδμον.

A thieving God, a Cattle-stealer, one  
Whose Care are Dreams, and Noises in the Night.

After all this Preparation, they went to sleep, big with expectation of knowing whatever they were solicitous, or concern'd about, before the Morning: But if their Fate was revealed in obscure, or Allegorical Terms, so that themselves could not dive into their meaning, then an Interpreter must presently be consulted. The first of this kind, as *Pliny* (c) reports, was *Amphietyon*, *Deucalion's* Son: *Pausanias* (as I have told you before) would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, who, he saith, had Divine Honours paid him, for the Invention of that Art: but whoever was the Author of it, it is certain that, amongst the ancient *Grecians*, it was had in very great Credit, and Reputation, as appears from the number of Books written concerning it; for *Geminus Pyrius* compos'd three Books upon this subject, *Artemon* the *Milesian* two and twenty, beside *Panyasis* the *Halicarnassian*, *Alexander* the *Myndian*, *Phobus* the *Antiochian*, *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, *Nicostratus* the *Ephesian*, *Satipho* the *Athenian*; with others, whose Writings are still extant; such are *Artemidorus*, *Astrampsychus*, *Philo Judæus*, *Achines* the Son of *Syrinus*, *Nicephorus*, &c. But for all this, it was never in so great request, as the other Species of Divination; the many false and frivolous Dreams that happened to every Man, cast a suspicion upon all the rest; and those that were nothing but delusions, made those that were truly *διπροφητικοί*, or Prophetical, to be call'd in question; and therefore, when the Heroe in (d) *Homer* adviseth the *Grecians* to enquire of some Prophet, what means they might use to appease the anger of the Gods

(a) Ver. 192. (b) Ver. 14. (c) Lib. VII. cap. V. (d) Il. α'.

he speaks boldly, and without hesitation of *μάντις*, or the Inspired Prophet; and *ιερδς*, or him that consulted the Entrails of Victims offered in Sacrifice (for so *ιερδς* must signify in that place) but when he comes to *ὀνειροπύλον*, or the Interpreter of Dreams, he's forc'd to make a sort of an Apology for what he saith, in this manner,

ΑΜ' ἄγε δὴ πῶς μάντιν ἐρετόμεν, ἢ ἱερδᾶ,  
Ἡ κὺ ὀνειροπύλον, κὺ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν.

But come, let's call some Prophet here, or Priest,  
Or Dream-Interpreter, for sure, at least  
Some Dreams are sent from *Jove*.

Mr. Dechair

Whereby he anticipates a Question, that he foresaw might be propos'd to him thus: But why should we ask Counsel of one, whose business is only to expound fallacious, vain Delusions? why should we trust the safety of the whole Army in the Hands of a cunning, pretending Impostor? To this he answers, That indeed there were a great many false, and deceitful Dreams; but that it could not from thence be concluded, that all Dreams were so: for, notwithstanding the many Delusions that appeared, yet for all that, some of them were true, and came from *Jupiter*, the common Father of all Prophetical Predictions, and therefore might be depended upon. After this manner *Enstadius* has paraphras'd the Poet's words. In later Ages Dreams came to be little regarded, except by old dotting Women, who were very superstitious in observing them, as (a) *Propertius* gives us to understand, when he saith,

*Que mea non decies somnia versat anus?*

A hundred times old Women have I told  
My frightful Dreams.

In more remote Ages, the People that lived near the *Gades*, and *Boristhenes*, and the Inhabitants of *Telmessus*, and *Hybla Gereatis*, a City belonging to the *Cataneans*, in *Sicily*, were famed for their Skill in this Art. The Signs by which they made Conjectures, would be too tedious to mention in this place; if any one has leisure, and vanity enough to employ himself in such solemn and ridiculous Fooleries, let him consult *Artemidorus*.

If Dreams contained in them any thing frightful and terrible, they w'd to disclose their Fears to some of the Gods, offering Incense, or some other Oblation; and praying, that, if Good was portended, it might be brought to pass: if the contrary, that the Gods would avert

(a) Lib. II Ep. IV.

whatever ill was boded by them. This telling of Dreams was not appropriated to any particular Deity, for some would discover them to *Hercules*, others to *Jupiter*, as one doth in *Plautus*; however, because the Household-Gods were nearest at hand, and thought to have a particular Concern and Care for the Family, in which they were worshipp'd, it was therefore usual to declare Dreams to them, and particularly to *Vesta*, as you may learn from (a) *Propertius*;

*Vadit & hinc castæ narratum Somnia Vestæ,  
Quæ sibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.*

Chaste *Vesta* too my Dreams she went to tell,  
Such Dreams, as both for You and Me were well.

Mr. Dechair.

*Apollo* also had a peculiar Right and Title to this Worship, under the Name of *Εξαρκησιος*, *ἀπαρξενος*, or *Averticus*, so called from averting Evils, and *Προσπαις*, because he presided over, and protected Houses, and therefore, as the old *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* informs us, had Images erected to him in the Porches. Whence, in *Sophocles's Electra*, *Clytemnestra* having seen a terrible Dream, calls upon her Woman thus,

*Επαυρι δὴ σὺ δύμαδ', ἢ παρ' ἐμὰ μοι,  
Πάσχαρπ', ἀνακτι τῷ δ' ὅπως λυτῆσι  
Εὐχάς ἀνάχω δειμάτων ἂ νῦν ἔχω (b).*

Here, bring the Incense, Maid, for I intend  
To *Phabus* strait t' address my self in Prayer,  
That he would free me from those aking Fears,  
Which pain my troubled Breast.

Mr. Dechair.

And then she begins her Prayer,

*Κλύεις ἄν ἦδ' οἱ, Φοῖβε προσπαις,  
— ὅς' ἄγε· τῆδε γὰρ κήρ' ἔρασται.  
Α γὰρ προσεῖδεν νυκτὶ τῆδε φάσματα  
Διαπῶν ἐνείκων, παδ' ἐμὰ μοι, Λύκει' Ἀναξ,  
Εἰ μὴ πρήνιν ἐδῶλ', δὸς τελισφάρα·  
Εἰ δ' ἐχθρὰ, ποῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ἔμπαλιν μέδεις.*

Great God *Apollo*, You who from all Harms  
Our Houses guard, attend my humble Prayer,

(a) Lib. I. Ep. XXIX. (b) Ver 635.

The

The Visions which were to my Fancy brought  
Last night in Dreams, if Good they do portend,  
Let me enjoy the same; if otherwise,  
My Enemies may they the Ill receive.

Mr. Dechair.

But before that, she had discovered her Fears to the Sun, for *Chrysothemis* tells *Electra*, she had come to the knowledge of her Dream by that means, being informed by one that overheard her,

(a) *Τοιοῦτ' αὖτε παρόντος, ὑμῖν' ἡλίῳ  
Δείκνυσι τῆναρ, ἔκλυσεν ἐξηγερμένον.*

This I was told by one who present was,  
When to the Sun her Dream she did rehearse.

Mr. Dechair.

Both the *Scholiasts* upon that place tell us, that it was done conformably to the ancient Custom of relating Dreams to the Sun; and *Tridamus* giveth this Reason for it, *νῆξ*. That, because the Sun is contrary to the Night, he might avert, or expel all the Evils that proceeded from it. The same Custom we find also practis'd by *Iphigenia* in (b) *Eu-ripides*, with this difference, that she discloses her thoughts to the Heavens, whereas *Clytemnestra* had done it to the Sun alone: Her words are these,

*Α καὶ νῦν δ' ἔκ' ἡ νῆξ φέρουται φάσματα,  
Λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ', εἴπῃ δὴ τὸδ' ἐς' ἀκρόν.*

But what new Dreams this present Night affords,  
To th' Skie I'll tell, if that will benefit.

The doing this they called *δ' ὁπείπερ*, *δ' ὁπείπερ*, and *δ' ὁπείπερ* *ἰνυχον* *εἶναι*, or *δ' ὁπείπερ* *ὅς* *τὸ* *ἡλίῳ*, &c.

But before they were permitted to approach the Divine Altars, they were oblig'd to purifie themselves from all the pollutions of the Night; and therefore in (c) *Aeschylus* one saith,

*Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστην, καὶ χερσὶν χαλκίῃσι  
Ἐψαυτα πηγῆς, πῶν θουπέλω χεῖρ  
Βωμῶν προσέστην, δ' ὁπείπερ δαίμον  
Θέλωτα ὅσσιν πέδανον.*

As first I rose, I to the Rivers went,  
And wash'd away those foul Impurities,

(a) Ibid. v. 435. (b) *Taur.* v. 43. (c) *Perseu.*

Which

Which had my Body stain'd; this being done,  
I approach'd the holy Fanes, and offer'd up  
A Sacrifice to the Delivering Gods.

Mr. Dechair.

(a) *Silius* also mentioneth the same Custom,

————— *sub lucem ut visa secum  
Oro calicolas, & vivo pingor in amne.*

I cleanse my self in running Streams, and pray  
My Dreams may lucky prove.

For it was unlawful to worship the Gods at any time, till they had purified themselves by Water, as I have told you before; but at this time it was more especially required. (b) *Perfius* adds farther, that it was usual amongst the Romans, to dip their Heads five times in the Water, before Morning-prayer,

*Hæc sancte ut poscat, Tiberino in gurgite mergis,  
Mane capta bis terque, & noctem flumine purgat.*

And lest your Prayer shou'd speak a sinful Mind,  
You purge away the Filthiness you find  
Procur'd by Night; You to the Tiber go,  
And down into the Tide You flouncing bow  
Five times Your Head. —————

Mr. Dechair.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### Of Divination by Sacrifices.

**D**IVINATION by Sacrifices was call'd *ἱεργμαντεία*, or *ἱεργμαντία*, and was divided into different kinds, according to the diversity of the Materials offer'd to the Gods. For first they made Conjectures from Signs observ'd in the External Parts, and Motions of the Victim; then from it's Entrails, from the Flame in which it was consum'd, from the Cakes and Flower, from the Wine and Water, and several other Things, of which in their order.

First then, The Art, whereby Observations were made in killing, and cutting up the Victim, was call'd *θυοπνία*. Unlucky Omens were, when the Beast was drawn by force to the Altar, when it escap'd by the way, avoided the fatal Blow, did not fall down quietly, and without reluctance, but kick'd, leap'd up, or bellow'd, bled not freely, was long

(a) Lib. VIII. (b) Sat. II. ver. 16.

dying, shew'd any tokens of great pain, beat upon the ground, ex-  
pir'd with Convulsions, or did any thing contrary to what usually  
happens at the slaughter of Beasts: These were thought to be certain  
Signs of the Divine Displeasure. But on the contrary, the Gods  
were judg'd to be propitious, and kindly to receive the Devotions paid  
to them, when every thing was carry'd on with Ease; when the Vi-  
ctim went voluntarily, and without compulsion to the slaughter, en-  
dur'd the Blow patiently, fell down quietly, bled freely, and expir'd  
without groaning. Somewhat also they observ'd in the wagging of  
his Tail; whence the Poet saith,

————— *Κέρκε ποιεῖ κελῶς.*

The Victim kindly wags his Tail.

After this, the Victim being cut open, they made Observations from  
Entrails, in which if all things were whole, and sound, had their  
Natural place, Colour, and Proportion, then all was well: but if  
any part was decay'd, or wanting, if any thing was out of Order,  
or not according to Nature, Evil was portended.

The first and principal part to be observ'd, was the Liver; for if  
it was corrupted, they thought that both the Blood, and all the  
rest of the Body must be so too; and therefore if it was found ve-  
ry bad, they desisted immediately, nor caring what the other Parts  
might promise; such Signs were for that reason call'd *ἀνέλκτα*,  
being such as hinder'd them from going any farther. This observing  
of the Liver was call'd *ἡπατοσκοπία*, which also became a general Name  
for Divination by Entrails, because it was the chief part of it. If the  
liver had a pleating, and Natural Redness, if it was sound, without  
spot, or blemish, if its Head was large, if it had two Heads, or there  
were two Livers, if its Lappets were turned inwards, then abundance  
of Prosperity, and Success in their Undertakings might be expected.  
On the other hand, nothing but Dangers, Disappointments, and Mis-  
fortunes were to be looked for, if there was *δυσία*, (as they call'd it)  
too much Dryness, or *δυσία*, a tie between the parts, especially if it  
was *ἀνέλκτο*, without a Lappet, or the Liver it self was altogether  
wanting. Bad Signs also were accounted such as these; If it had upon it  
any Blisters, Wheals, or Ulcers; were parch'd, thin, hard, or of an  
ugly, blackish Colour; had any corrupt and vitiated Humours, was any  
way displaced; or, lastly, if in boiling it did not conspicuously appear  
amongst the rest of the Entrails, was polluted with any nasty, corrupt  
Matter, became very soft, and, as it were, melted into a Jelly. The  
Concavous part of the Liver was called *ἑσπία*, i. e. belonging to the  
family, because the Signs observ'd there concern'd themselves,  
and their Friends; the Gibbous side *ἐπίβολος*, or *ἀντιπάλος*, because  
the tokens in it concern'd their Enemies: if either of these Parts was  
wreathed, corrupted, or any way changed for the worse, it boded  
ruin



ruin to the Person concern'd in it; but if large, and sound, or bigger than usual, it was a prosperous Omen. The Romans also us'd the same Method; for *Lucan* tells us, *Cæsar's* Victory over *Pompey* was foretold this way: His words are these,

*Quodquæ nefas nullis impune apparuit exitis,  
Ecce videt capiti Fibrarum incrementum molem,  
Alterius capiti pars ægra & marcida pendet,  
Pars micat, & celeri venas movet improba pulsus.*

Another Ill-prefaging Sign was seen,  
For of the Liver's Heads one overgrown,  
And, as 'twere, squeez'd was by the other down,  
Sickish, and wither'd one side quiet lay,  
The other leapt, and sportfully did play.

Mr. Dechair,

The Place, or Seat, where all the parts of the Liver lay, was called *Δξίς*, and *δοχή*. The Place between the parts in the middle, *πυλαῖα*, and *ἐνδοχρεία*, by *Hesychius* ὁδοί, or *ἐκδοπαί*, by *Euripides* πύλαι,

——— πύλαι καὶ δοχή πύλας  
*Κακὰς ἔρριπον τῷ σκοποῦντι περὶ βολάς.*

The next thing to be taken notice of, was the Heart, which if it was very little, palpitated much, leaped, was shriveled, or wrinkled, or had no Fat at all, portended bad Fortune; if there was no Heart to be found, it was a deadly Omen.

Next to the Heart, they us'd to observe the Gall, the Spleen, the Lungs, and the Membranes, in which the Bowels were inclos'd. If there were two Galls, if the Gall was large, and ready to burst out of its Skin; then sharp and bloody, but yet prosperous Fights were expected. If the Spleen lay in its own place, was clear and sound, of its natural colour, without wheals, hardness, or wrinkles, it boded nothing but Success; as the contrary Signs prefaged Misfortunes: So did also the Entrails, if they chanced to slip out of the Hands of him that offer'd the Sacrifice; if they were besinear'd with Blood, of a livid colour, or spotted; were full of Blisters, or Pimples, fill'd with corrupt or salt Matter, broken or torn in pieces, or stunk like putrified Bodies; lastly, if Serpents crawling, or any thing else terrible and unusual was found in them. If the Lungs were cloven, the Business in hand was to be deferr'd; if whole and entire, it was to be proceeded in with all possible speed, and vigour.

Other Parts of the Victim did sometimes preface things to come, especially if any thing happened extraordinary, and contrary to the common course of Nature. For Instance, On the day that King *Pyrrhus* was

was slain at *Argos*, his Death was foretold, by the Heads of the Sacrifices, which being cut off, lay licking their own Blood, as *Pliny* (a) reports. Another unlucky Omen happened to *Cimon*, the *Athenian* General, a little before his Death; for when the Priest had slain the Sacrifice according to Custom, the Blood that ran down, and congeal'd upon the Ground, was by a great many Pismires carried to *Cimon*, and placed all together at his great Toe: they were a long Time in doing this, before any man perceived them, but *Cimon* had no sooner espy'd them out, but the *Augur* brought him word, that the Liver had no Head; and in a very short time after that famous Captain died.

Hither are to be reduc'd some other ways of Divination, by things made use of at Sacrifices; as first, *Πνευματεία*, Divination by the Fire of the Sacrifice. Good Signs were such as these; If the Flames immediately took hold of, and consum'd the Victim, seizing at once all the parts of it; wherefore that it might do so, they usually prepared *τὰ ξύλα*, dry Sticks, that would easily take Fire; also if the Flame was bright, and pure, and without Noise, or Smoke; if the Sparks tended upward in the form of a Pyramid, if the Fire went not out till all was reduc'd to Ashes. Contrary Signs were when it was kindled with difficulty, when the Flame was divided, when it did not immediately spread it self over all the parts of the Victim, but creeping along, consum'd them by little and little; when, instead of ascending in a straight Line, it whirled round, turned sideways, or downwards, and was extinguish'd by Winds, Showres, or any other unlucky Accident; when it crackled more than ordinary, was black, casting forth Smoke, or Sparks, or died before all the Victim was consum'd. All these, and such like, were unlucky Omens, and signify'd the Displeasure of the Gods. Some of these Signs *old Tiresias* speaks of in (b) *Sophocles*, as very fatal, and pernicious,

——— ἐκ δὲ θυμάτων  
*Ἡρακλῆς ἐκ ἐλαμπεν· ἀλλ' ὅπῃ σπιδῶ  
Μυδῶτα κηκὶς μινεῶν ἐτήκετο,  
Κῆρυγε, κἀνέπνεε καὶ μετέρου  
Χολαὶ διασπείροντο, καὶ καλὸς ἐγχεῖς  
Μηροὶ καλυπτοῖς ἐξέκειντο πμειλῆς.*

——— At the Sacrifice  
No sparkling Flames from up the Fire flew,  
But a black Smoak, with cloudy Vapours mixt,  
That roll'd, and smother'd all the Place;  
Scatter'd abroad the mangl'd Entrails lay,  
And Thighs defil'd without their wonted Fat.

Mr. Dechair.

(a) Lib. XL cap. XXXVII. (b) *Antigon.* ver. 1122.

Sometimes, when the Entrails foretold nothing certain by Dissection, the Priest made Satisfactory Observations from them in the Fire; and therefore they sometimes took the Bladder, and binding the Neck of it with Wooll, (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the Bladders *μαλλοδέπεις κύστις*) put it into the Fire, to observe in what place it brake, and which way it darted the Urine: sometimes they took Pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the Fire; and if there arose but one entire Flame, it was taken for a good Omen. In matters of War, or Enmity, they took most notice of the *ἄνω λαμπάς*, or uppermost part in the Flame, and the Gall, *πικρὸν ἰχθὺς*, for that Enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burnt.

*Καπνομαντεία*, Divination by the Smoke of Sacrifices, in which they observed what Windings, and Turnings it made, how high it ascended, and whether in a direct, or oblique Line, or in wreaths; also how it smelled, whether of the Flesh that was burned, or any thing else.

*Λιβανομαντεία*, Divination by Frankincense, which, if it presently caught Fire, and sent forth a grateful odour, was esteem'd an happy Omen; but if the Fire would not touch it, or any nasty Smell, contrary to the Nature of Frankincense, proceeded from it, it boded some Ill.

*Οἶνομαντεία*, and *Υδρομαντεία*, Divination by Wine, and by Water, in which they made Conjectures from the Colour, Motion, Noise, and other Accidents of the Wine, of which Libations were made, and the Holy-water, in which the Victims were washed, and some parts of them boyled. (a) *Virgil* hath made mention of them both, in the Story of *Dido*,

*Vidit, thuiæremis cum dona imponeret aris,  
Horrendum diffu! latices nigrescere sacros,  
Fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem.*

Off'ring before the Altar, as she stood,  
(Amazing Sight!) Lo, into putrid Blood  
The Wine is chang'd, the Water, clear before,  
A sudden, muddy Blackness covers o'er.

Mr. Dechair.

*Κεκομαντεία*, and *Αλδορομαντεία*, Divinations by which Predictions were made from the Flower, with which the Victim was besprinkled.

Hither also you may refer *Ιχθυομαντεία*, Divination by the Entrails of Fishes, for which *Tiresias*, and *Polydamas* are said to have been famous: as also *Ωοσκοπία*, which made Predictions by Eggs, and several others.

(a) *Æneid*. IV. v. 453.

Who

Who was the first Inventor of this Divination, is uncertain, by some it is attributed to *Prometheus*, the great Father of most Arts. No doubt it was very ancient: And so great Credit it had, that they would desist from the greatest, and seemingly most advantageous Undertakings, and attempt things most hazardous, and unlikely to be attain'd; if the Entrails of Victims dissuaded them from the former, or encouraged them to the latter; take but one Instance out of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Aristides*: When *Mardonius* the Persian made an Assault upon the Grecians, *Pausanias* the Lacedæmonian, at that Time General of all the Grecian Forces, offer'd Sacrifice, and finding it not acceptable to the Gods, commanded the Lacedæmonians laying down their Shields at their Feet, to abide quietly, and attend his Directions, making no Resistance to any of their Enemies. Then offering a second Tune, (for if the first Victim afforded not auspicious Omens, it was usual to offer on, till they obtained what they desired) as the Horse charged, one of the Lacedæmonians was wounded: At this Time also *Callicrates*, who by report was the most comely, proper Man in the Army, being shot with an Arrow, and upon the point of expiring, said, That he lamented not his Death, (for he came from home to lay down his Life in the Defence of Greece) but that he had died without Action. The cause was heard, and wonderful was the forbearance of the Men; for they repelled not the Enemy that charged them, but expecting their opportunity from the Gods, and their General, suffered themselves to be wounded, and slain in their Ranks; and so obstinate they continued in this Resolution, that tho' the Priests offered one Victim after another without any Success, and the Enemy still pressed upon them, they moved not a Foot, till the Sacrifices proved propitious, and the Soothsayers foretold the Victory.

## CHAPTER XV.

### Of Divination by Birds.

I Come in the next place to speak of Divination by Birds; the Invention of which is by some ascribed to *Prometheus*, or *Atalampus*, the Son of *Amythaon* and *Dorippe*; (a) *Pliny* reports that *Cæ*, from whom *Caria* receiv'd its Name, was the first that made Predictions by Birds; and *Orpheus* by other Animals; (b) *Pausanias* telleth us, That *Parnassus*, after whose Name the Mountain *Parnassus* was called, first ob-

(a) *Lib*. VII c. LV. (b) *Thucyd.*

Ο ο

served

served the Flight of Birds. This Art was very much improved by *Calchas*, who, as *Homer* tells us, was

οἰωνοπόλων ὅχ' ἄριστος.

Of Augurs far the best.

At length it arrived at such Perfection, and gained so much Credit in the World, that seldom any thing of moment was undertaken, either in Time of War, or Peace, seldom any Honours conferred, any Magistrates created, without the Approbation of Birds: Nay, other Divinations were sometimes passed by unregarded, if not confirmed by them. At *Lacedæmon*, the King, and Senate had always an Augur attending upon them, to advise with; (a) and *Caïus* reports, that Kings themselves used to study this Art. The Birds, because they were continually flying about, were thought to observe, and pry into Men's most secret Actions, and to be acquainted with all Accidents; whence that of (b) *Aristophanes*,

Οὐδὲς εἶδε τ' ἔσται μὲν τὸν ἐμὸν, πλὴν εἴπῃ ἄρ' ὄρνις.

None, but perhaps some Bird, knows any thing  
About my Treasure.

And the *Scholiast* quotes such another Saying out of him;

Οὐδεὶς με θεωρεῖ πλὴν ὁ παρεισέλευσθ' ὄρνις.

None sees me, but the Bird that flieth by.

There is a Proverb also much to the same purpose; for when they thought themselves secure from the Knowledge of all Persons, they us'd to say, Οὐδεὶς εἶδε τί ὠμίλῃται, πλὴν γε εἴπῃ ὄρνις. None is conscious to what I have been conversing about, except perchance some Bird. (c) *Aristophanes* hath introduced the Birds themselves, telling what religious observance was paid them,

Ἐπεὶν δ' ὑμῶν Ἀμμων, Δελφοῖ, Δωδώνῃ, Φοῖβ' Ἀπόλλων,  
Ἐλθόντες γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπ' ὄρνεις, ἔπειτα πρὸς ἅπαντα τέρεπιδαι.

For we to You instead of *Hammon* are,  
Instead of *Delphi*, and *Dodona's Oak*,  
Instead of *Phæbus*; for our Oracles  
You first consult, then prosecute Designs.

(a) *Antiq. Lect. lib. VIII. cap. I.* (b) *Avibus.* (c) *Loc. citat.*

The Omens given by Birds were by the *Greeks* called ὄρνις, ὀρνιθοσκοπία, αἶσιμα, οἰωνοί, οἰωνίσματα, &c. And the Observers of them, ὀρνιθοσκόποι, ὀρνιθομάντις, ὀρνιθοσκήπτρι, οἰωνιστή, οἰωνοδότης, οἰωνοπόλοι, &c. But afterwards, these Names were promiscuously us'd for almost all the Species of Artificial Divination; as *Auspicium*, and *Augurium* were among the *Latins*. *Plato* is of Opinion that οἰωνιστή was originally a general Name, and written with an ὀ *Micron*, οἰωνιστή, signifying any thing, δι' ἧς οἴμεθα τὰ μέλλοντα, by which we make Conjectures of what is to come; but now (saith *Aristides*) they write it with ὠ *Mega*, τὸ ὠ σμενῶντες, to give the better grace to it.

The *Græcian* Augurs were not, as the *Latin*, clothed in Purple, or Scarlet, but in White, having a Crown of Gold upon their Heads when they made Observations, as (a) *Alexander ab Alexandro* informs us. They had also οἰωνιστήριον, i. e. a Place, or Seat appointed for that purpose, called sometimes by the general Names of δῶκος, and δῶκος, as in *Sophocles's* (b) *Antigone*:

Εἰς γὰρ παλαιὸν δῶκον ὀρνιθοσκήπτον  
Ἰζών, ἵν' ὧ μοι παῖδες οἰωνοδ' λιμῶ.

For sitting in my wonted hallow'd Place,  
Whither all Birds of Divination flock,

saith *Tiresias*, when he expected an Omen; and the *Scholiast* upon that place telleth us, this Seat was peculiarly named δῶκος, and that *Tiresias* had power to assemble the Birds from all Quarters, when he had Occasion for them. They us'd also to carry with them writing Tables, as the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* reports, in which they wrote the Names, and Flights of the Birds, with other things belonging thereto, lest any Circumstance should slip out of their Memory.

The Omens that appeared towards the East, were accounted fortunate by the *Græcians*, *Romans*, and all other Nations; because the Great Principle of all Light and Heat, Motion and Life, diffuses its first Influences from that part of the World. On the contrary, the Western Omens were unlucky, because the *Sun* declines in that Quarter.

The *Græcian* Augurs, when they made Observations, kept their Faces towards the North, and then the East must needs be upon their Right Hand, and the West upon their Left: and that they did so, appears from *Homer*, who brings in (c) *Hector*, telling *Polydamas*, that he regarded not the Birds,

(a) *Gen. Dier. XV. cap. X.* (b) *Ver. v. 11. c.* (c) *Iliad. μ' v. 239.*

Εἴτ' ὅτ' ἰδὲ ἴων πρὸς ἥν τ' ἡλίου τε,  
Εἴτ' ἐπ' αἰετρεὶ τοί γε ποτὶ ζέφρον ἡρῶντα.

Whether o' th' Right Hand, tow'rd the gilded East,  
Or on the Left, towards the dusky West,  
They take their Flight.

For this reason, the Signs that were presented to them on the Right Hand, were accounted fortunate; and those on the Left, unlucky. On the contrary, the Romans, making Observations with their Faces towards the South, had the East upon their Left Hand, and the West upon their Right; of which I might give you innumerable Proofs, which for brevity's sake I shall pass by, remitting such as desire farther Satisfaction, to Varro, and other Latin Authors. For this reason, whatever was fortunate, the Græcians called δεξιόν, the Romans, *Sinistrum*, on what Hand soever it appeared. And tho' the Roman Poets do sometimes call things unlucky, *Sinistra*; yet then they speak *Græco more*: and so doth (a) Virgil, when he saith,

*Sæpe sinistra cavā prædixit ab illic cornix.*

Oft has th' Ill-boding Crow from hollow Oaks  
These miseries prefag'd.

On the contrary, Statius, tho' the business in hand concern'd the Græcians, speaks *more Romano*, when he saith in his *Thebais*,

*Signa feras, lævumque tones.*

Hence it came to pass, that things awkward, and foolish were called *Sinistra*; in which sense (b) Virgil has us'd the word,

*Sæpe malum hoc nobis (si mens non læva fuisset)  
De calo tactas memini prædicere quercus;*

That is, My Misfortunes were often prefaged by the Oakes torn in pieces by Thunder, if I had but had Wit, or Foresight enough to have understood the Divine Prodigies. In (c) Sophocles the word αἰετρεὶ has the same Signification,

Οὐποτέ γ' ὅφρ' ἐπ' αἰετρεὶ,  
Παῖ Τηλαμῶν, ἔβας.

He means, that if Ajax had been in his right Wits, he would never have committed Actions so foolish and ridiculous; and the old

(a) Eclog. l. v. 18. (b) Ib. v. 16. (c) *Ajace* v. 184.

Scholiast

Scholiast upon that Place tells us in express Terms, that the Right Hand signify'd Prudence, and the Left, Folly; αἰετρεὶ, (saith he) οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ μωρὰ ἐνάλαν, δεξιὰ δὲ τὰ συνετά.

Birds were Fortunate, or Unfortunate, either by their own Nature, or by the Place, and Manner of their Appearance: for the same Birds at different Times have boded different and contrary Events. The Unlucky Birds were called ἐξόλαμοι, Pernicious; ἀποδύμοι, Hated, or Ungrateful; ἀεικέλιοι, Troublesom, *ab eo priv.* and εἰκω cedo, q. non *sinistra*, i. e. non *sinestes*, because they would not permit a Man to proceed in his Undertakings; so *Sinistra* (if we may believe Festus) is rather derived ἀ *sinendo*, than ἀ *sinistrā manu*. For the same Reason they were also named κωλυτικά, and ἐπιληπτικά, because they restrained Men from what they had design'd. Those that appear'd out of their wonted Place, or in any Unlucky Place, were call'd ἀδύμοι, and ἐξιδέοι, which words are peculiar to the Soothsayers, tho' they be sometimes applied to other things that are displaced; as when Euripides saith, ἐξιδέοι χθονός, i. e. Persons banished, and that had left their own Countrey; and ἐξιδέοι φρενῶν, a Man distracted and out of his Wits, or any thing against Reason in (a) *Hippolytus*,

ἐκπλήσσει με  
φόνος ὅσθαλλ' αὖτις ἐξιδέοι φρενῶν.

On the contrary, Lucky Birds were call'd αἰετοί, ὄδοι, and σωτήρες. I shall give you a brief Account of some of both sorts, and the Omens signified by them; only give me leave first to tell you, that there were two sorts of Ominous Birds: The πανπύγευς, or *Alues*, whose Flight was observed by the Augurs: And the ὀδινγὴ, or *Oscines*, which gave Omens by their Voices, and Singing.

First then, if a Flock of all sorts of Birds came flying about any Man, it was an excellent Omen, and portended some extraordinary Felicity, or unexpected Success; such as Diodorus Siculus observes happened to Gordius, who from a poor Country Farm, was exalted to a Kingdom.

The Eagle, if she appeared brisk, clapping her Wings, sporting about in the Air, and flying from the Right Hand to the Left, was one of the best Omens the Gods could give; as (b) Niphus telleth us, out of Apion. King Priamus, designing to go to the Græcian Fleet to reclaim Hector, begs of Jupiter that he would give him assurance of his Protection, by sending his beloved Bird, the Eagle,

Πέμψον δ' οἰωνὸν ταχὺν ἄγριον, ὅς τε σοὶ αὐτὸς  
φίλτατον οἰωνῶν, καὶ ἔκρεάτῳ ὅτι μέγιστον,

(a) Ver. 934. (b) De Auguriis lib. l. c. IX.

Δεξιόν

Δεξιὸν, ὅρα μὲν οὐτὶς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας,  
Τῷ πῶσι μὲν ὅττι νῆας ἰὼ Δαναῶν ταχύνωνται.

Command, great Jove, the Eagle Your delight,  
Aud Queen of Birds, to take her lucky Flight.  
Let her upon my Right Hand straight appear,  
And move with noisy Flutt'rings thro' the Air:  
This happy Sight some chearful hopes will give,  
That from the Greeks my Son I shall receive.

Mr. Dechair.

*Aristander* observing an Eagle to flie from their Camp to the Enemies, foretold, that *Alexander* should obtain the Victory. Observations also were made from the manner of taking their Prey: For instance, (a) when *Telemachus* was at *Sparta* in search of *Ulysses*, an Eagle came flying upon his Right Hand, bearing in her Talons a tame Goose, which she had caught in her Roost: from which Omen *Helena* then foretold, that *Ulysses* would return, surprize all *Penelope's* Courtiers in his House, and inflict upon them the Punishment they deserv'd. And *Penelope* is said to have made the same Conjecture, from an Eagle that seiz'd upon twenty Geese, feeding in her House. When an Eagle dragg'd a Fawn by the Feet, and cast it down upon *Jupiter Panomphæus's* Altar, the *Grecians*, tho' before quite disheartened, took such Courage, that they gave the *Trojans* a signal Defeat. On the contrary, when *Hector* attempted to burn the *Grecian* Fleet, an Eagle appear'd towards the Left Hand, carrying in her Talons a Serpent, which made such Resistance, that she, not able to convey it to her Nest, was forc'd to let it fall; whereupon *Polydamas* presently foretold, that *Hector* would be constrained to desist from his Enterprize. When *Penelope's* Suitors way-laid *Telemachus*, there appeared an Eagle on the Left, with a Dove in her Talons; and *Amphinomus* concluded from that Omen, that their Design would not succeed. When two Eagles appear'd, tearing each other with their Talons, and hovering over the Assembly wherein the Suitors were, *Haliherfes* foretold that they should be all slain by *Ulysses*. Lastly, to mention but one Instance more, an Eagle snatching a Javelin out of the Hand of a Souldier of *Dionysius the Syracusan*, portended the Down-fall, and Miseries that Tyrant was to suffer.

The Flight of Vulturs was very much observed, because (as some say) they do but seldom appear, and their Nests are rarely, or never found; wherefore a Sight so unusual must needs portend something extraordinary: or, (as *Herodotus* thinks) because Vulturs feed only upon Carcases, not meddling with living Creatures; and therefore he tells us, *Hercules* was always well pleas'd, when a Vultur appear'd to him at the Undertaking of any Enterprize; because he esteem'd it the most just of all the Birds of Prey. But *Aristotle* and *Pliny* reckon them amongst the Unlucky

(a) Homer. Odyss. v. v. 165.

Birds.

Birds; and add, that they were usually seen two or three Days before any great Slaughter; and it was the common Opinion, that Vulturs, Eagles, Kites, and other Birds of Prey, if they followed an Army, or continued for a considerable Time in any place, were certain Signs of Death, and Bloodshed.

The Hawk is a ravenous Bird, and an unlucky Omen, portending Death (saith *Niphus*) if she appeared seizing upon her Prey; but if the Prey slipped from her, or made its escape, thereby was signified, that the Man should be delivered from all Dangers. The Buzzard, call'd in Greek *Τεῖστρος*, because he has three Stones, was accounted by *Phæmonoe* a very Ominous Bird. The Falcon-Hawk, in Greek *Κίρκος*, as (a) *Pliny* reports, was very lucky to People that were about Marriage, or any Money-business. This Bird was sacred to *Apollo*, as (b) *Homer* tells us; and when *Telemachus* was solicitous, and troubled in Mind about his Mother's Suitors, appear'd in this manner,

ὣς ὅρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,  
Κίρκος, Ἀπέλλωνος παρὺς ἄγγελος, ἐν δὲ πείσει  
Τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων, καὶ δὲ πτερά χερσὶν ἔραζε  
Μεσσηγὺς νηὸς τε, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰηλεμάχοιο.

———This said, a Falcon-hawk  
(*Apollo* sent it) o' th Right Hand, between  
The Ship and young *Telemachus* was seen;  
Towring he flies, and bears a Dove away,  
Clinch'd in his Talons for his dainty Prey;  
Pluck'd from the Roots her Feathers all around  
Flie scatter'd in the Air, down to the Ground.

Mr. Dechair.

By which *Theoclymenus* foretold, that *Telemachus* should prevail over his Enemies.

Swallows flying about, or resting upon a place, were an unlucky Omen. In *Darius's* Expedition against *Scythia*, the Appearance of them presaged the bad Fortune he afterwards met with, when his Army was totally defeated by the *Scythians*. The same Birds sitting upon *Pyrrhus's* Tent, and *Antony's* Ship, are said to have signified the overthrow of the Armies of both those Generals.

Owls were for the most part looked upon to be unlucky Birds, but at *Athens* were Omens of Victory and Success, being sacred to *Minerva*, the Protectress of that City; and therefore the Proverb *Γλαῦξ ἵππεται*, was usually apply'd to Persons, whose Undertakings met with Success. (c) *Plutarch* reports, that when *Themistocles* was consulting with the other Officers, upon the uppermost Deck of the Ship,

(a) Lib. X. c. XIII. (b) Odyss. v. 525. (c) *Themistocles*.

and

and most of them opposed him, being unwilling to hazard a Battle, an Owl coming upon the Right side of the Ship, and lighting upon the Mast, so animated them, that they unanimously concurred with him, and prepared themselves for the Fight. But in other places it was otherwise, as we are told by (a) *Ælian*, who saith, that Owls were unlucky Omens, when they appeared to Men going about any serious Business: an Instance of which we have in King *Pyrrhus*, whose inglorious Death at *Argos* was portended by an Owl, which came and sat upon the top of his Spear, as he held it in his Hand. And for this Reason, when *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* went as Spies to the Trojan Camp, tho' it was Night, the most proper Time for Owls to appear in, yet (b) *Homer* reports, that *Minerva* gave them a lucky Omen, by sending an *εραδίας*, or *Hern*,

Τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν ἐραδίην ἐφόρ' ἐβόηο  
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη —————

As they were marching on, a lucky Hern  
*Minerva* sent —————

Where *Eustathius* saith, that this Bird was a Token of Success, to Men that lay in Ambush, or were engag'd in any such secret Designs. Yet Owls were not at all times esteemed inauspicious, as appears from *Hieron*, at whose first Admission into Military Service, an Eagle came, and sat upon his Shield, and an Owl upon his Spear; by which was signified, that he should be Valiant in War, and Wise in Counsel, and at length arrive to the Dignity of a King. This Story you may find in *Jussin*, at the end of his Third Book.

The Dove in *Homer* is a lucky Bird. So also was the Swan, especially to Mariners, being an Omen of Fair Weather; for which we have a reason in *Æmilius*, as he is cited by *Niphus*,

*Cygnus in auspiciis semper letissimus ales,  
Hunc optant Nautæ, quia non se mergit in undis.*

The Mariner, when tost by angry Seas,  
Straight for a Swan, the luckiest Omen, prays;  
For the her self i' th' Waters ne're doth drown.

Crows, and Ravens, if they appeared about an Army, were dangerous Omens. If they came croaking upon the Right Hand, it was a tolerable good Omen: if on the Left, a very bad one; as also the Chattering of Magpies seems to have been. When *Alexander* entered into *Babylon*, and *Cicero* fled from *Anony*, their Deaths were foretold by the Noise of Ravens: And these Birds alone were thought

(a) *Histor. Anim. lib. XV. c. LIX.* (b) *Iliad. κ'.*

to have any sence of their own Predictions, because (as (a) *Pliny* writeth) the worst Omens were given by them, when they made a harsh sort of a Noise, rattling in their Throats, as if they were choak'd.

Cocks were also accounted Propheticall, especially in Matters of War, for they were sacred to *Mars*, and therefore are call'd by *Aristophanes* *ἄγριος νεσφόρ*, and were usually offered in Sacrifice to him, and pictured with him. The Crowing of Cocks was an auspicious Omen, and presaged *Themistocles's* Victory over the *Persians*; in Memory whereof he instituted an Annual Feast, call'd *Ἀλεκτροβόων ἀγών*, which was observed by Fighting Cocks in the Theater. And that Signal Victory, wherein the *Boeotians* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians*, was foretold by the Crowing of Cocks some whole Nights before, which was interpreted to be an Omen of Success; because the Cock, when he is overcome, sits silent and melancholy; but when he obtains the Victory, struts and crows, and as it were Triumphs over his vanquished Enemy. On the contrary, if a Hen was heard to crow, they thought some dreadful Judgment was hanging over their Heads.

Thus I have given you a short Account of the Principal Birds, that were esteem'd Ominous; I am not ignorant that there were several others, by which they made Predictions, and several other ways of Foretelling from those I have already mentioned; but what I have said, is, I think, sufficient; and therefore shall not be much farther tedious to you. Only I must not forget to tell you, That there were some that pretended to understand the Language of Birds, and thereby to be privy to the most secret Transactions; such an one was the famous Magician *Apollonius* the *Tyanean*, of whom it is reported, that as he was sitting in a Parlour with his Friends, there came a Sparrow, and chattered to a flock of Birds that were before the Window; *Apollonius* having heard the noise, said, She invited them to a Feast, at such a certain place, where a Mule laden with Corn, had let his Burden fall: the Company, desirous to know the truth of the Business, rose up immediately, went to the place, and found it as he had told them. *Democritus* also was a pretender to this piece of Skill, and gave out, that he could teach others the Method of attaining it; which he did by telling them the Names of certain Birds, out of a mixture of whose Blood a Serpent would proceed; which being eaten, would without any farther trouble, inspire into them this Knowledge. It is also feign'd of *Melampus*, that he arriv'd at this Art, by having his Ears licked by Dragons. Such another Story *Eustathius* relates of *Heclemus*, and *Cassandra*, the Children of *Priamus*, the Trojan King; viz. That being left in *Apollo's* Temple, Serpents came to them, and rounding themselves about their Ears, made them so quick of Hearing, that they could discover the Counsels, and Designs of the Gods. I must add one thing more,

(a) *Lib. X. cap. XL.*

out of *Apuleius*; viz. That when any Unlucky Night-Birds, as Owls, Swallows, Bats, &c. got into a House; to avert the bad Omen, they took especial care to catch them, and hang them before their Doors, that so the Birds themselves might undergo, or atone for those Evils, which they had threatned to the Family.

Thus much for Birds. It will be convenient in the next place, to speak something concerning the Predictions made by Insects, Beasts, and Signs in the Heavens. First then, Ants were made use of in Divination, as may appear from the Instance given in the last Chapter, where I told you, *Cimon's* Death was prefaged by them. Another Instance you may have in *Midas*, the *Phrygian* King; for when he was a Boy, and fast asleep, Ants came, and dropt grains of Wheat into his Mouth; whereupon the Southsayers being consulted, foretold, that he would be the richest Man in the World.

Bees were esteem'd an Omen of future Eloquence, as appears from the Story of *Plato*; for as he lay in the Cradle, Bees are said to have come to him, and sate upon his Lips; whereupon the Augurs foretold, that he should be famous for Sweetness of Language, and delightful Eloquence. And *Pindar* is said to have been exposed, and nourished by Bees with Honey instead of Milk. Other things also were foretold by them: But the *Romans* esteem'd them an Unlucky and very dreadful Omen, as you may see in *Plutarch's* Life of *Brutus*.

There was a Locust green, and slow in Motion, call'd *Μέντις*, which was observ'd in Soothsaying, as *Suidas* taketh notice. Toads were accounted Lucky Omens. Snakes also, and Serpents were Ominous; as appears by the Serpent, that, in *Homer's* second *Iliad*, devoured eight young Sparrows, with their Dam; which was by *Calchas* interpreted to signifie, that the Siege of *Troy* should continue nine whole Years. Boars were unlucky Omens, boding an unhappy Event to all the Designs of Persons that met them. I shall mention but one more; viz. the Hare, a most cowardly, and timorous Animal; and therefore appearing in time of War, it signified vanquishment, and running away: When *Xerxes* had prepared an innumerable Army to invade *Greece*, it happened that a Mare brought forth a Hare; which Prodigy was a Prefage of *Xerxes's* base and cowardly Flight, after his Fleet was destroy'd by *Themistocles*.

I come in the last place to speak a word or two concerning Omens from Heaven. I do not mean those, by which Philosophers and Astrologers made their Predictions; but such as were usually observed by the common People: such were Comets, which were always thought to portend something dreadful, according to that trite saying,

—nunquam visa est impune Cometa.

Such also were Eclipses of the Sun, or Moon, with which several Armies have been so terrified, that they durst not engage their Enemies,

unies, tho' upon never so great Advantages. *Plutarch*, in his Treatise of Superstition, reports, That *Nicias*, the *Athenian* General, being surrounded on every side by his Enemies, was struck into such a consternation by an Eclipse of the Moon, that he commanded his Souldiers to lay down their Arms, and so, together with a numerous Army, tamely yielded up himself to the slaughter. For the true cause of them being unknown, they were imputed to the immediate operation of the Gods, that were thought thereby to give notice of some signal and imminent Danger: and so strongly were the Vulgar possess'd with this Opinion, that *Anaxagoras* brought himself into no small danger, by pretending to assign a Natural reason for them.

Lightnings also were observed; and if they appeared on the Right Hand, accounted Good Omens; but if on the Left, Unlucky: as *Estabius* hath observed, in his Comment upon the second *Iliad*; where *Nestor* tells the *Grecians*, earnestly desiring to return into their own Countrey, That *Jupiter* had made a promise, that they should take *Troy*, and confirm'd it by Lightning,

Απράπῳ ὅττι δέξι' ἐναίσημα σήμα' αὖ φέρων.

By Ominous Lightning gave the lucky Sign.

Other Meteors also were observed by the Soothsayers, as the *Ignis Lambens*, which was an excellent Omen, prefaging future Felicity; as appears from *Servius Tullius*, whose Promotion to the Kingdom of *Rome* was foretold by it. The *Argonauts*, in their Expedition to *Colchos*, were overtaken by a dangerous Tempest, near the *Sigan* Promontory; whereupon *Orpheus* made supplication to the Gods for their Deliverance; a little after, there appeared two Lambent Flames about the Heads of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and upon this ensued a fine gentle Gale, the Winds ceasing, and the Sea becoming calm and still: This sudden alteration, begot in the Company a Belief, that the two Brethren had some Divine Power and Efficacy, by which they were able to still the raging of the Sea; insomuch that it became a Custom for Mariners, whenever they were in any dangerous Storms, to invoke their Assistance. If the two Flames (which from this Story are call'd by the Names of the two Heroes) appear'd together, they were ever after esteem'd an excellent Omen, foreboding good Weather; and therefore *Theocritus*, in his Hymn upon the *Dioscuri*, praiseth them for delivering poor Seamen, ready to be swallowed up by the Deep,

Αλλ' ἔμπης ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἐκ βυθού ἔλκετε νῆας  
 Αὐτοῖσιν ναυταῖσιν ὕιοι καὶ δανέες.  
 Αἵ γ' αὖ δ' ἀπολήγοντ' ἀνέμοι, λιπυρὰ δὲ χαλάνη  
 Ἀμπέλαγος, νηέλας δὲ διέδραμον ἀλλυδὶς ἄλλαι,



Εκ δ' ἀρχῆς τ' ἐράνησαι, ὄντων τ' ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμαυρῆ  
φάτην, σημαίνουσα τὸ πρὸς πλοῦν ὅλα πάντα.

And when the gaping Deep wou'd fain devour  
The tatter'd Ship, You hinder't with Your Pow'r.  
The stormy Winds that vex the troubl'd Seas,  
At Your command, their roaring Blusters cease;  
The pil'd up Waves are still'd, and quiet lain,  
An even Calmness makes a watry Plain.  
The Clouds that had before obscur'd the Skie,  
Vanish away, and quickly dispers'd flie.  
The Bears, and other lucky Stars appear,  
And bid the Seamen Safety not to fear.

Mr. Creech.

Horace speaketh to the same purpose, calling these two Meteors *Stella*,  
or Stars,

Dicam & Alciden, puerosque Ledaë:  
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis  
Nobilem; quorum simul alba Nautis  
Stella refulsit,  
Desinit saxis agitantis Humor  
Concidunt Venti, fugiuntque Nubes,  
Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto  
Ur. recumbis (a).

Alcides next in. muse must write,  
And Leda's Sons; one fam'd for Horse,  
And one in close, and Handy Fight  
Of haughty Brav'ry, and of noble Force.  
When both their Stars at once appear,  
The Winds are hush'd, they rage no more,  
(It is their will) the Skies are clear,  
And Waves roul softly by the quiet Shore.

Mr. Creech.

If one Flame appear'd single, it was called *Helena*, and was a very  
dangerous Omen, portending nothing but Storms, and Shipwracks;  
especially if it followed *Castor* and *Pollux* by the Heels; and, as it  
were, drove them away. Tho' *Euripides*, in his *Orestes*, makes them  
all prosperous and desirable Signs, where speaking of *Helena*, he  
saith,

Ζηλὸς γὰρ ἔσαν ζῆν νιν ἀρδιτον χεῖρ,  
Κάσσει τε Πολυδευκί τ' ἐν αἰθέρι πύλαις  
Σωδάκος ἔσται νοστήλοισι σωτήριος.

(a) Carm. lib. 1.

For

For being sprung from *Jove*, she needs must be  
Immortal too; and with her Brethren share  
The Heav'nly Regions, where her glorious Beams  
Will shine alike, to help the Mariner.

Mr. Declair.

The Winds also were thought to contain in them something Pro-  
phetical, and were taken notice of in Soothsaying; as appears from  
(a) *Statius*, when he saith,

—————*Ventis, aut alite visa*  
*Bellorum proferre diem.*—————

And as the Birds, or boding Winds preface,  
Differ the fatal day of Battle.

I might add a great many others, which I shall pass by, only  
mentioning one more; viz. the Thunder, the Noblest, and most ob-  
served of all the Heavenly Omens. It was Good, or Bad, like other  
Signs, according to its different Position; for on the Right Hand,  
it was lucky; on the Left, unfortunate. Thunder in a clear and se-  
rene Skie, was a happy Sign, and given by *Jupiter* in (b) *Homer*, as  
a confirmation, that he granted the Petitions made to him. The  
Poet's words are these, where he speaks of *Ulysses* that had been sup-  
plicating the God for some Sign, to encourage him in his Enterprize  
against *Penelope's* Courtiers;

ὧς ἐπεί' ἐνὶ χόρῳ τὸ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεὺς,  
Αὐτίκα δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἐπ' αἰγλήνῃ Οὐλύμπῳ  
Τύδεν ἐκ νεφέων, γῆθησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

Thus pray'd the Sire: and All-wise *Jupiter*  
Forth-with, propitious to his earnest Prayer,  
A Clap of Well-prefaging Thunder sent,  
From bright *Olympus* Crystall Firmament,  
Which glads his Soul.

Mr. Huchin.

To avert unlucky Omens given by Thunder, it was usual to  
make a Libation of Wine, pouring it forth in Cups. And they  
stood in so much fear of Lightning, that they adored it, as (b) *Pliny*  
observes, and endeavoured to avert its malignant Influences, by hissing,  
and whistling at it; which they call'd ποπυύζειν, as it is evident from  
(d) *Aristophanes*, when he saith, καὶ ἀνασπάσω, If I cast forth Lightning,  
ποπύσουσι, they'll hiss; where the *Scholiast* observes, that it was usual  
ἢ ἀσπαπαῖς ποπυύζειν, to hiss at the Lightning.

(a) *Thebaid*, III. (b) *Odyss.* c. v. 102. (c) *Lib.* XXVIII. cap. II. (d) *Vespis.*

CHAPTER

## CHAPTER XVI.

## Of Divination by Lots.

OF Lots there were four sorts, viz. Political, Military, Lufurious; and Divinatory: the three first do not at all concern my present purpose, however treated of by some in this place. Of the Prophetic there were divers sorts, two of which were most in use, viz. *Σπχομαντεία*, and *Κληρομαντεία*.

*Σπχομαντεία*, was a sort of Divination by Verses, wherein 'twas usual to take Fatidical Verses, and writing them upon little pieces of Paper, put them into a Vessel, and so draw them out, expecting to read their Fate in the first Draught. This was often practis'd upon the Sibylline Oracles, which were dispersed up and down in Greece, Italy, and all the Roman Empire: whence it is, that so frequent mention is made in Authors of the *Sortes Sibylline*. Sometimes they took a Poet, and opening in one, or more places accepted the first Verse they met with, for a Prediction. This was also called *Ραβδομαντεία*, from the *Rhapsodies* of Homer; and, as some are of Opinion, proceeded, at the first, from the Esteem which Poets had amongst the Ancients, by whom they were reputed Divine, and Inspired Persons. But, as Homer had of all the Poets the greatest Name, so also the *Sortes Homerice* of all others were in the most Credit: Yet *Euripides*, and other Poets were not wholly neglected, but had some share in this Honour. Virgil also, and the Latin Poets, were made use of in this way, as appears as well from other Instances, as that remarkable one of Severus, whose Promotion to the Roman Empire was foretold by opening at this Verse,

*Tu regere Imperio populos, Romane, memino.*

Remember, Roman, with Imperial Sway  
To rule the People.

The Christians also practis'd the like on the Bible, according to that of Nicephorus, *Ανοίξεν ἔκκειν δὲ ἐν ψαλτρὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνέλκων σπέρμα*, i. e. He judg'd it necessary to dip into the Psalter, that there he might find a Support, or Defence against the Distress he laboured under. And *Heraclius* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have asked Counsel of the New Testament, καὶ ᾠδὴν ἀπαγγέλλοντα ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ ὡς ἡμεῶν, and to have been thereby perswaded, to winter in Albania. And Saint *Augustin* himself, tho' he disallows this Practice in

in Secular Affairs, yet seems to approve of it in Spiritual Matters, as appears from his (a) Epistle to *Jovinianus*.

*Κληρομαντεία*, was a sort of Divination, wherein they made Conjectures, by throwing τοὺς κλήρους, or Lots; where you may observe, that Lots were called in the plural number κλήροι, and by the Latins, *sortes*; to distinguish them from κλήρος, and *sort*, which in the singular number usually signified the Hint, or Occasion given to Diviners, to make their Conjectures by, as the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* reports. These κλήροι were usually black and white Beans; amongst the Ancients little Clods of Earth; Pebbles also, Dice, or such like things, distinguished by certain Characters, or Marks: these they cast into a Vessel, and having made Supplication to the Gods, to direct them, drew them out, and according to the Characters, conjectured what should happen to them. All Lots were sacred to *Mercury*, whom they thought to preside over this Divination; and therefore the Ancients, as (b) *Eusebius* observes, εὐαγγέλιος ἐνεκα, i. e. for Good Luck's sake, and that *Mercury* might be propitious to them, used with the rest of the Lots, to put in one, which they called ἑμποδὸν κλήρον, or *Mercury's Lot*, which was an Olive-leaf, and was drawn out before the rest. This Divination was either invented, or at least so much practis'd by the *Thriae*, who were three Nymphs, that nursed *Apollo*, that at length the word *Θείαι* came to be a synonymous Term with κλήροι: whence the Proverb,

Πολλοὶ Θειόδοι, ποῦροι δὲ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες.

Crowds of your Lot-diviners ev'ry where,  
But few true Prophets.

To this Species of Divination we may reduce *Ραβδομαντεία*, or Prophesying by Rods, mentioned also in the Holy Writings, wherein (c) *Hosea*, amongst other abominable wickednesses committed by the *Israelites*, reckons this as none of the smallest, *Εν συμβόλοις ἐπερώτων, καὶ ἐν ῥάβδοις οὐκ ἔπαυον ἀπαγγέλλον οὐκ ἐν πνεύματι προφητείας ἐπαυήθησαν, καὶ ἐπερώσαντο τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κυρίου.* Our Translation renders it thus, *Asy people ask counsel at their Sticks, and their Staff declareth unto them; for the spirit of Whoredom hath caused them to err, and they have gone a whoring from under their God.* The Manner of it seems to have been thus; They took small Sticks, and having put certain Characters upon them, cast them into a Vessel, and then drew them out. Not much different was *Βιλομαντεία*, in which Divination was made by Arrows, shaken together in a Quiver. Others are of opinion, that the Arrows

(a) Epist. CXIX. (b) Il. x. p. 548. Ed. La. (c) Cap. IV. v. 12.

were cast into the Air, and the Man was to steer his course the same way, that the Arrow inclined in it's descent. And the like has been practis'd, even in our Days, upon Sticks erected. This seems to be the Divination said to be us'd by *Nebuchadnezzar*, in *Ezekiel*, where he deliberates about invading the *Israelites*, and the *Ammonites*: The words are these, as they are rendred by our Translators; (a) *Appoint a way, that the sword may come to Rabbath of the Ammonites, and to Juda in Jerusalem the defended. For the King of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of two ways, to use divination: he made his Arrows bright, (the Septuagint Translation speaks not of ῥέλας, but ῥάβδος) he consulted with Images, he looked into the Liver. At his right hand was his Divination for Jerusalem, to appoint Captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint battering Rams against the Gates, to cast a Mount, and to build a Fort.* But because the Prophet speaks of making his Arrows bright, some are of Opinion, that he divined by looking upon the Iron-heads of the Arrows, and observing the various appearances in them; in the same manner, as some in our Days, pretend to tell Fortunes, by looking upon their Nails, saith *Clarius* upon the place. Another Method of Divination by Rods was us'd by the *Scythians*, and is described in (b) *Herodotus*. From the *Scythians* it was derived, with some alteration, to the *Germani*, and is described by (c) *Tacitus*. Others also you may read of in (d) *Strabo*, (e) *Athenaeus*, and (f) *Ammianus Marcellinus*; but these, and some others, I shall pass by, as not pertinent to my present Design.

Another way of Divination by Lots was used in *Greece*, and *Rome*, which was this: The Person that was desirous to learn his Fortune, carried with him a certain number of Lots, distinguished by several Characters, or Inscriptions, and walking to and fro in the publick Ways, desired the first Boy that met him, to draw; and if that which came forth, agree'd with what he had conceiv'd in his Mind, it was taken for an infallible Prophecy. This Divination is by *Plutarch*, in his Treatise about *Isis* and *Osiris*, said to be derived from the *Aegyptians*, by whom the Actions and Words of Boys were carefully observed, as containing in them something Divine, and Prophetical; and that for a reason no less absurd, than the Practice it self; all the grounds they had for it being only this, viz. That *Isis* having wandered up and down, in a fruitless search after *Osiris*, happened at last upon a Company of Boys at Play, and was by them inform'd about what she had so long sought for in vain. To this Custom of Divining by Boys, as some think, (g) *Tibullus* alludes, when he saith,

(a) Cap. XXI. v. 20. (b) Lib. IV. (c) Lib. de Morib. German. (d) Lib. XV. (e) Lib. XII. (f) Lib. XXIX. (g) Lib. I. Eleg. III.

*Ille sacras parvi sortes ter sustulit, illi  
Retulit & viridis omina certa puer.*

Thrice in the Streets the sacred Lots she threw,  
And thence the Boy did certain Omens shew.

But I am rather of Opinion, that the Poet speaks of a different kind of Lots, which was this: In the Market, High-ways, and other places of concourse, it was usual for a Boy, or Man, whom the *Greeks* call'd *Ἀγύρτης*, to stand with a little Tablet, call'd in *Greek* *πίναξ ἀγυρτικός*, or *ἀγυρτικὴ οὐρά*, upon which were written certain Fatidical Verses, which, according as the Dice light upon them, told the Consultants what Fortune they were to expect: Sometimes, instead of Tablets, they had Pots, or Urns, into which the Lots were thrown, and thence drawn by the Boys; and I am the rather inclined to think the Poet's Words are to be understood in this Sense, because he saith, the Woman her self, that had a mind to be instructed, what was to befall her, took up the Lots; which can never be meant of the Boy's drawing Cuts out the Woman's Hand. *Artemidorus*, in his Preface, speaks of *ἄνδρες ἐν ἀγορῇ μάντευον*, i. e. Diviners in the Market-place; and the *Sortes viales* were very common at *Rome*: the *Circus* was thronged with those, and a great many other Diviners, which the poor, silly Women used to consult, as (a) *Juvenal* witnesseth: His words are these,

*Si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrumque  
Metarum, & sortes ducet: frontemque, manumque  
Præbebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti.  
Divitiibus responsa dabit Phryx augur, & inde  
Conductus, dabit astrorum, mundique peritus;  
Atque aliquis Senior qui publica iugura condit.  
Plebeium in Circo positum est, & in aggere satum;  
Quæ nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum,  
Consulis ante Phalax, Delphinorumque columnas  
An saga vendendi nubat caupone relicto.*

The middle sort, who have not much to spare,  
Into the crowded *Circus* straight repair,  
And from the cheaper Lots their Fortunes hear.  
Or else to cunning *Chiromancers* go,  
Who clap the pretty Palm, and thence their Fortunes know.  
But the rich Matron, who has more to give,  
Her Answers from the *Brachman* will receive.  
Skill'd in the Globe and Sphear, he gravely stands,  
And with his Compass measures Seas, and Lands.  
The Poorest of the Sex have still an Itch  
To know their Fortunes, equal to the Rich;  
The Dairy-maid enquires if she may take  
The trusty Taylor, and the Cook forsake.

(a) Sat. VI. v. 801.

Whereby it appears, that Lots had very small Credit in *Juvenal's* Days, being consulted only by the meaner sort, and such as were not able to be at the charge of more reputable Divinations. *Didymus* tells us, this was done by *Jupiter*, who being desirous, that *Apollo* should preside in chief over Divination, brought Lots, which are said to have been invented by *Minerva*, into disrepute.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Of Divination by Ominous Words, and Things.*

**A**NOTHER sort of Divination there was, very different from all those I have hitherto spoken of, which foretold things to come, not by any studied Methods, but by certain Accidents, and Casual Occurrences, that were thought to contain in them Presages of Good, or Evil. Of these there were three sorts: The first was of Things Internal, by which I mean those that affected the Persons themselves. The second, of Things External, that only appeared to Men, but did not make any Impression upon them. The third were Ominous Words. Of these in their order.

First of those Omens that Men received from themselves, which are distinguished into four Kinds: 1. Marks upon the Body, as *ελαια*, Spots like Oyl. Secondly, sudden Perturbations, seizing upon the Mind; such were the *Panici terrores*, Panick Fears, which were sudden Frights, and Consternations, that seized upon Men, without any visible cause, and therefore were imputed to the Operation of *Demons*, especially *Pan*, upon Men's Phancies. Of these there is frequent mention in History; as when *Brennus*, the *Gallick* General, had been defeated by the *Greeks*, the Night following, He, and the remainders of his Troops were seized with such Terrors, and Distractions, that, ignorant of what they were a doing, they fell together by the Ears, wounding, and killing one another, till they were all utterly destroy'd. Such another Fright gave the *Athenians* a great Advantage against the *Persians*, in so much that *Pan* had a Statue erected for that piece of Service; as appears from one of *Simonides's* Epigrams,

Τὸν τρυγόναν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, τὸν Ἀρχέδα, ἃ χ' ἔ' Νήδω.  
Τὸν μετ' Ἀθιναίων εἴητο Μιλτιάδης.

Grateful *Miltiades* rais'd this Monument,  
That Me *Arcadian Pan* doth represent;  
Because I aided him, and Warlike *Greece*  
Against the Powerful *Medes*.——

The

The reason why these Terrours were attributed to *Pan*, was, because when *Osiris* was bound by *Typho*, *Pan* and the *Satyrs* appearing, cast him into a Fright. Or, because he frightened the Giants, that waged war against *Jupiter*. In these Terrours, whereof there was either no apparent Cause, or at least none answerable to the greatness of the sudden Consecration; it was a good Remedy do to something quite contrary to what the Danger would have required, had it been such as men vainly imagined. Thus *Alexander* caused his Souldiers to disarm themselves, when they were on a sudden in a great Fear of they knew not what.

All sudden and extraordinary Emotions and Perturbations, in Body, or Mind, were looked upon as evil Omens; such was that of *Penelope's* Courtiers described by (a) *Homer*, and said to have been caused by *Minerva*, their implacable Enemy;

————— μνηστῆρσι δὲ Πάλλας Ἀθήνη  
 Ἀσπίσον γέρον ὄρεσε, παρέπλავξιν δ' ἐνήματα·  
 Οἱ δ' ἦδη γεννητοῖσι γέροντων ἀλλοσπείουσιν·  
 Λίμοσ' ὤκησεν δὲ δὴ κρέα ἥδιστα· ὅσους δ' ἄρα σφῶν  
 Δαυφύοριον πέμπλαντο, γῆρον δ' ὤϊετο θυμός.

The Courtiers straight offended *Pallas* seiz'd  
With profuse laughter, not to be appeas'd ;  
And raving frantick thoughts, they now appear  
O'rewhelm'd with laughter, not what first they were :  
Their Eyes with briny tears o'reflow'd, their Food  
Amazing Sight ! seem'd chang'd to putrid Blood.  
Nothing their anxious thoughts doth entertain,  
But lamentable grief. —————

An Augur that was present amongst them, was affrighted at so dreadful an Omen, and presently broke out into this Exclamation,

*Α δειλοὶ τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; ———*  
**Ah wretched Men! what Fate is this you bear?**

The third sort of Internal Omens, were the Παλμοί, or παλμικά σημεῖα, so called ἐκ τοῦ πάλειν, from Palpitating. Such were the Palpitations of the Heart, the Eye, or any of the Muscles, called in *Latin* *Salissationes*; and Βρυεῖς, or a Ringing in the Ears; which if it was in the Right Ear, was a lucky Omen; so also was the Palpitation of the Right Eye, as *Theocritus* telleth us,

Αγγελια ὀφθαλμός μοι ὁ δεξιός —————  
 My Right-Eye twinkles. —————

(2) Odyss. v. v. 345

Q 1 2

(c) *Niplms*

(a) *Niphus* hath enumerated all the Parts of the Body, with all the Omens to be gathered from the Palpitations of each of them; whom you may consult at leisure. *Melampus*, the famous Fortune-teller, dedicated a Book upon this subject to *Proionse Philadelphus*: Another to the same purpose was compos'd by *Possidonius*, as *Suidas* reports; the Title of which was *Ἡερμηνεύσεις οὐρανίωνων*.

The fourth sort of Internal Omen, were the *Πταρυγμοί*, or Sneezings which were so superstitiously observ'd, that Divine Worship was thought due to them; tho' some say this Adoration was only an Expiation of the Omen: Others are of Opinion, as (b) *Cassaubon* observes, That Sneezing was a Disease, or at least a Symptom of some Infirmary; and therefore when any Man Sneezed, it was usual to say, *Ζῆσι*, May you Live; or, *Ζῶ σῶσον*, God bless you. To this Custom *Amnian* alludes, in an Epigram upon a Fellow with a long Nose, which he saith was at so great a distance from his Ears, that he could not hear himself Sneeze,

Ὀβρις ἄνθρωπε, Ζῶ σῶσον, ὅταν ῥιναί, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνὰ  
Τὸν ῥιναί, πρὸς τὸ ὅτι ἀκούσθαι οὐ δύναται.

His long-beak'd Snout, at such a distance lyes  
From his dull Ears, that he ne'er hears it Sneeze;  
And therefore never do's he say, God bless.

Where you may observe, That it was not only usual for Persons that stood by, to cry, *Ζῶ σῶσον*, but also for Men when themselves Sneezed. However it be, it is certain, that Sneezing was accounted sacred, as appears from (c) *Athenaeus*, who proves that the Head was esteemed holy; because it was customary to swear by it, and adore as holy the Sneezes that proceeded from it: And *Aristotle* tell us in express Terms, That Sneezing was accounted a Deity, *Τὸν Πταρυγμὸν θεὸν ἱσχυόμεθα*. *Cassaubon* also has proved the same, out of (d) *Xenophon*; where he reports, that the Souldiers with one accord worshipp'd it as a God. But it is scarce supposable, they could be so far immers'd in ignorance, as to think every Act of Sneezing a Deity; nor do *Aristotle's* words necessarily imply they did; for no more need be understood by them, than that there was a God of Sneezing, called *Πταρυγμός*. and *Xenophon* may be expounded the same way, viz. That when the Souldiers heard a Sneeze, they worshipped the God, i.e. the God of Sneezing: Or it may be, no more is meant, than that they worshipped God, perhaps in the usual form of *Ζῶ σῶσον* or by casting up some other short Ejaculation to any of the Gods, to avert the Omen.

(a) De Augur. l. I. c. IX. (b) In *Athenaeum* l. II. c. XXV. (c) Loc. citat. (d) De Exped. l. II. lib. III.

However

However, it is certain that great regard was given to Sneezing, inasmuch that if a Man Sneezed at such a Time, or on such a side, it was enough to persuade them to, or discourage them from any Business of the greatest moment. *Euphrantides* reports, that a Sneeze upon the Right Hand was us'd by *Themistocles* to his Souldiers, as a prevailing Argument to persuade them to fight. Such a Sneeze happening, whilst *Xenophon* was making a Speech, was thought a sufficient Reason to constitute him General. And *Socrates* himself, tho' a great detpiser of Heathen Superstitions, judg'd it not unreasonable, to catch advice from another Man's Nose, and make a Sneeze serve instead of an Admonition from the *Dæmon*, that is said to have continually attended upon him, giving him Counsel how to demean himself upon all Occasions.

Sneezing was not always a lucky Omen, but varied according to the alteration of Circumstances: for once when *Xenophon* was persuading his Souldiers to encounter the Enemy, a Sneeze was accounted so dangerous an Omen, that they were forced to appoint publick Prayers, for the Expiation of it. If a Man Sneezed in the Morning, it was a good Omen; but if in the Afternoon, a bad one; the reason of which is accounted for by *Aristotle*, in his Problems. If a Man Sneezed at the Table, while they were taking away; or if another happened to Sneeze upon his Left Hand, it was unlucky; if on the Right Hand, fortunate. If in the Undertaking any Business, two, or four Sneezes happened, 'twas a lucky Omen, and gave Encouragement to proceed; if more than four, the Omen was neither Good, nor Bad; if one, or three, it was unlucky, and deterred them from proceeding in what they had designed. If two Men were deliberating about any Business, and both of them chanced to Sneeze together, it was a prosperous Omen, as (a) *Niphus* relates, in his Book of Auguries, where he has enumerated a great many other Circumstances in Sneezing, and the Omens thought to be given by them.

I come in the next place to speak something concerning the Omens that appear'd to Men, but were not contain'd in their own Bodies; of which there were several sorts: As first, The Beginnings of Things were look'd upon to contain something ominous; as *Ovid* has observ'd,

*Rerum principii omnia inesse solent;  
Ad primam vocem timidus advertimus aures,  
Et primum visam consulit Augur avem.*

Hither also are to be referred *Εὐχὰς στυγερὰς*, or Omens offering themselves in the way, of which *Polis*, and *Hippocrates* (not the Phylician) are said to have written Books.

(a) De Auguriis cap. VIII.

Such

Such as these were, the meeting of an Eunuch, a Black, an Ape, a Bitch with whelps, a Fixon with Cubs; a Snake lying so in the Way, as to part the Company; a Hare crossing the way. A Woman working at her Spindle, or carrying it uncovered, was thought to be very prejudicial to any Design, and to blast whatever Hopes they had conceiv'd about any thing; especially about the fruits of the Ground. A Weezle crossing the way, was a sufficient Reason to defer a Publick Assembly for that Day; it was call'd *παλιν*, and *Artemidorus* gives the Reason, why its Running by was so much taken notice of; viz. because it is *ισοψηφον* to *δίκην*, that is, (as Mr. *Bogart* explains it) the Letters in each word signifie the same Number, viz. 42. All these were *δυσάντηλα*, *δυστονώριστα*, and *δυστοπία* *διδάματα*, i. e. unlucky, and abominable Sight.

Another sort of External Omens were those that happen'd at home, and the Divination that observed them, was call'd *τὸ οἰκοσκοπιόν*, concerning which it is reported, that *Xenocrates* wrote a Treatise. Such as these were the coming in of a black Dog, a Mouse eating a Bag of Salt, the appearing of a Snake, or Weezle upon the House-top. This sort of Divining by Beasts, is reported by *Suidas*, to have been invented by *Telegonus*. Such also were the Throwing down of Salt, the Spilling of Water, Honey, or Wine, taking the Wine away, while any Person was drinking, a sudden Silence, and ten thousand other Accidents. In putting on their Clothes, the Right side must be served first; and therefore if a Servant did but give his Master the Left Shoe first, he was sure to have it thrown at his Head.

Hither also may be referred the various Actions that were thought to contain in them Good, or Bad Fortune. For Instance, At Feasts it was accounted lucky to crown the Cup with a Garland,

————— *Pateramque Coronā*  
Induit —————

And with a Garland did the Cup surround.

saith *Virgil*: And, *Vina coronant*, in imitation of *Homer's* Heroes, who used to drink out of Cups, that were *ἐπισπερὲς αἰνοῖς* the reason of which (saith *Eusebius*, out of *Athenæus*) was this, viz. Because a Garland represents a Circle, which is the most capacious, and complete of all Figures. It was usual also, to carry home the Fragments left at Sacrifices, for good Luck's sake, as I have observed in another place; and these were call'd *ὀψίαι*, because they were thought to contribute to the preservation of their Health (a) &c. Thus much for Ominous Actions, and Accidents, whereof I have only given you some that were most remarkable and usual; for it would be an endless

(a) *Hejchua*.

Under-

Undertaking, to enumerate all of them, every Day's Reading being able to furnish almost infinite numbers.

In the last place, I come to speak something of Ominous Words, which as they were Good, or Bad, were believed to presage accordingly. Such Words were call'd *κλυσθνεις*, or *φῆμαι*, *ἀπο τῶ φάναι*, as the *Latin Omen* is so called, q. *Oremen*, quia fit ab ore, i. e. because it proceeds from the Mouth, saith *Festus*: You may render them *Voices*, for *Tully* hath call'd them by the Name of *Voces*: The *Pythagoreans* (saith he) used to observe the Voices of Men, as well as of the Gods. This sort of Divination, was most in use at *Smyrna* (as *Pausanias* reports) where they had *κλυσθων ἱεῖον*, a Temple, in which Answers were returned this way; and *Apollo Spodius* gave Oracles in *Thebes*, after the same Manner, as I have already told you: But the first Invention of it is attributed to *Ceres*.

Words that boded Ill, were called *κακὰ ὄψαι*, or *δυσφημίαι* and he that spoke them, was said *βλασφημεῖν*, *φθέρειν*, *βλασφημίαν*, as *Euphides* terms it; where he speaks of certain Ominous Words let fall by a Servant, at a Feast, just as one of the Company was going to drink,

*βλασφημίαν πρὸ οἰκετῶν ἐρδίσχεται.*

Unlucky Words one of the Servants spoke.

*Plautus* calleth it *obscenare*, or as some read, *obscavare*; for *scava* signifieth Luck, either good, or bad; and the Words *Horace* calleth *Male ominata Verba*,

————— *male ominatis*  
*Parcite verbis.*

Ill-boding Words forbear to name.

Such Words as these, they had always a superstitious Care to avoid; insomuch that instead of *δεσμωτήριον*, i. e. a Prison, they would often say *οἶκμος*, i. e. an House; for *πίθηκος*, *καγιδέας* for *μύθος*, *ἄγος* for *Εευνός*, *Εὐθυμίδης*, or *Σιμυαὶ διαι*, and such like: For there were a great many Words, which they made almost as great a Scruple to speak, as the *Jews* their *Nomen Tetragrammaton*. And therefore in Time of Divine Worship, as I have observ'd before, nothing was more strictly commanded, than that they should *εὐφημεῖν*, or avoid all Ominous Expressions; Which, if they were spoken by a Brother, or any other nearly related to the Person, whose Business was in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and accounted them so much the worse. Mr. *Dryden* hath excellently expressed this Custom in his *Oedipus*, where after that *Heroe* has been thundering a great many dreadful Imprecations upon the Murderers of *Laius*, *Jocasta* is introduced, speaking thus,

*Jocasta.*

Jocasta. At your Devotions? Heaven succeed your Wishes;  
And bring th' effect of these your pious Prayers  
On You, on Me, and All.

Priest. Avert this Omen, Heaven!

Oedipus. O fatal sound! Unfortunate Jocasta!  
What hast thou said? an ill hour hast thou chosen  
For these fore-boding Words; why, we were cursing.

Jocasta. Then may that Curse fall only where Thou laid it.

Oedipus. Speak no more!  
For all thou say'st is ominous: We were cursing;  
And that dire Imprecation hast thou fasten'd  
On Thebes, and Thee, and Me, and All of us.

Jocasta. Are then my Blessings turn'd into a Curse?  
O unkind Oedipus! My former Lord  
Thought Me his Blessing: be thou like my Laius.

Oedipus. What yet again! the third time hast thou curs'd Me?  
This Imprecation was for Laius's Death,  
And thou hast wish'd Me like Him.

Mr. Dryden.

Which Verses I have here transcribed, because they do fully represent the ancient Custom of catching at Ominous Expressions.

Some Words, and Proper Names there were, which imported Success, answerably to their Natural Signification; of which take this Instance: *Leontichides* delir'ing of a *Samian* his Assistance against the *Persians*, asked him his Name; and being told it was *Ηγνίστατος*, i. e. the Leader of an Army; reply'd, *Ηγνίστατος δέχομαι τὴν οἰωνόν*, I embrace the Omen in the Name; *δέχομαι οἰωνόν*, amongst the *Greeks*, importing the same with *accipere Omen* amongst the *Latins*, which signifies the accepting of an Omen, and applying it to the Business in hand: For it was thought to lye very much in the Power of the Hearer, whether he would receive the Omen, or not; *Ostentorum vires in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, saith *Pliny*, i. e. The Force and Efficacy of Omens depended upon the Persons, to whom they appear'd. For if the Omen was immediately caught by the Hearer, or struck upon his Imagination, it was Efficacious; but if it was neglected, or not taken notice of, it was Invalid, and of no Force. And therefore *Virgil* introduces *Aeneas*, as it were, snatching *Assanius's* Words from his Mouth; for the *Harpyes*, and *Anchises* also in another place, having foretold, that the *Trojans* should suffer so dreadful a Famine, that they should be forc'd to gnaw their very Tables, for want of better Provisions,

(a) Sed non ante datam cingeris manibus Urbem,  
Quam Vos dira James, nostræque injuria exdis,  
Ambefas subigat malis absumere mensas.

(a) *Æneid.* III. v. 255.

With

With Walls the City shall not bulwark'd be,  
'Ere Famine shall revenge our Injury;  
Sad Famine, when the once Luxurious Lord,  
Instead of Food, shall gnaw the sapless Board.

Mr. Hutchin.

After this, they landed in *Italy*; and happening to dine upon the Grass, instead of Tables, or Trenchers, which their present Circumstances did not afford, they laid their Meat upon their Bread, which afterwards they Eat up also; at which in Jest

(a) *Hæus! etiam mensas consumimus*, inquit *Iulus*.

See, says *Iulus*, we our Tables eat,

*Aeneas* presently caught the Omen, as the Poet subjoyns,

—*ea Vox audita laborum*  
*Prima tulit finem; primamque loquentis ab Ore*  
*Eripuit Pater, ac stupefactus Numine preffit.*

The lucky sound no sooner reach'd their Ears,  
But straight they quite dismiss'd their former cares.  
His good old Sire with admiration struck  
The boding Sentence when yet falling took,  
And often roll'd it in his silent Breast.

Mr. Hutchin.

For Good Luck's sake, whenever they apply'd themselves to any serious Business, they took especial care to begin with such a preface as this, *Θεός, Διός, or Ὁ πατριάρχης, or ἑστιάριος εὖ*; like to *Perfius's* *Hoc bene sit*; and that old thread-bare saying of the *Romans*, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque sit*. And all their Works, and Speeches were begun in the Name of some God; whence *Atræus*,

*Εκ Διὸς ἀρχόμενοι* —————

Let us with Jove begin.

Which *Theocritus* has borrowed from him, in his seventeenth *Eclogue*, and *Virgil* in his third. (b) *Ænophon* gives the Reason of this practice, viz. That things undertaken in the Name of the Gods, were like to have the most prosperous Events.

It will not be improper to add in this place, that Certain Times also were Ominous, some Days being accounted Fortunate, and causes of Success; others Unfortunate, and causes of the miscarriage of things undertaken upon them, as *Hesiod* in his *Days* observes,

(a) *Æneid.* VII. ver. 116. (b) *Lib. de Ratione redivit*

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ἄλλοτε μὲν πάλῃ ἑμέα, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ.

Some Days, like rigid Step-Dames, adverse prove,  
Thwart our Intentions, cross what e're we love;  
Others more Fortunate, and lucky shine,  
And, as a tender Mother, bless what we design.

Mr. Huchin.

Some Days were proper for one Business, others for another, and some for none at all, as my Author relates in the fore-mentioned Poem; where he runs through all the Days in the Month, declaring the Virtue and Efficacy of them.

The way to avert an Omen, was either to throw a Stone at the thing, or to kill it outright, if it was an Ominous Animal; that so the Evil portended by it, might fall upon its own Head: If it was an unlucky Speech, to retort it upon the Speaker with an *εἰς κεφαλὴν σου*, *Tibi in caput redeat*, i. e. Let it fall upon thy own Head: Which perhaps is an Expression borrowed from the *Ιερεῖς*, who, when they spy'd any thing in the Victim, that seem'd to portend any Misfortune to themselves, or their Countrey, us'd to pray, that it might *εἰς κεφαλὴν τοῦτῳ στειλάτω*, be turned upon the Victim's Head. The like Expressions are sometimes made use of in Holy Scripture, as in the fifteenth Verse of *Obadiah's* Prophecy, *Τὸ ἀνταπίδωμά σε ἀνταποδοσέτω εἰς κεφαλὴν σου*: Or, as our *English* Translators have rendred it, *Thy Reward shall return upon thine own Head*. And again in the third Chapter of *Kings* (a), *καὶ ἀνταπίδωκε Κύριος τὴν κακίαν σου εἰς κεφαλὴν σου*, in *English* thus, And the Lord hath return'd thy wickedness upon thine own Head. (b) *Herodotus* reports, that it was an *Aegyptian* Custom, from which it's probable the *Grecians* derived theirs, "They curse (saith he) the Head of the Victim in this manner, That "if any Misfortune impended over themselves, or the Country of *Aegypt*, "it might be turn'd upon that Head. Instead of these Imprecations, sometimes they us'd to say, *ἔἰς ἀγαθὸν μοι*, or *Μὴ γένοιτε*, *Dii meliora*, i. e. God forbid. Sometimes they us'd to spit three times into their Bosoms, at the sight of a Mad-man, or one troubled with an Epilepsie; of which Custom *Theocritus* hath taken Notice,

——— τοῖς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπυσσε κέλπον.

Into my Bosom thrice I spit.

This they did in Defiance, as it were, of the Omen; for Spitting upon any Man was always reckon'd a Sign of the greatest Contempt and

(a) Lib. III. Ver. 44. (b) *Euterpe* cap. XXXIX.

Aversa-

Aversion: whence *πῦεν*, i. e. to spit, is put for *καταχερεῖν*, *ἐν ἑστίῃ* *χερεῖν*, i. e. to condemn, as the *Scholiast* of *Sophocles* observes upon these words in *Antigone*,

——— πῦσα ὡς ἐν ἐστίῃ.

Spit on him as an Enemy.

Lastly, upon the Meeting of an unlucky Omen, they often desisted from what they were doing, and began it afresh, as appears from *Euripides*, in whom a Person, upon the Hearing of an Ominous Word as he was drinking, immediately threw the Drink upon the Ground, and call'd for another Cup.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### Of Magick, and Incantations.

BESIDES the Methods of Foretelling future Events already mentioned, and that Divination which is commonly called *Physick*, because it makes Predictions without any Supernatural Assistance, by the mere Knowledge of *Physical*, or Natural Causes; there are several others, most of which are comprehended under the Names of *Μαγεία*, and *Ἐντελμαί*, i. e. *Magick*, and *Incantations*; between which tho' some make a nice Distinction, yet they bear a near Relation to each other, and therefore I shall treat of them conjunctly in this place. And tho' some of the Species of these Divinations might be invented in later Ages, and never practis'd in Old Greece, whose Customs alone it is my chief Design to describe, not meddling with those Innovations, that were introduc'd in later Times, after the *Grecians* were subje'ted to the Roman Empire; yet since it is very difficult to determine exactly of all, which were truly Ancient, and which purely Modern; since also there is frequent mention of them in Writers of the middle Ages, especially those that lived towards the Declination of the Roman Greatness, I shall beg the Reader's Leave to give a brief Account of the most remarkable of them: For to enumerate all, would be an Endless, as well as Unreasonable Undertaking; and a great many of them (such as those wherein the *Incubi*, and *Succubi* were concern'd) contain in them too much of Profane and Horrid, to be endured by any civilized Ear.

Magical Arts are said by the *Grecians* to have been invented in *Persea*, where at the first they were had in great Honour, and Reputation;

REMARKS FOR

for the *Múzæ* were those, that apply'd themselves to the Study of Philosophy, and the strict Search after the most Curious Works, and hidden Mysteries of Nature: They were usually chosen to superintend the Divine Worship, and all Religious Rites and Ceremonies; they continually attended upon the Kings, to advise them in all Affairs of moment, and were preferred to the highest Honours, and Places of greatest Trust. But afterwards the Case was altered, for when they left off the Contemplation of Nature, and betook themselves to the Invocation of *Dæmons*, and other mean Arts, their former Credit and Esteem was, in a manner, quite lost, or, at least, very much diminished.

This Art is said to have been introduced among the *Græcians* by one *Ochæus*, that came into Greece with *Xerxes*, and dispersed the Rudiments of it here and there, as he had opportunity. It was afterwards much improved, and almost brought to Perfection by *Democritus*, who is said to have learned it out of the Writings of certain *Phœnicians*. But I shall not trouble you with any more Stories concerning it's Original, or Progress, it being more pertinent to my Design, to give you a short Account of the various Species thereof.

First then, *Negumanteia*, was a Divination, in which Answers were given by deceased Persons. It was sometimes performed by the Magical use of a Bone, or Vein of a dead Body, after the manner of the *Thesalians*: Or by pouring warm Blood into a Carcase, as it were to renew Life in it, as *Enchir* doth in *Lucian*; or by some other Incantments, to restore dead Men to Life; with which the Poet was very well acquainted, when he said,

—Dum vicem defuncto in corpore querit;  
Protinus adstrictus caluit cruor, atque fovit  
Vulnere.

While he seeks Answers from the lifeless Load,  
The congeal'd Gore grows warm with reeking Blood,  
And cheers each ghastly Wound.

Sometimes they used to raise the Ghost of deceas'd Persons, by various Invocations, and Ceremonies; which I will give you in the words of Mr. *Dryden*, who, in his *Oedipus*, introduces *Tiresias* raising *Laius's* Ghost to discover his own Murderers;

*Tiresias*. Choose the darkest part o' th' Grove;  
Such as Ghosts at Noon-day love.  
Dig a Trench, and dig it nigh,  
Where the Bones of *Laius* lie.  
Alas rais'd of Turf, or Stone,

Will

Will th' Infernal Powers have none.

Answer me, if this be done.

Priest. 'Tis done.

*Tiresias*. Is the Sacrifice made fit?

Draw her backward to the Pit:

Draw the barren Heifer back,

Barren let her be, and black.

Cut the curled Hair that grows

Full betwixt her Horns, and Brows:

And turn your Faces from the Sun:

Answer me, if this be done.

Priest. 'Tis done.

*Tiresias*. Pour in Blood, and Blood-like Wine,

To Acher Earth, and Proserpine;

Mingle Milk into the Stream;

Feast the Ghosts that love the steam.

Snatch a Brand from Fun'ral Pile;

Toss it in to make it boyl;

And turn your Faces from the Sun;

Answer me, if this be done.

These Verses I have chosen, because they contain so Elegant a Description of these Infernal Rites: after this he makes *Tiresias's* Daughter sing, to charm the Ghosts from their Retirements. Some other Ceremonies also were practised by them, but differ'd not much from those used in Parentations, of which I shall give a more full and exact Account afterwards.

This Divination, if the Dead appeared only in Aiery Forms, like Shades, was called *Σκιαμαντεία*, and *Ψοφμαντεία*. It might, I suppose, be performed in any Place; but some Places were appropriated to this use, and called *Νιμφομαντεία*, several of which are mentioned by the Ancient Poets; but two of them were most remarkable: The first of which was in *Thesprotia*, where *Orpheus* is said to have restor'd to Life his Wife *Eurydice*; the other in *Campania*, at the Lake *Avernus*, celebrated by *Homer*, and *Virgil*, in their Stories of *Ulysses*, and *Aeneas*.

*Υδρομαντεία*, or Divination by Water, sometimes called *Πορμαντεία*, when it was done by Fountain-water: In this they observed the various Impressions, Changes, Fluxes, Refluxes, Swellings, Diminutions, Colours, Images, &c. in the Water. Sometimes they dipp'd a Looking-glass into the Water, when they had a desire to know what would become of a Sick Person; for as he looked well or ill in the Glass, accordingly they presumed of his future Condition. Sometimes they fill'd a Bowl with Water, and let down into it a Ring, equally poised on each side, and hanging by a Thread tied to one of their Fingers: then in a Form of Prayer requested of the Gods to declare, or confirm the Question in dispute; whereupon, if

the

the thing proposed was true, the Ring of its own accord would strike against the side of the Bowl a set number of Times. Sometimes they threw three Stones into the Water, and observed the Turns they made in sinking. Instead of Water, sometimes use they made of Oyl, and Wine, and then the Liquor was called *χύτρα* and instead of Stones, they sometimes used Wedges of Gold, or Silver. This Divination was sometimes performed in a Basin; and thence called

*Λιθομαντεία*: which also was sometimes practised in a different manner, thus; They distinguish'd the Stones, or Wedges with certain Characters, and then, having invoked the *Demon* in a set Form, proposed the Question they had a mind to be satisfied about; to which an Answer was returned in a small Voice, not unlike an His, proceeding out of the Water. The *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron* is of Opinion, that this Method of Divination was as ancient as the *Trojan War*, and practis'd by *Ulysses*; which he thinks gave occasion to all the Poetical Fictions about his Descent into the Infernal Regions, to consult *Tiresias's* Ghost (a). Sometimes Divination by Water was performed with a Looking-glass, and was called

*Κατοπτρομαντεία*. Sometimes also *Glasses* were used, and the Images of what should happen, represented without Water. Sometimes it was performed in a Vessel of Water, the middle part of which was called *χάσμα*, and then the Divination termed

*Γασημαντεία*, the manner of which was thus: They filled certain round Glasses with fair Water, about which they placed lighted Torches; then invoked a *Demon*, praying in a low, murmuring Voice, and propos'd the Question to be solved: A chaste and unpolluted Boy, or a Woman big with Child, was appointed to observe with greatest Care, and Exactness, all the Alterations in the Glasses; at the same desiring time, beseeching, and also commanding an Answer, which at length the *Demon* used to return, by Images in the Glasses, which by Reflexion from the Water represented what should come to pass.

*Κρυσταλλομαντεία*, was performed by polished, and enchanted Chrystals, in which future Events were signified by certain Marks, and Figures.

*Δαδολομαντεία*, was a Divination by Rings enchanted, or made according to some position of the Celestial Bodies. A Ring of this sort, they say, *Ogyes* the King of *Lydia* had, which when he turned to the Palm of his Hand, he became invisible to others, but could see every Body: and by the help of this, he enjoy'd his Mistress, the Queen, and slew his Master *Candaules*, whom after ward he succeeded.

*Ονυχομαντεία*, was performed by the Nails of an unpolluted Boy, cover'd with Oyl and Soot, which they turn'd to the Sun, the Reflexion

of whose Rays was believed to represent by certain Images, the things they had a mind to be satisfied about.

*Λιθομαντεία*, foretold future Events from certain Spectres, or other Appearances in the Air: And sometimes thus; They folded their Heads in a Napkin, and having placed a Bowl full of Water in the open Air, propos'd their Question, in a small, whispering Voice; at which time if the Water boyled, or fermented, they thought what they had spoken was approved of, and confirmed.

*Λιθομαντεία*, was sometimes performed by a Precious Stone, called *Scrites*: which they washed in Spring-water in the Night by Candle-light; the Person that consulted it, was to be purified from all manner of pollution, and to have his Face covered: this done, he repeated divers Prayers, and placed certain Characters in an appointed Order; and then the Stone moved of its self, and in a soft, gentle murmur, or (as some say) in a Voice like that of a Child, returned an Answer. By a Stone of this Nature, *Helenus* is reported to have foretold the Destruction of *Troy*.

(a) *Theocritus* has given us an Account of two sorts of Divination practis'd by a Country Swain, to try what share he had in his Mistress's Affections; his Words are these,

Εγνων πρῶν, ὅσα μὲν μεμνημένος εἰ φιλείς με,  
οὐδὲ τὸ πηλέριον ποτεμάξατο τὸ πλατύνημα,  
ἀλλ' αὖτως ἀπαλῶ ποτὶ πάχϊ ἐξεμαράνθη.  
Εἶπε κ' Ἀγροῖά τελααῖα, κοσινόμαντις,  
Ἄ πρῶν ποιοιοχόσα, παρσιβάπτε, ἔναι' ἐγὼ μὲν  
τὴν ὄλ' ἔσκειμαι· τὸ δὲ μεν λόγον ἐδένα πειρῶ.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove,  
Whether I shou'd be happy in my Love;  
I prest the *Long-live*, but in vain did press,  
It gave no lucky sound of good Success:  
To *Agrio* too I made the same Demand,  
A cunning Woman she, I crost her Hand:  
She turn'd the *Seve*, and *Sheers*, and told me true,  
That I shou'd love, but not be lov'd by You.

Mr. Creech.

Where the Shepherd complains he had found his Suit was rejected these two ways: First, by the Herb *Telephium*, which being crushed in his Hand, or upon his Arm, returned no sound; for it was usual to strike that, or some other Herb against their Arms, and if they crackled in breaking, Good; if not, it was an unlucky Omen. Not much unlike this, was the Divination by Laurel-leaves, which they threw into the Fire, and observed

how they crackled in burning; from which Noise, some say, Laurel was called *Σάτυρον*, *q. d. ξα. ξα. ξα.* The other way of Divining, mentioned by *Theophrastus*, was by a Sieve, which an old *Gypſie* used in telling poor, silly People their Fortunes. This they call'd *Κοτυνομαντεία*, it was generally practis'd to discover Theeves, or others that were suspected of any Crime, in this manner: They tied a Thread to the Sieve, by which it was upheld, or else placed a pair of Sheers, which they held up by two Fingers; then prayed to the Gods to direct, and Mist them; after that, they repeated the Names of the Persons under suspicion, and he, at whose Name the Sieve whirled round, or moved, was thought to have committed the Fact. Another sort of Divination was commonly practis'd upon the same account, which was called

*Αξιομαντεία*, from *Αξίον*, i. e. an Ax, or Hatchet, which they fixed to exactly upon a round Stake, that neither End might outpoise, or weigh down the other; then they pray'd, and repeated the Names of those they suspected; and the Person, at whose Name the Hatchet made any the least motion, was found guilty.

*Κεραυομαντεία*, was by the Head of an Aſs, (as the Name imports) which they broyl'd on Coals; and after having muttered a few Prayers, they repeated the Persons Names as before; or the Crime, in case one was only suspected; at which, if the Jaws made any motion, and the Teeth chattered against one another, they thought the Villain sufficiently discovered.

*Ανδρομαντεία*, was a very Mysterious Divination, in which they made use of a Cock, in discovering secret, and unknown Transactions, or future Events. It was effected after this manner: Having wrote in the Dust the twenty-four Letters of the Alphabet, and laid a grain of Wheat, or Barley upon every one of them, a Cock magically prepared was let loose amongst them, & those Letters, out of which he picked the Corns, being joyn'd together, were thought to declare whatever they were desirous to be certified of. This Divination the famous Magician *Jamblichus*, *Proclus's* Master, is said to have made use of, with a Design to find out the Person, that was to succeed *Valens Caesar* in the Empire; but the Cock picking up only four of the Grains, viz. those that lay upon the Letters *θ. ς. ο. δ.* left it uncertain, whether *Theodosius*, *Theodorus*, *Theodorus*, or *Theodestus*, was the Person designed by the Fates to be Emperour. However, *Valens* being informed of the Matter, was enraged at it, put to death several Persons, for no other reason, than that their Names began with those Letters; and made a diligent search after the Magicians themselves; whereupon *Jamblichus*, to prevent the Emperour's cruelty, ended his Life by a Draught of Poison.

*Σιδερομαντεία*, was performed by a Red-hot Iron, upon which they laid an odd number of Straws, and observed what Figures, Bendings, Sparklings, &c. they made in burning.

*Μεταθεμαντεία*, was by observing the Motions, Figures, &c. of melted

melted Lead. The three following Methods of Divination are by some reckon'd amongst the various sorts of Incantations.

*Τερεομαντεία*, or Divination by Ashes; which was performed in this manner: They wrote the Things they had a mind to be resolved about, in Ashes upon a Plank, or any such thing; this they expos'd to the open Air, where it was to continue for some Time; and those Letters, that remained whole, and no ways defaced by the Winds, or other Accidents, were thought to contain in them a Solution of the Question.

*Βιτανομαντεία*, or Divination by Herbs, especially *Ελαισφακος*, or *Salvia*; or by *Fig-leaves*, and then called *Συκομαντεία*, was practis'd thus: The Persons that consulted, wrote their own Names, and their Questions upon Leaves, which they expos'd to the Wind, and as many of the Letters as remained in their own Places, were taken up, and being joyn'd together, contained an Answer to the Question.

*Κηρομαντεία*, or Divination by Wax, which they melted over a Vessel of Water, letting it drop within three definite spaces, and observed the Figure, Situation, Distance, and Concretion of the Drops. Besides these, there were infinite other sorts of Divination; as *Χιρομαντεία*, *Φουσιχορμία*, which was practis'd in *Socrates's* Time, *Ορομαντεία*, *Λοιμομαντεία*, *Γιωμαντεία*, *Λοζομαντεία*, mentioned, with several others, by *Araus* in his Prognosticks, and *Pliny* in his Natural History; but these I shall pass by, and only trouble you with one more, which is so remarkable, that it cannot be omitted, viz.

*Φαρμακεία*, which was usually performed by certain medicated, and enchanted Compositions of Herbs, Minerals, &c. which they called *εάρματα*. By these, strange and wonderful things were effected: Some of them taken inwardly, caused Blindness, Madness, Love, &c. such were the Medicaments, by which *Circe* transformed *Ulysses's* Soldiers. Others infected by a touch; such was the Garment which *Medea* sent to *Circissa*. Others spread their Venom afar off, and operated upon Persons at a great Distance. There were also *φάρματα σπινθηρία*, which were Amulets against the former; such was the Herb *Moly*, which preserved *Ulysses* from *Circe's* Incantments; the Laurel, the Sallow-tree, the Rhamn, or Christ-thorn, Flea-bane, the Jasper-stone, and innumerable others mentioned by *Albertus Magnus*, and *Orpheus* in his Book *De Lapillis*; Likewise certain Rings, which *Aristophanes*, in his *Plutus*, calls *δακρυλίου φαρμακίτις*. At this Art the *Thessalians* were most famous of all the *Grecians*; *Democritus*, and *Pythagoras* are also said to have been skilled in it. Every Story is full of the prodigious Operations wrought by it, some of which I shall give You from a Witch's own Mouth in *Ovid*; (a)

— Cum volui, ripis mirantibus, amnes  
In fontes rediere suos, concussaque sisto,

(a) Met. l. VII. Fab. 2.

SS

Stamio

*Stantia concutio cantu freta ; nubila pello  
Nubilaque induco ; ventos abigoque vocoque ;  
Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine sauces ;  
Vivaeque saxa, sua convulsaque robora terra ;  
Et silvas moveo, juboque tremiscere montes ;  
Te quoque, Luna, traho.*

When e're I please, the wondring Banks behold  
Their Waters backwards to their Fountains rowl'd ;  
The Seas, if rough, and in vast ridges rise,  
As tho' their angry Waves wou'd dash the Skies,  
I give the word, and they no longer roam,  
But break, and glide away in silent Foam.  
If plain, and calm, the Ocean's surface lye,  
Smooth, like some well-spread Azure Canopy,  
I rouse th' unruly Waves with hid'ous Roar,  
And bid their swelling heaps insult the Shore ;  
Then straight the watry Mountains heave their Heads,  
O're-leap their bounds, and drown th' enamell'd Meads.  
Clouds Me obey, and at my Summons sent,  
Infest, or quit th' Etherial Firmament.  
Winds too, on downy Wings attend my Will,  
And as I bid, or boist'rous are, or still.  
I burst the Vipers by my Magick Verse,  
And from their Bais rend both Rocks and Trees.  
The thronging Woods I move ; at my Command  
The Moon shrinks back, and Mountains trembling stand.

Mr. Hukkin.

Where you may observe the last Verse, wherein the Inchantress boasts, that she was able to draw the Moon from her Orb ; for the Ancients really believ'd, that Incantations had power to charm the Moon from Heaven ; according to that saying of *Virgil*,

*Carmina vel caelo possunt deducere Lunam (a).*

The Moon my Verses from her Orb can draw.

And whenever the Moon was eclipsed, they thought it was done by the Power of Magick ; for which reason it was usual to beat Drums, and Kettles, to sound Trumpets, and Haut-boys, to drown, if it was possible, the Voices of the Magicians, that their Charms might not reach her. The Moon also was thought to preside over this Art, and therefore was invoked together with *Hecate*, to whom the Invention of it was ascribed ; and therefore *Medea* in *Euripides* saith, that of all the Gods, she paid the greatest Veneration to *Hecate* ;

*Ὅς δ' μὲν πῶς δέσποιναν, ὃν ἐγὼ τίω  
Μάγιστ' ἄνθρωπον, ὃς συναγγὺν ἐκέρμην,  
Ἐγέρθη.*

(a) Eclog. VIII.

For

For by the Goddess, whom I most adore,  
Infernal *Hecate*, whom now I chuse  
Co-partner of my Black Designs.

The Rites used at the Invocation of this Goddess, are given us by (a) *Apollonius* in these words ;

*Δὴ τότε μέσσω νύκτα Διαιμοισιγὰ φιλᾶζας  
Αχαμέσσιοι ῥοῖσι λαισάμηντο πῆμα μοῖο,  
Οἷον ἀνδ' ἑὶ ἄλλων ἐνὶ φάρεσι κυανέοισι  
Βύβρον ὑβύζαντος φειγέει, πρὶ δ' ἐνὶ θυμῳ  
Αργείον σφάζειν, καὶ ἀδαίετον ὁμοθεΐσται,  
Λύπῃ πυργαίῳ εὖ νήπας ὅττι βόθρῳ.  
Μενοειδὴ δ' Ἐχέτω Περσηίδα μελίσσοισι,  
Λαίβων ἐκ δέπῃσι συμβόλια, ἔργα μελίσσων.  
Ἐνθα δ' ἔπειτα διὰν μεμνημένην ἰδέσθαι.  
Αἶψ' ὅτ' πυργαίῳ ἀναχέζεις, μὴδ' σε δεύπας  
Ἡὲ ποδῶν ὄρτησι μέλας-πρηνῶναι ὀπίσσω,  
Ἡὲ κυνῶν ὕλαν, μήπως τὸ ἔκαστα καλεῖται.*

When lab'ring Night has half her journey run,  
Wash'd in some purling Stream, repair alone,  
Clad in a dusky Robe, and dig a Pit,  
Round let it be, and raise a Pile in it.  
Then kill a tender Ewe ; when this is done,  
O' th' new-raisd Pile, unquarter'd lay her on.  
And if you *Perseus* Daughter wou'd appease,  
Pour a Libation, which the painful Bees  
Have first wrought up within their waxen Hives.  
Next pray the Goddess wou'd propitious prove,  
Then backwards from the flaming Altar move ;  
But let no Yels of Dogs, or seeming noise  
Of Feet behind, turn back thy steady Eyes,  
And frustrate all thy former Sacrifice.

Mr. Hukkin.

To this sort of Divination are to be referr'd Charms, and Amulets against Poison, Venom, and Diseases. *Suidas* reports, that the Curing of Distempers by Sacrifices, and the repetition of certain Words, was practis'd ever since the time of *Minos* King of *Crete* ; and (b) *Homer* relates, how *Anticleus's* Sons stanch'd *Ulysses's* Blood, flowing from a wound he receiv'd in hunting a Wild Boar, by a Charm ;

(a) *Argon.* III. v. 1038. (b) *Odyss.* i. v. 456.

S F 2

ΩΤΕΛΛΩ

Ἐπειδὴ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀνέμωσθε ἀντιθέοιο  
 Δάταν ἐπιστάμενος, ἐπειδὴ δ' αἶμα καλὰντ' ἔχεν.  
 Εἰχέον.

With nicest care, the Skilful Artists bound  
 The Brave, Divine Ulysses's ghastly Wound;  
 And b' Incantations stanch'd the gushing Blood.

Higher are also to be reduced enchanted Girdles, and other Things worn about Men's Bodies, to excite Love, or any other Passion, in those with whom they conversed: such was the *Kisos* in *Homer's Iliad*, given by *Venus* to *Juno*, for the allurements of *Jupiter* to her Love, as *Eustatius* observes, upon the afore-mentioned Verses in the *Odysses*. But as concerning these Practices, I shall have occasion to add something more, when I come to treat of Love-affairs.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### Of the Grecian Festivals in general.

**FESTIVALS** were instituted upon four Accounts; First, in honour of the Gods, to whom, besides the Worship every Day paid them, some more Solemn Times were set apart. Especially, if they had conferred any signal Favour upon the Publick, or upon Private Persons, had assisted them in Defending their Countrey, had given them Victory over their Enemies, had delivered them out of any apparent Danger, or blessed them with Success in any Undertaking, it was thought but reasonable to set a part some Time for offering Sacrifices, and Praises to them, as grateful Acknowledgments for the Benefits received at their Hands.

Secondly, in order to procure some especial Favour of the Gods; for (as you may learn from the following Chapters) several of the Festivals were instituted with a Design to render the Gods propitious, and willing to grant some particular Blessings, as Health, Children, and such like. And in Times of Famine, Pestilence, or other publick Calamities, the Oracles usually advised their Consultants, to institute Solemn Festivals, as the only Method to appease the angry Gods, and obtain of them Deliverance from the Evils they groaned under.

Thirdly, in Memory of Deceased Friends, of those that had done any remarkable Service for their Countrey, or died valiantly in the Defence of it. This was no small Encouragement to Men of Generous

rous and Noble Dispositions to enter upon honourable Designs, when they saw that the Brave Actions of the Virtuous did not perish with them, but their Memories were ever held sacred by Succeeding Generations.

Fourthly, Festivals were instituted, as Times of Ease, and Rest to Labourers; that amidst all their Toil, and Sorrow, and as it were a Recompense thereof, some Days of Refreshment might be allowed them. And for some one, or more of these Ends, most Festivals seem to have been first instituted.

(a) *Aristotle* reports, that amongst the Ancients they had few, or no Festivals, besides those after Harvest, or Vintage; for then they used to meet, and make merry with the Fruits they had gathered, Eating, and Drinking plentifully; for they esteem'd this a sort of offering their First-fruits to the Gods, whom they thought honoured by so doing; and therefore Feasts were called *Θείαιαι*, q. *Δείπναι*, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦς οἰνῆος δέιν ἐκράμβανον, i. e. because they thought they were obliged, in duty to the Gods, to be drunk. And *Saunders*, in the same Author, tells us, That the Words *Βαλῖαι*, and *Μέδαι*, were derived from the same Original, *Τὴν τε οἶνον ὅτι πλεῖον, ἢ πῶ ἄλλω ἡδονατικῶν διὸν ἔτιμα ἀποσφύραδι, διὸ καὶ ποίνει, καὶ βαλῖαι, καὶ μέδαι ἀνομασιάζων* i. e. Banquets were called *Ποίνειαι*, *Βαλῖαι*, and *Μέδαι*, from *Θεός*, or God; because it was usual at those Times to consume great quantities of Wine, and other Provisions in honour of the Gods.

In later Ages, when the Gods were encreased almost to the number of Men, and the old frugal way of Living was laid aside, the number of Festivals was enlarged, and the manner of them quite altered: for whereas formerly the Solemnities consisted in little or nothing, besides offering a Sacrifice to the Gods, and after that making merry themselves; now a great many Games, Processions, and ten thousand Superstitious Observances, in imitation of the Fabulous Actions of the Gods, were introduced, and practised, to the vast charge of the Publick.

The *Athenians*, as they exceeded all other People in the number of their Gods, so they outdid them in the number of their Festivals; which, as (b) *Xenophon* reports, were twice as many, as any other City observed: Nor did the Number, and Frequency of them abate any thing of the Solemnity, Splendour, and Charges at their Observation. The Shops, and Courts of Judicature were sent up, on most of those Days; the Labourers rested from their Works, the Tradesmen from their Employments, the Mourners intermitted their Sorrows; it was unlawful for a Cry, a Groan, or a sorrowful Expression to be heard; and nothing but Ease and Pleasure, Mirth and Jollity were to be found amongst them.

(a) *Ethic. ad Nicomach. lib. VIII. c. IX.* (b) *De Repub. Atheniens.*

Most of them were celebrated at the Publick Charge; and lest their Treasury should be exhausted by so frequent Evacuations, several means were contriv'd to supply and replenish them. For Instance, after *Therasybulus* had deposed the *Tyrant*, their Estates were confiscated for this use, as *Harpocration* observes out of *Philochorus*; And when the State was reduced to it's old *Democracy*, if any of the Citizens, through too much Wealth, became formidable to the poorer sort, and objects of their Envy, it was customary to compel them to contribute towards the defraying of the Expences at Publick Festivals; and so by conferring upon them a great (tho' chargeable, and dear-bought) Honour, at once sweeten the Imposition, (if not also oblige those on whom it was impos'd) and rid themselves of those Fears, and Jealousies, which the Immoderate Opulency of private Persons might reasonably give to a Popular State.

Thus much of Festivals in General: as to the Particulars, I have omitted very little that is material in the Tracts of *Menofius*, and *Cajellanus*, upon this Subject; and some things not taken notice of by either of them, and perhaps not unworthy your Observation, I have added. Yet I do not pretend, that this is a complete, or entire Collection of the *Grecian* Festivals; for that would be endless, (seeing almost every Man of Repute, and that had done any Notable Service for the Publick, had his Anniversary Day) and impossible, since hundreds of them (especially those that were observ'd by the less considerable Cities) are not so much as mentioned in any Author at this Day extant; or but barely mentioned, without any Account of the Persons, to whom they belonged, or the Ceremonies us'd at their Celebration: However, as much as is necessary to the Understanding of the Ancient *Greek* Writers, the following Chapters will furnish.

## CHAPTER XX.

### Grecian Festivals.

#### ΑΓΗΤΟΠΕΙΟΝ, and ΑΓΗΤΟΠΙΑ,

Mentioned by *Hesychius*, without any Notice of the Deity, in whose Honour they were observ'd. It is not improbable, they might belong to *Apollo*, and be (at least the latter of them) the same with the *Lacedæmonian Kαγρέια*. This Conjecture is ground'd upon the words of *Hesychius*; who tells us, that *Αγρῆς* was the Name of the Person consecrated to the God at the *Kαγρέια* and that the Festival

Festival it self was term'd *Αγρῆς*, which Name seems to have been deriv'd from *ἀγρῶ*, that Festival being observ'd in Imitation of *στρατιωτικὴ ἀγρογῆ*, or, the Military way of Living, as *Athenæus* (a), and *Eustathius* (b) have observ'd. It is not unlikely, the former might belong to *Venus*, whose Priest (as *Grammarians* inform us) was call'd *Αγρῆς*, in *Cyprus*.

#### ΑΓΡΑΝΙΑ,

Was celebrated at *Argos* (c), in Memory of one of *Praus's* Daughters; being, in all probability, the same with

#### ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΑ,

Which (as the same Author tells us) was observ'd at *Argos*, in Memory of a deceas'd Person. It was also celebrated at *Thbes* with Solemn Sports.

#### ΑΓΡΑΤΑΙΑ,

At *Athens*, in Honour of *Agraulus*, or *Aglaurus*, the Daughter of *Crops* and the Nymph *Aglaureis*, and Priestess of *Minerva*, to whom he gave the Surname of *Aglaurus*, and was worshipp'd in a Temple dedicated to her. The *Cyprians* also (as *Porphyry* (d) reports) honour'd her by the Celebration of an Annual Festival in the Month *Ἀφροεῖον*, at which they offer'd Human Victims; and this Custom is said to have continu'd till the Time of *Diomedes*.

#### ΑΓΡΙΩΝΙΑ,

In Honour of *Bacchus*, firmam'd *Ἀγριότης*, from his Cruelty, as (i) *Phuarch* is of Opinion; or because he convers'd with, and was attended by Lions, Tygers, and other Savage Animals; which procur'd him the other Name of *Ἄγριος*, which properly denotes an Eater of raw Flesh, or any Barbarous Person. This Solemnity was observ'd in the Night, after this manner: The Women (f) being assembled, made a strict Search after *Bacchus*, as if he had fled from them; but after some time, finding their Labour to be in vain, said, that He had retir'd to the *Ἀγρῆς*, and conceal'd Himself amongst them. This being done, and the Ceremony ended, they regal'd themselves with an Entertainment; after which, the Time was pass'd away by proposing Riddles, and cramp Questions. Large quantities of Ivy was us'd at this Time (g), because that Plant was accounted sacred to *Bacchus*; and so great Excesses were sometimes committed, that once the Daughters of

(a) Lib. IV. (b) *Tral. 2.* (c) *Hesychius*. (d) De Abſtinentia lib. II. (e) *Aglaureis*. (f) *Phuarch* Sympos. lib. VIII. Quest. I. (g) *Idem* Quest. Rom.



*Atinyä*, in a furious Extasy of Devotion, slaughter'd *Hippasus*, the Son of *Leucippe*, and serv'd him up to the Table: In Memory of which Murder, their whole Family was ever after excluded from this Festival, upon pain of Death; which, as (a) *Plutarch* reports, was inflicted upon one of them, that had surreptitiously convey'd her self in amongst the rest of the Worshippers, by *Zoilus*, a *Chæronæan* Priest.

## ΑΓΡΟΤΕΡΑΣ ΘΥΣΙΑ,

(b) An Anniversary Sacrifice of five hundred Goats, offer'd at *Athen*, to *Minerva*, surnam'd *Αγροτέρα*, from *Agros*, in *Attica*. The Occasion of it was this: When *Darius* the Emperour of *Persia*, made an Invasion upon *Attica*, *Callimachus*, who was at that Time in the Office of a *Polemarch*, made a solemn Vow to *Minerva*, that if she would grant them Victory over their Enemies, they would sacrifice to her as many He-goats, as should equal the number of the slain on their Enemy's side: *Minerva* granted his Request, but the number of the *Persians* that fell in the Battel, being so great, that all the He-goats they could procure, would not come near it; instead of them, they offer'd all the She-goats they could find; and these also falling infinitely short of the number, they made a Decree, that five hundred Goats should be offer'd every Year, till it was completed.

## ΑΡΡΤΙΝΙΣ,

A Nocturnal Festival, (c) Celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus*, at *Arbela*, a place in *Sicily*; and so call'd, because the Worshippers did *ἀρρεννείν*, or watch all Night.

## ΑΔΩΝΙΑ,

Was Celebrated in most of the Cities of Greece, in Honour of *Venus*, and in memory of her Belov'd *Adonis*. The Solemnity continued two Days; upon the first of which, certain Images, or Pictures of *Adonis* and *Venus* were brought forth, with all the Pomp, and Ceremonies practis'd at Funerals: the Women tore their Hair, beat their Breasts, and counterfeited all other Postures, and Actions usual in Lamenting the Dead. There were also carry'd along with them, Shells fill'd with Earth, in which grew several sorts of Herbs, especially Lettices; in memory that *Adonis* was laid out by *Venus* upon a Bed of Lettices. These were call'd *κῆποι*, or Gardens; whence *Adonis* & *κῆποι*, are proverbially apply'd to things unfruitful, or fading; because those Herbs were only sown so long before the Festival, as to sprout forth, and be green at that Time, and then were presently cast out into the Water. The Flutes us'd upon this Day,

(a) *Quest. Græc.* (b) *Xenoph.* *Exped. Græc.* (c) *Hesychius*

were

were call'd *Πυγέλαι*, from *Πύγος*, which was the *Phœnician* Name of *Adonis*. The Sacrifice was term'd *Καθέσπς*, because (I suppose) the Days of Mourning us'd to be call'd by that Name. The following Day was spent in all possible Expressions of Mirth and Joy; in memory, that, by the Favour of *Proserpina*, *Venus* obtain'd, that *Adonis* should return to Life, and dwell with her one half of every Year. All this vain Pomp, and serious Folly, serv'd only to expose the Heathenish Superstition, and gave Birth to the Proverb, *Ὁδὸν ἱερῶν*, by which seem to be meant Things that bear a show of something Great, or Sacred, but are in reality nothing but sorry, and ridiculous Trifles.

## ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ,

Two Festivals observ'd at *Athen*, in Honour of *Minerva*; one of them was call'd *Παναθήναια*, the other *καρχαία*, and both shall be treated of in their proper Places.

## ΑΙΑΚΕΙΑ,

Sports at *Ægina*, in Honour of *Æacus*, who had a Temple in that Island; wherein, after the End of the Solemnity, the Victors us'd to present a Garland of Flowers (a).

## ΑΙΑΝΤΕΙΑ,

To *Ajax*, in the Isle of *Salamis* (b). Also in *Attica*, where, in memory of the Valour of that Heroe, a Bier, upon set Days, was adorn'd with a complete Suit of Armour; and such a pious Care the *Athenians* took of his Memory, that his Name was continued to Posterity in that of one of their Tribes, which was from him call'd *Αϊαντίς*.

## ΑΙΦΙΝΗΤΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

Was a Festival at *Ægina*, observ'd in Honour of *Neptune* sixteen Days together; all which were employ'd in Mirth, and Jollity, and offering Sacrifices to the God. And this was done only by free Denizens of that Island, without the Assistance of Servants, who were for that reason call'd *Μισοπάροις*, which Word signifies Persons that Eat by themselves. After all, the Solemnity was ended with offering a Sacrifice to *Venus*. The Occasion, and Original of these Observances, are accounted for by *Plutarch*, in his *Greek Questions*.

## ΑΙΩΡΑ, ΕΩΡΑ, ΕΤΔΕΙΗΝΟΣ, or ΑΛΗΤΙΣ,

A Festival (c), and Solemn Sacrifice, celebrated by the *Athenians*

(a) *Timæus*, ejusque *Scholæ* *post Nemcon*. Od. VI. (b) *Herodotus*. (c) *Hyginus Astronom.* lib II.

T t

with

with Vocal Musick, in Honour of *Erigone*, sometimes call'd *Aleis*, the Daughter of *Icarus*; who, out of an excess of Grief for the Misfortunes of her Father, hang'd her self: whence the Solemnity had the Name of *Aisga*. At her Death, she requested the Gods, that if the *Athenians* did not revenge *Icarus's* Murder, their Virgins might end their Lives in the same manner, that she did. Her Petition was granted, and a great many of them, without any apparent cause of Discontent, became their own Executioners; Whereupon, to appease *Erigone*, they instituted this Festival, by the Advice of *Apollo*. Others report, (a) that it was observ'd in Honour of King *Temaleus*; or of *Ægisthus*, and *Clytemnestra*. And some are of Opinion, (b) that it was first observ'd by command of an Oracle, in Memory of the Daughter of *Ægisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, who in company of her Grand-father *Tyndarus*, took a Journey to *Athens*; where she prosecuted *Orestes* in the Court of *Arcopagus*; and losing her Cause, hang'd her self for Grief.

## A K T I A,

A Triennial Festival, Solemniz'd at *Ælium* in *Epirus*, with Wrestling, Horse-racing, and a Fight, or Race of Ships, in Honour of *Apollo*, who had the Surname of *Ælius*, from that Place (c).

## A A A I A, or A A E A I A,

To *Minerva*, surnam'd *Alca*, at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, where that Goddess was honour'd with a Temple of great Antiquity (d).

## A A E K T P T O N Ω N A Γ Ω N,

A Cock-fight at *Athens*, in memory of the Cocks, from whose Crowing *Thémistocles* receiv'd an Omen of his Success against the *Persians* (e).

## A A I A,

Solemn Games (f) Celebrated at *Rhodes*, upon the Twenty-fourth Day of the Month *Γερμαῖα*, which answers to the *Athenian* *Βορρηνιών*, in Honour of the Sun, who is call'd in *Greek* *Ἡλιος*, and *Ληιος*, and is said to have been born in the Island of *Rhodes*; the Inhabitants of which were reputed his Posterity, and therefore call'd *Heliades*, as we learn from *Strabo* (g). The Combatants in these Games were not only Men, but Boys; and the Victors were rewarded with a Crown of Poplar.

(a) Hesychius. (b) Etymolog. Magnum. (c) Stephanus Byzantinus, Clement Protrept. *Ælianus* Hist. Anim. lib. XI. cap. VIII. (d) Pausanias *Arcadicus*. (e) *Ælianus* lib. II. cap. XXVIII. (f) Pindarus Scholiast. *Olymp.* Od. VIII. (g) Lib. XIV.

## A A K A Θ O I A,

At *Megara* (a), in Memory of *Alcaibolus*, the Son of *Pelops*; who lying under a Suspicion of having murder'd his Brother *Chrysippus*, fled to *Megara*; where having overcome a terrible Lion, that waited the Countrey, and had slain, beside many others, King *Megareus's* own Son; he so far ingratiated himself, that he had in Marriage the King's Daughter, and was declar'd his Successor.

## A A Ω A,

At *Athens*, in the Month *Posideon*, in Honour of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, by whose Blessing the Husbandmen receiv'd the Recompence of their Toil, and Labour; and therefore (b) their Oblations consisted of nothing but the Fruits of the Earth. Others say, this Festival was instituted, as a Commemoration of the Primitive *Greeks*, who liv'd by *ῥ' ἄλωσι*, i. e. in Vine-yards, and Corn-fields (c).

## A A Ω T I A,

To *Minerva*, by the *Arcadians*; in memory of a Victory, wherein they took a great many of the *Lacedæmonians* prisoners, which the *Greeks* call *ἄλωσις* (d).

## A M A P T N Θ I A, or A M A P T Σ I A,

A Festival celebrated with Games, in Honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Amayntia*, and *Amarysia*, from a Town in *Eubæa*. It was observ'd by the *Eubæans*, *Eretrians*, *Carystians*, and *Athmonians*, who were Inhabitants of a Burrough in *Aulica*.

## A M B P O Σ I A,

To *Bacchus* (e) the God of Wine; in the Month *Lenæon*, in most of the Cities of *Greece*.

## A M M A A Ω,

A Festival, of which nothing more is recorded, than that it belong'd to *Jupiter* (f).

## A M M Ω N,

An *Athenian* Festival (g).

## A M Φ I A P A I A,

At *Oropus*, in Honour of *Amphiaraus* (h); of whom I have given a sufficient Account in another Place.

(a) Pindarus Scholiastes *Nem.* V. (b) Demosthenes in *Nearam*. (c) Harpocration, Eustath. *Iliad.* ω'. (d) Pausanias *Arcadicus*. (e) Hesiodi Scholiast. *Oper.* & *Dier.* lib. II. (f) Hesychius. (g) Idem. (h) Pindarus Scholiast. *Olymp.* VII.

## ΑΜΦΙΔΡΟΜΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd by Private Families in *Athens*, upon the fifth Day after the Birth of every Child. It was so call'd, *ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμφοδρόμου*, i. e. from Running round; because it was customary to run round the Fire, with the Infant in their Arms. Of this more hereafter.

## ΑΝΑΓΩΓΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices (a) to *Venus*, at *Eryx* in *Sicily*, where she was honour'd with a Magnificent Temple. The Name of this Solemnity was deriv'd *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναγωγῆς*, i. e. from returning; because the Goddess was said to leave *Sicily*, and return to *Africa* at that Time.

## ΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, in Honour of the *Dioscuri*, who were call'd *Avares*, and honour'd with a Temple, call'd *Ἀνάκειον*. The Sacrifices offer'd at this Time, were nam'd *ἐπιτιμῶν*, because those Deities were *ξένοι*, or Strangers (b); and consisted of three Offerings (c), which were call'd *τετρίαια*. *Athenius* (d) also makes mention of Plays, acted in Honour of these Deities.

## ΑΝΑΚΛΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

Solemnities observ'd at the *ἀνάκλησις*, or Proclamation, of Kings, and Princes, when they became of Age, to take the Government into their own Hands (e).

## ΑΝΑΚΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ,

A Festival (f) at *Amphissa*, the Capital City of *Locris*; in Honour either of the *Dioscuri*, or *Criates*, or *Cabiri*; for Authors are not agreed in this Matter.

ΑΝΔΡΟΓΕΩΝΙΑ, or *Ἀνδρῶν ἐπ' Εὐεργεσίᾳ*,

Annual Games (g) celebrated in the *Ceramicus* at *Athens*, by the command of *Minos*, King of *Crete*, in memory of his Son *Androgeos*, otherwise call'd *Eurygias*, who was barbarously murder'd by some of the *Athenians*, and *Megarensians* (h).

(a) *Atianus* Var. Hist. lib. I. cap. XV. (b) *Uinduri Schol. Olymp. III.* (c) *Pausanias.* (d) *Dipnos*, lib. II. (e) *Polybius* Hist. XVIII. & *Legat. Eclog. LXXXVIII.* (f) *Pausanias Phocicis.* (g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Plutarch. Theseo.*

## ΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, observ'd in Honour of *Bacchus*, upon the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Days of the Month *Anthesterion*.

The first Day was nam'd *Πιθουρία*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ πίθος οἴνου*, i. e. because they then tapp'd their Barrels. The same Day was by the *Cheroneans* call'd *Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος*, i. e. The Day of Good Genius; because it was customary to make merry upon it.

The second Day was call'd *Χθῆς*, from the Measure *χθῆ*, because every Man drunk out of his own Vessel; in memory of an Accident that happened in the Reign of *Pandion*, or (as others say) of *Demophoon*, under whom *Orestes*, having slain his Mother, fled to *Athens*, before he had undergone the customary Purification for Murder. The *Athenians* were at that Time busy in Celebrating the Festival of *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Leneus*, because he had the Care of *Wine-presses*, which are in *Greek* call'd *Λέναια*. However, he was kindly receiv'd by *Demophoon*, who to prevent the Contamination, which might adhere to the Company, by Drinking with a polluted Person, and that *Orestes* might not take it unkindly to be forc'd to drink alone, order'd, that every Man should have a distinct Vessel of Wine, and drink out of his own Cup. On the fore-going Day, they only open'd their Vessels, and tasted the Wine; but now it was customary to drink lustily, and the *longest Liver*, in token of Victory, was rewarded with a Crown of Leaves, and a Vessel of Wine. It was usual also to ride in Chariots, out of which they jest'd upon all that pass'd by. The Professors of *Sophistry* feasted at home, with their Friends upon this Day, and had Presents sent them from all Hands; to which Custom *Eubulides* alludes, in these Verses,

Σοφιστῆς, κῆρυξ, καὶ Χοῶν δὲν  
Τῶν μισθοδότην, καὶ ἀδείμαν ἐν τρυφῇ.

Ah! subtle Knave, you now the Sophist play,  
And with that Bounteous *Χοῶν* may approach,  
Whose Presents fill your Belly, and your Purse.

From this Day it was, that *Bacchus* had the Surname of *Χοοτόμος*.

The third Day was call'd *Χυθῆς*, from *χύεω*, i. e. a Pot, which was brought forth full of all sorts of Seeds, which they accounted sacred to *Mercury*, and therefore abstain'd from them. Upon this Day the *Comedians* us'd to act; and at *Sparta*, *Lycurgus* order'd, that such of them as obtain'd the Victory, should be enroll'd amongst the Free Denizens.

During these Days, the Slaves were allow'd to make merry, drink, and revel; and therefore, at the End of the Festival, it was usual to make proclamation in this manner; *Θέσθ' ἑγὼ Κῆρας, ἢ ἔτ' Ἀνθιστήρια*, i. e. Begone you *Carian* Slaves, the *Anthesteria* are ended.

## ΑΝΘΕΣΦΟΡΙΑ,

A Sicilian Festival (a), so nam'd  $\Sigma\tau\omicron\ \tau\epsilon\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha$ , i. e. from carrying Flowers; because it was Instituted in honour of *Proserpina*, whom *Pluto* is said to have stoln, as she was gathering Flowers.

Another Solemnity of this Name, seems to have been observ'd at *Argos*, in honour of *Juno*, to whom a Temple was dedicated in that place, under the Name of *Αρχέλα* (b).

## ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΙΑ,

Sacrifices in Honour of *Antigonus* (c).

## ΑΝΤΙΝΟΕΙΑ,

Annual Sacrifices, and Quinquennial Games, in Memory of *Antinous*, the *Bithynian*: They were Instituted at the Command of *Adrian* the Roman Emperour, at *Mantineia* in *Arcadia* (d), where *Antinous* was honour'd with a Temple, and Divine Worship.

## ΑΠΑΤΟΥΡΙΑ,

A Festival (e) first instituted at *Athens*, and from thence deriv'd to the rest of the *Ionians*, except those of *Ephesus*, and *Colophon*. It receiv'd its Name from  $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha$ , which signifies Deceit; because it was first instituted in memory of a *Stratagem*, by which *Melambius*, the *Athenian* King, overcame *Xanthus*, King of *Bootia*. For a Controversy happening between the *Athenians*, and *Bootians*, about a piece of Ground situated upon the Confines of *Attica* and *Bootia*; *Xanthus* made a Proposal, that himself, and the *Athenian* King should end the Quarrel by a single Combat. *Thymetes* reign'd at that Time in *Athens*; but declining the Fight, was depos'd: his Successor was *Melambius* a *Messenian*, Son of *Neleus* and *Periclymene*, who having accepted the Challenge, met his Enemy at the appointed Place; where, as they were just going to begin the Fight, *Melambius* thinking, or pretending that he saw at *Xanthus*'s Back, a Person habited in a black Goat-skin, cry'd out, that the Articles were violated; upon this, *Xanthus* looking back, was treacherously slain by *Melambius*. In Memory of this Success, *Jupiter* was fix'd in a black Goat-skin, and was farther honour'd with a new Temple, and the Institution of this Festival. Others are of opinion, that  $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha$  are so call'd, q.  $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ,

(a) Pollux Onom. lib. I. cap. I. (b) Pausanias Corinthiac. (c) Plutarchus Apul. & Lemes. (d) Pausanias Arcadic. (e) Antiquorum Scholast. & others. Hesychius, Hieronymus, Suidas, Etymologus Auctor. Idem Auctores ubique sunt in hoc loco capite citati

i. e.  $\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , because upon this Festival, Children accompany'd their Fathers, to have their Names enter'd into the Publick Register: after the same manner,  $\alpha\lambda\omicron\chi\theta$  is equivalent to  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , and  $\alpha\kappa\omicron\iota\pi\epsilon$  to  $\delta\iota\mu\omicron\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ . Others will have  $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$  to be so nam'd, because the Children were till that Time  $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon$ , i. e. without Fathers, in a Civil sence; for that it was not till then publicly recorded, whose they were. For a like reason, *Melchisedec* is by some thought to be call'd  $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\varsigma$  (a), i. e. without Father, without Mother; viz. because his Parentage was omitted in the Publick Genealogies. To return: This Festival was celebrated in the Month *Pyaneption*, and lasted three Days.

The first Day was call'd  $\Delta\omicron\phi\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , from  $\delta\omicron\phi\pi\theta$ , i. e. a Supper; because on that Day at Evening, each Tribe had a separate Meeting, whereat a sumptuous Entertainment was provided.

The second Day was nam'd  $\alpha\upsilon\delta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\Sigma\tau\omicron\ \tau\delta\ \alpha\upsilon\omega\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega$ , because on this Day Victims were offer'd to *Jupiter*  $\phi\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , and *Minerva*; in whose Sacrifices (as in all that were offer'd to Celestial Gods) it was usual  $\alpha\upsilon\omega\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , i. e. to turn the Head of the Victims upwards, towards Heaven. At this Sacrifice, the Children enroll'd amongst the Citizens, were plac'd close to the Altar. It was usual also, for Persons richly apparell'd, to take lighted Torches out of the Fire, and run about, singing Hymns in praise of *Vulcan*, who was the first that taught Men the use of that Element: Which Custom is by *Asterius* referr'd to this Day, tho' *Harporation*, to whom we are indebted for the Mention of it, has left us in the Dark as to it's Time.

The third Day was nam'd  $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\omega\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , from  $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\omega$ , i. e. a Youth; or  $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon$ , i. e. Shaving; because the young Men, who till that Time remain'd unshav'd, had their Hair cut off, before they were presented to be registred. Their Fathers at this Time were oblig'd to swear, that both Themselves, and the Mothers of the young Men, were Free-born *Athenians*. It was also usual to offer a Sheep in Sacrifice to *Diana*, which they call'd  $\Theta\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\omega\ \phi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\omega$ . this Victim was to be of a certain Weight; and because it once happen'd, that the Standers-by cry'd out in jest,  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ ,  $\mu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$ , i. e. Too little, too little, it was ever after call'd  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ , and the Persons that offer'd it  $\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\omega\gamma\iota$ .

To these *Hesychius* adds a fourth Day, which he tells us was call'd  $\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , but that Name is not peculiar to this Festival, but generally apply'd to any Day, celebrated after the End of another Solemnity; being deriv'd  $\Sigma\tau\omicron\ \tau\ \epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\omega\iota\omega$ , i. e. from following; because it was a sort of Appendage to the Great Festival.

(a) Epistola ad Hebraeos.

## ΑΠΑΤΑΙΑ,

The second Day in Marriages, of which I shall have Opportunity to speak in another place.

## ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ,

To *Apollo*, at *Ægialea*, upon this Account: *Apollo*, having obtain'd the Victory over *Python*, went to *Ægialea*, accompanied with his Sister *Diana*; but being frighted from thence, fled into *Crete*. After this, the *Ægialeans* were infected with an Epidemical Distemper; and being advis'd by the Prophets, to appease the two offended Deities, sent seven Boys, and as many Virgins, to entreat them to return. *Apollo* and *Diana* accepted their Piety, and came with them to the Cittadel of *Ægialea*; in Memory of which, a Temple was dedicated to *Pitho*, the Goddess of Persuasion; and it became a Custom, to appoint chosen Boys and Virgins, to make a solemn Procession, in shew as if they design'd to bring back *Apollo* and *Diana*; which Solemnity was continued till *Pausanias's* Time (a).

## ΑΠΟΠΟΜΠΑΙ,

Certain Days (b), in which Sacrifices were offer'd to the Gods, call'd *Πομπάι*. Who these were, I am not resolv'd: Certain it is, that *πομπάι* denotes any Person that conducts another in his way; and therefore was apply'd to *Mercury*, who was believ'd to be *Pluto's* Gentleman-usher, and to conduct the Souls of deceas'd Persons to the Shades below: whence *Ajax*, in *Sophocles*, before he stabb'd himself, pray'd thus,

ἄλλω δ' ἄμα  
Πομπάον Ἑρμῶν ἄντων εὖ με κομίσου.

— Infernal *Mercury* I call  
Safe to conduct me to the Shades below.

But I am rather inclin'd to think, these Days belong'd to the Gods call'd *Αποπομπάι*, i. e. *ἀπέπει*, (for *ἀποπομπή*, is by *Phavorinus* expounded *ἀπέπει*) otherwise nam'd *Λύπαι*, *ἀλεξίγυχοι*, and *αὐερυνί*, because they were thought to avert Evils; such were *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and others: and therefore for *πομπάις* in *Hesychius*, I would read *ἀποπομπάις*, except they may be us'd as synonymous Terms.

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*. (b) *Hesychius*.

## ΑΡΑΤΕΙΑ,

A Festival at *Sicyon* (a), upon the Birth-day of *Aratus*, whom they honour'd with a Priest; who, for Distinction's sake, wore a Ribband bespangl'd with white and purple spots. It was celebrated with Musick; and the Choristers of *Bacchus* assisted at the Solemnity with their Harps. There was also a Solemn Procession, in which the Publick School-master, accompany'd with his Scholars, went first, and the Senators adorn'd with Garlands, with as many of the other Citizens as had a mind, follow'd after.

## ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ,

Festivals at *Argos*, the Names of which are lost. One we find mention'd in *Parthenius* (b), upon which he tells us, there was a Publick Entertainment.

Another is taken notice of in *Plutarch* (c), upon which the Boys call'd one another in Jest *βαλλοχέαις*, i. e. *βάλλοντες ἀχέαις*, by which words are signify'd Persons, that throw wild Figs. Which Custom perhaps was instituted in Memory of their ancient Diet in *Inachus's* Time, when they liv'd upon wild Figs.

A third we read of in *Æneas* (d), in which great numbers of the Citizens made a Solemn Procession out of the City in Armour.

## ΑΡΙΑΔΝΕΙΑ,

Two Festivals (e) at *Naxos*, in Honour of two Women, who had one common Name of *Ariadne*. The former of them was thought to be of a Gay and Pleasant Temper, and therefore her Festival was observ'd with Musick, and a great many Expressions of Joy, and Mirth.

The latter, being the same that was expos'd big with Child upon that Coast by *Theseus*, was suppos'd to be of a Melancholy Disposition, and therefore the Solemnity dedicated to her had a shew of Sorrow, and Mourning; and in Memory of her being left by *Theseus* near the Time of Child-birth, it was usual for a Young Man to lye down, and counterfeit all the Agonies of Women in Labour. This Festival is said to have been first instituted by *Theseus*, as a recompence of his Ingratitude to her.

## ΑΡΡΗΦΟΡΙΑ,

At *Athens* (f), in the Month *Scirophorion*, in Honour of *Minerva*, and *Ersa*, one of *Cecrops's* Daughters, upon which account, it is

(a) *Plutarchus Arato*. (b) *Erotic XIII*. (c) *Græc. Quæst*. (d) *Poliorect. cap. XVII*. (e) *Plutarchus Naxos*. (f) *Plutarchus Solus, Naxos 5*.

sometimes call'd *Ερσηβεία*, or *Εξερσηβεία*. But the former Name is deriv'd *ὑπὸ τῷ ἀξίῳ φέρειν*, i. e. because there were some Myste-  
rious Things carry'd by four select noble Virgins, not under seven,  
nor above eleven Years of Age; who were for that reason call'd  
*Ἀξερσηβείαι*. Their Apparel was white, and set off with Ornaments of  
Gold. And out of them were chosen two, to weave (as the Custom  
was) a *Πέπλος*, or Garment, for *Minerva*; which work they began  
upon the thirtieth of *Pyanepsion*.

## ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ,

A Festival, in Honour of *Αρτεμις*, or *Diana*. It was celebrated  
in several places of *Greece*, particularly at *Delphi*; where they of-  
fer'd a Mullet to the Goddess, as being thought to bear some sort  
of Relation to her; because (a) it is said to hunt, and kill the Sea-  
hare.

Another Solemnity of this Name was observ'd three Days toge-  
ther, with Banquets, and Sports, at *Syracuse* (b).

## ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΑ,

A Festival of *Æsculapius*, observ'd in several Parts of *Greece*; but no  
where with so much Solemnity, as by the *Epidaurians* (c), whom this God  
honour'd with his more immediate Presence, giving Answers to them in  
an Oracular way: wherefore it was call'd *Μιχαλασκήπεια*, i. e. The  
great Festival of *Æsculapius* (d). One great part of the Solemnity  
consisted in a Musical Entertainment, wherein the Poets, and Musicians  
contended for Victory, and therefore was call'd *Ιεὺς ἀγών*, or the  
Sacred Contention.

## ΑΣΚΩΛΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Athenian* Husbandmen, in Honour of  
*Bacchus* (e), to whom they sacrific'd a He-goat; because that Animal de-  
stroys the Vines, and therefore was suppos'd to be hated by *Bacchus*.  
Out of the Victim's Skin, it was customary to make a Bottle, which  
being fill'd with Oyl and Wine, they endeavour'd to leap upon it  
with one Foot, and He that first fix'd himself upon it, was declar'd  
Victor, and receiv'd the Bottle as a Reward. The Doing this they call'd  
*ἀπωλιάζειν*, ὅθεν τὸ ὄν τὸν ἀπὸν ἐπιδίωξι, i. e. from Leaping upon  
a Bottle; whence this Festival hath it's Name.

(a) *Athenus* lib. VII. (b) *Livius* lib. XXIII. *Hesychius*. (c) *Plato* *Jonc.*  
(d) *Inscript. vet.* (e) *Plutarchus* de *Baccho*, *Aristophan.* *Scholias.* *Pluto*, *Hes-*  
*ychius*.

## ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ,

Festivals in Honour of *Αφροδίτη*, or *Venus*; several of which were  
observ'd in divers Parts of *Greece*: The most remarkable of them  
was that at *Cyprus* (a), first instituted by *Cinyras*; out of whose Fa-  
mily certain Priests of *Venus* were Elected, and for that reason nam'd  
*Κινυράδαι*. At this Solemnity several Myste-  
rious Rites were practis'd;  
all that were initiated into them, offer'd a Piece of Money, and re-  
ceiv'd, as a token of the Goddess's Favour, a Measure of Salt, and a  
*φάλλος*: the former, because Salt is a Concretion of Sea-water, to  
which *Venus* was thought to owe her Birth: The latter, because she  
was the Goddess of Wantonness.

At *Amathus*, a City of *Cyprus*, Solemn' Sacrifices were offer'd to *Ve-*  
*nus*, and call'd *Καρπώσις* (b); which word is deriv'd from *καρπός*, i. e.  
Fruit; perhaps because this Goddess presid'd over Generation.

At both the *Paphi Venus's* Festival was observ'd, being celebrated  
not only by the Inhabitants of those Places, but multitudes that  
throng'd to it out of other Cities (c).

At *Corinth* it was celebrated by Harlots (d).

## ΑΧΙΛΛΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Festival at *Sparta*, in honour of *Achilles* (e).

## Β

## ΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ,

To *Bacchus* (f). See *Διονύσια*.

## ΒΑΛΛΗΤΤΣ,

At *Eleusis* in *Attica*, to *Demophoon*, the Son of *Celeus* (g).

## ΒΑΡΑΤΡΟΝ,

Solemn Games in *Thessprotia*, wherein the strongest obtain'd the Vi-  
ctory (h).

## ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ,

A Festival at *Lebadea*, in *Boeotia* (i).

## ΒΕΝΔΙΑΔΕΙΑ,

A *Thracian* Festival (k), in honour of *Diana*, who was by the

(a) *Clemens* *Protrept.* *Arnobius* lib. V. *Hesychius*, *Pindari Scholias.* (b) *Hes-*  
*ychius*. (c) *Strabo* lib. XIV. (d) *Athenaus* lib. XIII. (e) *Pausanias* *Laconici.*  
(f) *Hesychius*. (g) *Athenaus* lib. IX. *Hesychius*. (h) *Hesychius*. (i) *Pindari* *Scho-*  
*lia.* *Olymp.* VII. (k) *Strabo* lib. IX. *Proclus* in *Timaeum*, *Hesychius*.

*Thracians* call'd *Béydis*. From *Thrace* it was carry'd to *Athens*, where it was celebrated in the *Piræus*, upon the nineteenth, or twentieth of *Thargelion*.

## ΒΟΗΔΡΟΜΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival (a), so call'd ἀπὸ τῆς βοήδρου, i. e. from coming to help; because it was instituted in memory of *Ion*, the Son of *Xuthus*, who came to the Assistance of the *Athenians*, in the Reign of King *Erechtheus*, when they were invaded by *Eumolpus*, the Son of *Neptune*. But *Plutarch* (b) reports, that it was observ'd in memory of a Victory obtain'd by *Theseus* against the *Amazons*, in the Month *Ecdromion*.

## ΒΟΡΡΑΣΜΟΙ,

Another *Athenian* Festival (c) in honour of *Boreas*; who had an Altar in *Attica*, and was thought to bear some relation to the *Athenians*, having marry'd *Orithyia*, the Daughter of *Erechtheus*: for which reason, when in a Sea-fight a great many of their Enemies Ships were destroy'd by a North-wind, the *Athenians* imputed it to the kindness *Boreas* had for his Wife's native Countrey, as *Pausanias* reports (d).

We are inform'd by the same Author (e), that Solemn Sacrifices were offer'd to *Boreas* at *Megalopolis* in *Arcadia*, where he had a Temple, and Divine honours.

## ΒΟΤΤΙΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

The *Botteians* were an *Athenian* Colony; wherefore in memory of their Original, they observ'd this Solemnity, in which the Virgins us'd to say, ἰωὺρ εἰς Ἀθήνας, i. e. Let us go *Athens* (f).

## ΒΡΑΣΙΑΔΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity at *Sparta*, in memory of *Brasidas*, a *Lacedæmonian* Captain, famous for his Atchievements at *Methone*, *Pylus*, and *Amphipolis*. It was celebrated with Sacrifices, and Games, wherein none were permitted to contend, but Free-born *Spartans* (g).

## ΒΡΑΥΡΩΝΙΑ,

To *Diana*, surnam'd *Brauronia*, from the place in which this Festival was observ'd, viz. *Brauron*, an *Athenian* Burrough, in which the famous Statue of this Goddess, brought from *Scythia Taurica* by *Iphigenia*, remain'd till the second *Persian* War, in which *Xerxes* took it away (h). It was celebrated once in five Years, being mariag'd by ten Men,

(a) Harpocraton, Suidas. (b) Theseus. (c) Plutarch in Phædro, Hesychius. (d) Athenæus. (e) Arcadicus. (f) Plutarchus Theseus, & Quest. Græc. (g) Pausanias Lacedæmon, Thucyd. lib. V Suidas. (h) Pausanias Attica, & Arcadica, Pollux lib. VIII. cap. IX. Harpocraton, Suidas.

call'd,

call'd, from their Office, ἱεροποιοί. The Victim offer'd in Sacrifice was a Goat; and it was customary for certain Men to sing one of *Homer's Iliads*. The most remarkable Persons at this Solemnity, were young Virgins habited in yellow Gowns, and consecrated to *Diana*. These were usually about ten Years of Age (it being unlawful for any of them to be above ten, or under five) and therefore to consecrate them was call'd Δεκατεύειν, from δέκα, i. e. ten: It was also call'd ἀρκιδάειν, and the Virgins themselves were nam'd Ἀρκίαι, i. e. Bears, upon this account: Amongst the *Phlaidæ*, Inhabitants of a Burrough in *Attica*, there was a Bear, which was so far divested of it's natural fierceness, and become so tame and tractable, that they usually admitted it to eat, and play with them, and receiv'd no harm thereby: But a young Maid once unluckily happening to be too familiar with it, the Beast tore her to pieces, and was afterwards kill'd by the Virgin's Brethren: Upon this ensu'd a dreadful Pestilence, which prov'd very fatal to a great many of the Inhabitants of *Attica*; as a remedy of which, they were advis'd by an Oracle, to appease the anger of *Diana* for the Bear, by consecrating Virgins to her in memory of it: The *Athenians* punctually executed the Divine Command, and enacted a Law, that no Virgin should be marry'd, that had not undergone this Ceremony.

## Γ

## ΓΑΛΑΞΙΑ,

A Festival, in which they boyl'd τὴν γαλαξίαν, i. e. a mixture of Barley-pulse and Milk (a). *Mezsius* is opinion that it belong'd to *Apollo*, who, from a place in *Bæotia*, was surnam'd *Galaxius* (b).

## ΓΑΛΙΝΘΙΑΔΙΑ,

A Solemn Sacrifice at *Thebes*, offer'd to *Galinthias*, one of *Prætus's* Daughters, before the Festival of *Hercules*, by whose order it was first instituted.

## ΓΑΜΗΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ,

Three Private Solemnities, the first whereof was observ'd at Marriages; the second in memory of the Birth; the last, of the Death of any Person. But of all these, I shall give you a more full account in one of the following Books.

## ΓΕΝΕΤΤΑΛΙΣ,

This Solemnity was celebrated by Women, in honour of *Genetyllis*, the Goddess of that Sex (c), to whom they offer'd Dogs.

(a) Hesychius. (b) Proclus Chrestomath. (c) Hesychius.

ΓΕΡΑ-



## ΓΕΡΑΙΣΤΙΑ,

In honour of *Neptune*, at *Geræstus*, a Village of *Eubœa*, where he was honour'd with a Temple (a).

## ΓΕΡΟΝΘΡΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

An Anniversary Festival in honour of *Mars*, at *Geronthræ*, where there was a Temple dedicated to him. He had also a Grove in the same place, into which it was unlawful for any Woman to enter, during the time of this Solemnity (b).

## ΓΕΦΤΡΙΣΜΟΙ,

A Solemnity mention'd by *Ælian* (c); and perhaps the same with the *γερταμοί* at the Festival of *Ceres Eleusinia*, of which afterwards.

## ΓΗΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

At *Athens*, in honour of Mother *Earth*, to whom a Temple was dedicated in the Citadel of that place (d). Solemn Games also were celebrated to her, as we learn from *Pindar*,

Εν Ολυμπίῳ τε, καὶ Γαυκώλῳ τε  
Γῆς εὐχαις. —————

At the *Olympick Games*, and sacred Sports  
Of the capacious *Earth*. —————

## ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΙΑ, or ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ,

A Solemn Dance (f), perform'd by *Spartan Boys*.

Δ

## ΔΑΙΔΙΣ,

A Solemnity, which lasted three Days, during all which Time, Torches (call'd in *Greek* δᾶϊς) were burn'd, which gave occasion to the Name (g).

Upon the first Day they commemorated *Latona's Labour*, and *Apollø's Birth*.

The second was in memory of *Glycon's*, and the God's Nativity.

The third, of the Marriage of *Podalirius*, and the Mother of *Alexander*.

## ΔΑΙΔΑΔΑ,

Two Festivals in *Bœotia* (h), one of which was observ'd by the *Pla-*

(a) *Stephanus*, *Finlart Schol.* *Olymp.* XIII. (b) *Pausanias* *Læonicu.* (c) *Histor.* *An. lib.* IV. cap. XLIII. (d) *Thucydides* *lib.* II. (e) *Pythion. lib.* IX. (f) *Platarchus* *Apophthegm.* (g) *Lucianus* *Pseudomant.* (h) *Pausanias* *Bœoticu.*

*teans* at *Alalcomenos*, where was the largest Grove of any in *Bœotia*; in this they assembl'd, and exposing to the open Air pieces of sodden Flesh, carefully observ'd whither the Crows, that came to prey upon them, directed their Flight; and then hew'd down all those Trees, upon which any of them alighted, and form'd them into Statues, which were by the ancient *Greeks* call'd δαΐδαλα, from the ingenious Artificer *Dadalus*.

The other Solemnity was by far the greatest, and most remarkable, being celebrated not only by *Platæa*, but all the Cities of *Bœotia*, once in sixty Years; in memory, and, as it were, in Recompence for the Intermission of the lesser Festival the same number of Years, during which Time the *Platæans* liv'd in exile. In order to this Solemnity, there were always prepar'd fourteen δαΐδαλα at the other Festivals, to be distributed by Lots amongst the *Platæans*, *Coroneans*, *Thespians*, *Tanægeans*, *Chæroneans*, *Orchomenians*, *Lebæans*, and *Thebans*; because they promoted a Reconciliation with the *Platæans*, and were desirous to have them recall'd from Banishment, and contributed Offerings towards the Celebration of the Festival, about the time that *Thebes* was restored by *Cassander* the Son of *Amipater*. Nor did the aforemention'd Cities only, but others also of lesser Note, joyn in this Solemnity; the manner of which was thus:

A Statue being adorn'd in Woman's Apparel upon the Banks of *Asopus*, a Woman in the Habit of a Bride-maid, was appointed to accompany it, being follow'd by a long Train of *Bœotians*, who had places assign'd them by Lots, to the top of Mount *Cithæron*; upon which an Altar of square pieces of Timber cemented together in the manner of Stones, was erected. Upon this large quantities of combustible matter being lay'd, each of the Cities, and such Men as were possess'd of plentiful Estates, offer'd a Bull to *Jupiter*, and an Ox, or Heifer to *Juno*, with plenty of Wine, and Incense; the poorer sort, and such as were not of Ability to purchase more costly Oblations, contributed small Sheep; all which, together with the δαΐδαλα, being thrown into one common Heap, were set on fire, and not extinguish'd, till the whole Fabrick, of which the Altar it self made a part, was consum'd to Ashes. The first occasion of these Customs was this: On a time it happen'd that *Juno* had a Quarrel with *Jupiter*, whereby the Goddess was exasperated to such a degree, that she departed from him, and retir'd into *Eubœa*: The God was very much troubled at this Desertion, and endeavour'd by all the Arts of Persuasion, to gain upon her to return; but finding her obstinate in her Resolution, went to advise with *Cithæron*, who reign'd at that time over the *Platæans*, and had the greatest Reputation for Wisdom of any Man in that Age: The Expedient he advis'd to, was this; That *Jupiter* should dress a Statue in Woman's Apparel, and place it in a Chariot, giving out that it was *Platæa*, the Daughter of *Asopus*, and that she was contracted to him in Marriage: The God approv'd his Counsel, and put

put it in practice; and the Report had no sooner reach'd *Juno*, but she posted with all haste to meet the Chariot; where having discover'd the Cheat, she was wonderfully taken with the Contrivance, and return'd into Favour with her Husband.

An entire Treatise was compos'd by *Plutarch* upon this Festival, some Fragments of which are still preserv'd in *Eusebius* (a), and confirm the Substance of the Relation now given out of *Pausanias*; from whom they differ only in this, that in them *Cithæron* is call'd *Alalcomenus*; and *Platæa*, *Dedala*.

## Δ Α Ρ Ο Ν,

A Festival, of which nothing remains, besides the Name, which is preserv'd by *Hesychius*. If the Conjecture of *Mewsius* deserve any Credit, it will not be improbable that it belong'd to one *Darron*, who, as the same Grammarian informs us, was worshipp'd by the *Macedonians*, and thought to restore Health to sick Persons.

## Δ Α Τ Α Ι Σ,

A Solemnity at *Argos*, in which was represented the Combat of *Præus* and *Aristeus*.

## Δ Α Φ Ν Η Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α,

A Novennial Festival (b), celebrated by the *Bæotians*, in honour of *Apollo*. The chief Solemnity was thus: They adorn'd an Olive-bough with Garlands of Lawrel, and various sorts of Flowers: Upon the top of it was plac'd a Globe of Brass, from which hung other lesser Globes; About the middle were fix'd to it Purple Crowns, and a Globe of smaller size than that at the top: The bottom was cover'd with a Garment of Saffron-colour. The uppermost Globe was an Emblem of the Sun, by whom they meant *Apollo*; that plac'd diametrically under it, signify'd the Moon; the lesser Globes represented the Stars; and the Crowns, being sixty five in number, were Types of the Sun's Annual Revolution, which is completed in about the same number of Days. The Bough thus adorn'd, was carry'd in Procession; the chief in which was a Boy of a beautiful countenance, and good Parentage, whose Father and Mother were both living: He was apparell'd in a sumptuous Garment, reaching down to his Ancles; his Hair hung loose and dishevell'd; on his Head was a Crown of Gold; and upon his Feet Shoes, call'd *Iphicranda*, from *Iphicrates* an *Athenian*, the first Inventor of them: It was his Duty to execute at that time the Priest's Office, and he was honour'd with the Title of *Δαφνέτης*, i. e. The Lawrel-bearer. Before him went one of his nearest Relations, bearing a Rod adorn'd with Garlands:

After the Boy follow'd a Choir of Virgins, with Branches in their Hands: And in this order they proceeded as far as the Temple of *Apollo*, from whence *Ismenus*, and *Galaxius*, where they sung Supplicatory Hymns to the God. These Ceremonies were first practis'd upon this account: The *Æolians* that inhabited *Arne*, and the adjacent Territory, being advis'd by an Oracle to relinquish their old Seats, and seek their Fortunes, made an Invasion upon the *Thebans*, who at the same Time were belieg'd by the *Pelasgians*: It happen'd to be near the Time of *Apollo's* Festival, which was religiously observ'd by both Nations; wherefore a Cessation of Arms being granted on both sides, one Parry cut down Lawrel-boughs in *Helicon*, the other near the River *Melæus*; and, as the Custom was, carry'd them in their Hands, in honour of *Apollo*. On the same Day there appear'd in a Dream to *Polematus*, General of the *Bæotian* Forces, a young Man, who presented him with a complete Suit of Armour, and commanded that every ninth Year the *Bæotians* should make Solemn Prayers to *Apollo*, with Lawrel in their Hands: About three Days after this Vision, he made a Sally upon the Besiegers with such Success, that they were forc'd to retire, and quit their Enterprize: whereupon he caus'd this Festival to be instituted.

## Δ Ε Λ Φ Ι Ν Ι Α,

A Festival at *Ægina* (a), in honour of *Delphinian Apollo*.

## Δ Η Δ Ι Α,

A Quinquennial Festival in the Isle of *Delos* (b), instituted by *Theseus*, at his return from *Crete*, in honour of *Venus*, whose Statue given to him by *Ariadne*, he erected in that place, having by her Assistance met with Success in his Expedition. The chief Ceremonies were these: They crown'd the Goddess's Statue with Garlands; appointed a Choir of Musick, and Horse-races; and perform'd a remarkable Dance, call'd *Γέρανος*, i. e. a Crane, wherein they imitated by their Motions, the various Windings of the *Cretan Labyrinth*, out of which *Theseus*, who was the first Inventor of this Dance, made his Escape.

Another Solemnity was every Year celebrated in this Island, in honour of *Apollo*, by the *Athenians*; but of this I have already given You an Account in one of the foregoing Chapters.

## Δ Η Μ Η Τ Ρ Ι Α,

A Solemnity in honour of *Ceres*, call'd by the *Greeks* *Δημητριάς* (c), in which it was customary for the Worshipers to lash themselves with Whips, made of the Bark of Trees, and call'd *μίστρα*.

(a) *Plutarch. Schol. Olymp. VIII.* (b) *Thucydides lib. III. Callimachus Hymn. in Delum. Plutarchus Luc. &c.* (c) *Ellen. Onom. lib. I. cap. I. Hesychius.*

Another Festival of this Name was observ'd by the *Athenians* (a), in honour of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, being the same with that which was before call'd *Dionysia*, and celebrated upon the thirteenth of *Anthychion*, whose Name was chang'd into *Demetion*, as also the Day of this Solemnity was nam'd *Demetrias*.

## ΔΙΑΜΑΣΤΙΓΩΣΙΣ,

A Solemnity at *Sparta* (b), in honour of *Diana Orthia*, so nam'd *Στὸ τῆς μαστίγης*, i. e. from whipping, because it was usual to whip Boys upon the Goddess's Altar. These Boys were, at the first, Free-born *Spartans*, but, in more delicate Ages, of meaner Birth, being frequently the Off-spring of Slaves; they were call'd *Βουονίγγα*, from the Exercise they underwent at the Altar, which was very severe and cruel; and lest the Officer should out of Compassion remit any thing of the rigour of it, *Diana's* Priestess stood by all the Time, holding in her Hand the Goddess's Image, which of it's self was very light and easy to be born, but if the Boys were spar'd, became so ponderous, that the Priestess was scarce able to support it's weight. And lest the Boys should faint under Correction, or do any thing unworthy of *Laconian* Education, their Parents were usually present, to exhort them to bear whatever was inflicted upon them with Patience and Constancy. And so great was the Bravery and Resolution of the Boys, that, tho' they were lash'd till the Blood gush'd out, and sometimes to Death, yet a Cry, or Groan was seldom, or never heard to proceed from any of them. Those of them that dy'd by these Means, were bury'd with Garlands upon their Heads, in token of Joy, or Victory, and had the Honour of a Publick Funeral.

Whence this Custom had it's Original, is not agree'd by Ancient Writers. By some it is said to have been one of *Lycurgus's* Institutions, and design'd for no other End, than to accustom the Youth to endure Pain; thereby to render them fearless and insensible of Wounds. Others will have it to have been done, as a Mitigation of an Oracle, whereby it was commanded that Human Blood should be shed upon *Diana's* Altar. By some it is reported to have been as ancient as *Orestes*, who (they say) transplanted out of *Scythia* into *Laconia* the Image of *Diana Taurica*, to whom the *Scythians* us'd to offer Human Victims: this Barbarous piece of Cruelty the *Lacedæmonians* detested, but withall fearing the Anger of the Goddess, made an Order, that every Year a Boy should be whipp'd upon her Altar, till the Blood gush'd out; that so, if nothing could satisfy Her but Human Blood, She might not be altogether destitute of it. Lastly, some assign this Cause for it; *Pausanias*, the *Spartan* General, as he was

(a) *Plutarchus* *Demetrio*, *Dionysius* *Quæst. lib. XVIII.* (b) *Plutarchus* *de* *Lacæd.* *Instit.* & *Antiqu.* *Pausanias* *de* *Lacæd.* *Templis* *Orat.* *Cicero* *de* *Ind.* *Quæst.* *II.* *Augustinus* *de* *Lib.* *CCLXI.*

offering Sacrifices and Prayers, before the Fight with *Marodonius*, was set upon by a company of *Lydians*, who plunder'd and squander'd abroad the Sacrifice; but were at length repell'd with Whips and Staves, which were the only Arms the *Lacedæmonians* were at that time furnish'd with: In memory of this Victory, the Whipping of Boys at the Altar in *Sparta*; and after that, the *Lydian* Procession, *Plutarch* tells us, was perform'd till his Days.

## ΔΙΑΝΤΙΝΙΑ,

A Festival at *Sparta*.

## ΔΙΑΣΙΑ,

At *Athens* (a), in honour of *Jupiter* surnam'd *Μενίζχθης*, i. e. the Propitious. It was so call'd *Στὸ τῆς Διὸς, καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδ.* i. e. from *Jupiter*, and Misfortune; because by making Supplications to *Jupiter*, they obtain'd Protection, and Deliverance from Dangers, and Evils. It was celebrated about the latter end of *Antheſterion*, without the City, where was a great concourse of all the *Athenians*, feasting and offering Sacrifices. At the same Time there is said to have been a publick Mart, in which all sorts of Vendibles were expos'd to Sale; and therefore *Sirepsides* in *Aristophanes* (b) saith, he bought his Son *Phidippides* a little Chariot at this Festival,

Ὁν περὶ τὸν ἕβρον ἔλαβον Πλιασικόν,  
Τέτοιο πειθόμενος τοῖς Διάσις ἀμαξίδα.

*Plutarch* (c) maketh mention of another Festival, that belong'd to *Jupiter*, wherein a solemn Procession was made by Men on Horseback.

## ΔΙΙΠΟΔΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival (d), celebrated upon the fourteenth of *Schyphorion*; so nam'd, because it was sacred *τῷ Διὶ Ποδίῳ*, i. e. to *Jupiter* surnam'd *Podicus*, or Protector of the City. Sometimes it was call'd *Βεβρία*, from killing an Ox: For it was customary upon this Day to place certain Cakes, of the same sort with those us'd at Sacrifices, upon a Table of Brats; round this they drove a select number of Oxen, of which he that eat any of the Cakes, was presently slaughter'd. The Person that kill'd the Ox, was call'd *βέτης*, or *βεβρηθῶς*. *Porphyry* reports, that no less than three Families were employ'd in this Ceremony, and receiv'd different Names from their Offices therein: The Family, whose Duty it was to drive the Oxen, were

(a) *Thucydides* *lib. I.* *Aristophanes* *Schell.* *Nub. Suidas.* (b) *Nubibus* (c) *Thucydides* *lib. I.* *Aristophanes* *Schell.* *Nub. Suidas.* (d) *Pausanias* *Attic.* *Athena* *Var. Hist. lib. VIII.* cap. III. *Porphyrius* *de* *Abstinent.* *ab* *Animal.* *Beys.* *Suidas.*

call'd *Kavteída*, from *κέρειν*, i. e. a Spur: Those that knock'd him down, *Βαυτοί*, being descended from *Thaulon*: Those that slaughter'd, and cut him up, *Δαΐτες*, i. e. Butchers, or Cooks. The Original of the Custom was thus: On one of *Jupiter's* Festivals, it happen'd that a hungry Ox eat one of the consecrated Cakes; whereupon the Priest (some call him *Thaulon*, others *Dionus*, or *Sopater*) mov'd with pious Zeal, kill'd the profane Beast. In those Days, it was look'd upon as a capital Crime to kill an Ox; wherefore the guilty Priest was forc'd to secure himself by a timely Flight, and the *Athenians* in his stead, took the bloody Ax, arraign'd it, and, according to *Pausanias*, brought it in not guilty: But *Ælian* is of another Opinion, and reports, that the Priest, and People present at the Solemnity (for they also were accus'd, as being accessary to the Fact) were acquitted, but the Ax condemn'd; which seems to be most probable. In memory of these Actions, it became ever after customary, for the Priest to fly, and Judgment to be given about the Slaughter of the Ox.

## ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΙΑ,

A *Spartan* Festival (a), in honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Dietyina*, from a City of *Crete*; or from a *Cretan* Nymph, one of her Companions in Hunting, who was call'd *Dietyina*; being the first invented Hunting-nets, which are in *Greek* call'd *Δίκτυα*.

## ΔΙΟΚΑΕΙΑ,

At *Megara*, in memory of the Hero *Dioles* (b).

## ΔΙΟΜΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Jupiter Dionus*; or of *Dionus* (c), an *Athenian* Hero, the Son of *Colytus*, from whom the Inhabitants of one of the *Athenian* Burroughs were nam'd *Διομεῖς*.

## ΔΙΟΝΤΕΙΑ,

Solemnities in honour of *Διόνυσος*, or *Bacchus*, sometimes call'd by the general Name of *Ορτυ*, which word, tho' sometimes apply'd to the Mysteries of other Gods, does more peculiarly belong to those of *Bacchus*. The Festivals of this God are said to have been instituted in *Egypt*, and afterwards taught the *Grecians* by one *Metampis* (d); and by *Plutarch* (e) we are inform'd, that the *Egyptian Isis* was the same with *Ceres*, and *Osiris* with *Bacchus*; and that the *Græcian Dionysia* were the same with the *Egyptian Pamyliæ*.

They were observ'd at *Athens* with greater Splendor, and more Ce-

(a) *Pausanias* Lacemon. (c) *Enchiridion* schol. *Pythæ*. OI XIII. (e) *Etymolog. Enstath.* II. d'. (d) *Herodotus* lib. II. (e) *De Iside & Osiride*.

remonious

remonious Superstition, than in any other part of *Greece*; for the Years were number'd by them (a), as the chief *Archon* had a part in the management of them (b), and the Priests that officiated therein, were honour'd with the first Seats at Publick Shows (c). But at first they (d) were without Splendor, and Ornaments, being Days set apart for Publick Mirth, and observ'd only with these Ceremonies; First a Vessel of Wine, adorn'd with a Vine-branch, was brought forth, after that follow'd a Goat, then was carry'd a Basket of Figs, and after all, the *Phalli*.

At some of them it was usual for the Worshipers, in their Garments and Actions, to imitate the Poetical Fictions concerning *Bacchus*: They put on Fawn-skins, fine Linnen, and Mitres; carry'd *Thyrsi*, Drums, Pipes, Flutes, and Rattles; and crown'd themselves with Garlands of Trees sacred to *Bacchus*, such were the Ivy, Vine, Firr, &c. Some imitated *Silenus*, *Pan*, and the *Satyrs*, expoling themselves in Comical Dresses, and Antick Motions; some rode upon Asses, others drove Goats to the Slaughter. In this manner Persons of both Sexes ran about the Hills, Deserts, and other Places, wagging their Heads, dancing in ridiculous Postures, filling the Air with hideous Noises, and Yellings, personating Men distracted, and crying aloud *Εἰς αἶετος*, *Εἰς Βάκχε*, or *ὦ Ιανχ*, or *Ιλκαχ*, or *Ιε Βάκχε*.

Such were the Rites us'd in most of *Bacchus's* Festivals throughout *Greece*, and particularly at *Athens*, where this frantick Rout was, upon one of the Solemnities of this God, follow'd by Persons carrying certain Sacred Vessels; the first of which was fill'd with Water; after these went a select number of Honourable Virgins, call'd *Καμπήροι*, because they carry'd little Baskets of Gold, fill'd with all sorts of Fruit: In these consisted the most Mysterious part of the Solemnity; and therefore to amuse the Common People, Serpents were put into them, which sometimes crawling out of their places, astonish'd the Beholders. Next was the *Περπαλία*, being a company of Men carrying *τὰς παλίδας*, which were Poles, to the Ends of which were fix'd things in the form of a Man's Privities: these Persons were crown'd with Violets, and Ivy, and had their Faces cover'd with other Herbs; they were call'd *Φαλλοφόροι*, and the Songs repeated by them, *Φαλλικὰ ἄσματα*. After these follow'd the *Ιερώματα*, in Women's Apparel, with Garments strip'd with white, and reaching to their Anles, Garlands on their Heads, Gloves compos'd of Flowers on their Hands, and in their Gestures imitating drunken Men. There were also certain Persons call'd *Λίγυροί*, whose Office it was to carry the *Λίγυρον*,

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Pothus* lib. VIII. (c) *Aristophan. Schol. Ran.* (d) *Plutarchus* *Περὶ φαλλοφορίας*.

or

or Mystical Van of *Bacchus*, a thing so essential to this, and other Solemnities, and Sacrifices of this God, that few of them could be duly celebrated without it; whence He is sometimes call'd *Λιχνίτης*. At this Time also Publick Shows, Plays, and Sports were frequented, and the whole City was fill'd with Revelling, and Licentiousness.

The Festivals of *Bacchus* were almost innumerable; the Names of some of the most remarkable of them are, as follow.

*Διονύσια ἀρχαιώτερα* (a), celebrated upon the Twelfth of *Aniheslerion*, at *Limne* in *Attica*, where was a Temple of *Bacchus*. The chief Persons that officiated, were fourteen Women, appointed by the *Βασιλῆς*, who was one of the *Archons*, and provided necessaries for the Solemnity: They were call'd *ἱεραῖαι*, i. e. Venerable, and could not enter upon their Office, till they had taken an Oath in presence of the *Βασιλῆα*, or Wife of the *Βασιλῆς*, that they were free from all manner of Pollution.

*Διονύσια νεότερα*, are mention'd by *Thucydides* (b), but perhaps are not distinct from some of the following.

*Διονύσια μέγαρα* (c), or the Greater, sometimes call'd *Ἀσια*, or *τὰ κατ' ἄστυ*, as being celebrated within the City, in the Month *Aniheslerion*: It is sometimes by way of Eminence call'd *Διονύσια*, without any distinguishing Epithet, because it was the most celebrated of all *Bacchus's* Festivals at *Atheni*.

*Διονύσια μικρά*, or the Less, sometimes call'd *τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς*, because it was observ'd in the Countrey. It was a sort of Preparation to the former and Greater Festival, and was celebrated in Autumn (d): Some place it in the Month *Posidonion*, others in *Gamelion*, others will have it to be the same with *Διονύσια λλωαῖα*, so nam'd from *λλωῖς*, i. e. a Wine-press; and agreeably to this Opinion *Hesychius* telleth us, it was celebrated in the Month *Lenæon*.

*Διονύσια Βραχερόνια* (e), observ'd at *Brauron*, a Burrough of *Attica*, where the Votaries gave themselves over to all manner of Excess, and Lewdness.

*Διονύσια νυκτερία* (f), Mysteries unlawful to be reveal'd, and observ'd by the *Athenians*, in honour of *Bacchus Nyctelius*, to whom also they erected a Temple.

*Θείνια*, to *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Θείων*, i. e. the God of Wine.

*Ἀμοράζια*, to *Bacchus* surnam'd *Ἀμοράζων*, and *Ἀμυσῆς*, because Human Sacrifices were offer'd to him at that Time (g); or from *Eating raw Flesh*, which Action the Priests us'd to imitate upon this

(a) *Thucyd.* lib. II. *Hesychius*, *Demosthen.* Orat. in *Neerami*, *Pollux* lib. VIII. (b) *Loc. citat.* (c) *Demosthen.* Orat. in *Leptin.* (d) *Aristophanes* Scholiast. *Acharn.* (e) *Idem* in *Pace.* (f) *Pausanias* *Attic.* (g) *Plutarchus* *Themistocle.*

Solemnity: It was also customary for them to put Serpents in their Hair, and in all their Behaviour to counterfeit Madness, and Distraction.

Several other Festivals were observ'd in honour of this God, as the Triennial Solemnity, call'd from the Time of it's Celebration *Διονύσια τριετηνέα* (a), which is said to have been first instituted by *Bacchus* himself, in memory of his Expedition into *India*, in which he spent three Years. Another also is mention'd by the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* (b), and said to be observ'd every fifth Year. And beside these we find frequent mention of *Bacchus's* Festivals in most of the Ancient Authors, some of which are describ'd in their own places.

#### ΔΙΟΣΚΟΤΡΙΑ,

In honour of *Διόσκουροι*, or *Castor* and *Pollux*, who were reputed to be the Sons of *Jupiter*. It was observ'd by the *Cyreneans* (c); but more especially by the *Spartans* (d), whose Countrey was honour'd by the Birth of those Heroes. The Solemnity was full of Mirth, being a Time wherein they shar'd plentifully of the Gifts of *Bacchus*, and diverted themselves with Sports, of which Wrestling-matches always made a part.

#### ΔΙΟΣΒΟΤΣ,

A *Milesian* Festival, wherein an Ox was offer'd to *Jupiter* (e), as the Name imports.

#### ΔΡΥΟΠΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Day, observ'd in memory of *Dryops*, one of *Apollo's* Sons, at *Asine*, which was a Maritime Town of *Argos*, and inhabited by the *Dryopians* (f).

#### ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΗ,

A Festival so call'd, because it was celebrated upon the Twelfth Day of *Aniheslerion* (g). See *Ἀνδρῆσθαια*.

#### E

#### ΕΒΔΟΜΗ,

On the Seventh Day (h) of every Lunar Month, in honour of *Apollo*, to whom all Seventh Days were sacred; because one of them was his Birth-day; whence he was sometimes call'd *ἑβδομαγενής* (i); the Story we have in *Hesiod* (k),

(a) *Virgil.* *Æneid.* IV. (b) In *Pace.* (c) *Tindari Schol.* *Pythion.* Od. V. (d) *Pausanias* *Meffenicis.* *Sidonius* *Carmin.* IX. (e) *Hesychius.* (f) *Pausanias* *Meffenicis.* (g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Suidas.* *Proclus* in *Hesiodi* *Dias.* (i) *Plutarchus* *Sympol.* lib. VIII. *Quæst.* I. (k) *Diebus.*

ὡς ἐδίδον, ἵερὸν ἦμαρ,  
τῇ δ' Ἀπόλλωνι χυπαῖρα γένετο Λητώ.

The seventh Day is sacred,  
'Cause Phœbus then was of Latona was born:

At this Solemnity the Athenians sung Hymns to Apollo, and carry'd in their Hands Branches of Lawrel, with which also they adorn'd their Dishes.

Another Festival there was of this Name, which Private Families observ'd upon the Seventh Day after the Birth of a Child; but of this I shall give account in it's own place.

#### ΒΙΣΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

The Day in which the Magistrates at Athens enter'd upon their Offices (a); upon which it was customary for them to offer a Solemn Sacrifice, praying for the Preservation, and Prosperity of the Common-wealth, in the Temple, or Hall of Jupiter Βελών, and Minerva Βελών, i. e. the Counsellors (b).

#### ΕΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ,

To Jupiter, firnam'd Hecalus, or Hecalesius, from Hecale, one of the Burrough-towns of the Leontian Tribe in Attica (c); or from an old Woman call'd Hecale, by whom he had a Statue erected. This Hecale, (as Plutarch (d) reports), when Theseus was upon his Expedition against the Marathonian Bull, entertain'd him with all possible expressions of Kindness, and Respect, making Prayers and Vows to the Gods for his safe Return. Theseus came off with Victory, and Honour; but at his Return, finding old Hecale dead, and being thereby prevented from expressing his Thankfulness to her, he order'd that her Memory should be held Sacred, and honour'd at this Solemnity, in which she was call'd, by a diminution of her Name, Hecalene; because she had assisted Theseus after that manner, calling him Ουρεΐδου, which is a very usual Mode of Speech, when Aged Persons design to express their Love and Tenderness to the Younger sort: So Sirepsides in Aristophanes (e) calls his Son Phidippides, by the diminutive Name of Σιρεπίδου.

#### ΕΚΑΤΗΣΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity observ'd in honour of Hecate, by the Stratonicensians, who were wont to assemble at this Time in great numbers (f).

(a) Suidas, aliique Lexicographi. (b) Antiphon Orat. pro Chorcuto. (c) Strabo Byzantinus. (d) Theseo. (e) Nubibus. (f) Strabo lib. XIV.

The Athenians also had a great Veneration for this Goddess, believing that she was the Over-seeer of their Families, and protected their Children; whence it was customary to erect Statues to her before the Doors of their Houses, which from the Goddess's Name were call'd Εκαπύια (a). Every New-moon there was a Publick Entertainment provided at the Charge of the Richer sort, which was no sooner brought to the accustomed place, but the poor People carry'd all off, giving out that Hecate had devour'd it (b); whence it was call'd Εκαπύια δειπνον, or Hecate's Supper. This was done in a place where three Ways met, because this Goddess was suppos'd to have a threefold Nature, or three Offices, in allusion to which she was known by three Names, being call'd in the Infernal Regions, Hecate; in Heaven, Σελῶν, or the Moon; and upon Earth, Αρτεμις, or Diana: whence it is, that we find a great many Names attributed to her, deriv'd from the number Three, or bearing some Relation to it; as Τετράκω, Τετράκω, Τετράκω, Τετράκω, Trivia, Tergemina, Tritonia, with several others.

#### ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΟΙΑ,

A Festival (c) celebrated in honour of Juno, by the Argians, and Arginensians, who were a Colony from Argos. It was so call'd from εκατόμβη, which signifies a Sacrifice, consisting of an hundred Oxen; it being usual upon the first Day of this Solemnity to offer so many to Juno, the Reliques of all which were distributed amongst the Citizens. There were also at this Time Publick Sports, first instituted by Archimedes, one of the Kings of Argos; the Prize was a Brazen Shield, and a Crown of Myrtle.

There was also an Anniversary Sacrifice call'd by this name in Laconia, and offer'd for the Preservation of the hundred Cities, which flourish'd at one time in that Countrey (d).

#### ΕΚΑΤΟΜΦΟΝΙΑ,

A Solemn Sacrifice to Jupiter, offer'd by the Messenians, when any of them kill'd an hundred Enemies (e).

#### ΕΚΑΤΣΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd by the Phælians, in honour of Latona, upon this account, as it is deliver'd by Antoninus Liberalis (f): Gaia, the Daughter of Emrysus, was marry'd to Lamprus, the Son of Pandion, a Citizen of Phælius in Crete; who being of an honourable Family, but wanting an Estate answerable to his Birth, and being un-

(a) Aristophanes, ejusque Scholiastes in Vesant. (c) Idem in Pluto. (d) Tridans Scholiast. Olymp. VII, VIII. (e) Euphratensis lib. 2. (f) Lucianus Messeniorum. (f) Metamorph. XVII.

able to provide competent Fortunes for Daughters, gave order to his Wife, that if she was brought to bed of a Daughter, she should immediately put her to Death. This done, he went to look after his Flock, and before his Return *Galatea* was deliver'd of a Daughter, but being overcome by Maternal Affection, resolv'd to disobey her Husband's cruel Command; wherefore to secure the Infant, she call'd it *Leucippus*, telling her Husband it was a Boy: At length, being no longer able to conceal the Artifice, she fled for succour to *Laióna's* Temple, where with abundance of earnestness she entreated the Goddess, that, if it was possible, her Virgin might be transform'd into a Boy; *Laióna* mov'd with Compassion, granted her Request; whence she was by the *Phæstians* call'd *Φηπία*, ἀφ' τοῦ φῆν μινδεα τῇ κούρῃ, i. e. because the Maid chang'd her Sex; and *Εκδυσία*, ἀφ' τοῦ πλύνειν τὴν ἐκδύειν τὸν πέπλον, i. e. because she put off her Woman's Apparel.

## ΕΛΑΦΗΒΟΛΙΑ,

In honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Ελαφνίαν*, i. e. the Huntress, for which reason a Cake made in the form of a Deer, and upon that account call'd *ἐλαφ*, was offer'd to her (a). This Festival was instituted upon this Occasion: The *Phocensians* being reduc'd to the last extremity by the *Thessalians*, and disclaiming to submit to them, *Daiphantus* propos'd that a vast pile of combustible matter should be erected, upon which they should place their Wives, Children, and their whole Substance; and in case they were defeated, set all on fire together, that nothing might come into the hands of their Enemies. But it being judg'd by no means reasonable so to dispose of the Women without their consent, they summon'd them to the Publick Assembly; where being met in a full Body, the Proposal was no sooner offer'd to them, than with unanimous consent they gave their Approbation of it, applauding *Daiphantus*, and decreeing him a Crown, in Reward of so generous and noble a Contrivance; the Boys also are said to have met, and consented to it: Things being in this posture, they went to meet their Enemies, whom they engag'd with such Fury, and Resolution, that those, by whom they had just before been reduc'd to extream Despair, were routed, and entirely defeated by them (b). In memory of which Victory, this Festival was instituted, and observ'd with more Solemnity, and frequented by greater numbers of Worshipers, than any other in that Country. Here you may take notice of the Proverb *Φωκίων Στόνοια*, i. e. *Phocensian* Despair, which is apply'd to Persons lost beyond all hopes of Recovery, and is said to have taken its original from this Story.

(a) *Athenæus* Διαιτ. lib. XIV. (b) *Thucydides* de Virtute Mulierum.

## ΕΛΕΝΙΑ,

## ΕΛΕΝΙΑ,

A Festival instituted by the *Laconians*, in memory of *Helena* (a), to whom they gave the honour of a Temple, and Divine Worship. It was celebrated by Virgins riding upon Mules, or in certain Chariots compos'd of Reeds, or Bull-rushes, and call'd *Κυράριον*.

## ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ,

At *Platae* (b), to *Jupiter Eleutherius*, or the Assertor of Liberty, by Delegates from almost all the Cities of Greece. It was instituted upon this account: *Mardonius*, the Persian General, being defeated in the Territories of *Platae*, by the Grecians under the conduct of *Pausanias* the Spartan; the Plataeans erected an Altar, and a Statue of white Marble to *Jupiter Eleutherius*, by whose Assistance they suppos'd the Grecians had asserted the Liberties of Greece, against the Forces of the Barbarians: and a general Assembly being summon'd from all parts of Greece, *Aristides* the Athenian propos'd, that Deputies might be sent every fifth Year from the Cities of Greece, to celebrate *Ελευθερία*, i. e. the Games of Liberty; which was agree'd upon, and great Prizes appointed to be contended for.

The Plataeans also kept an Anniversary Solemnity, in memory of those that had valiantly lost their Lives in Defence of their Country's Liberty; of which the manner was thus: On the sixteenth of the Month *Μεμαστήριον*, which with the *Bacotians* is *Alalcomenius*, a Procession was made, beginning about Break of Day; it was led by a Trumpeter, sounding a Point of War; then follow'd certain Chariots loaden with Myrrh, Garlands, and a black Bull; after these came young Men Free-born, it not being permitted any Person of Servile Condition to assist at any part of this Solemnity, because the Men, in whose memory it was instituted, dy'd in Defence of the Liberty of Greece; these carry'd Libations of Wine, and Milk, in large two-ear'd Vessels, and Jars of Oyl, and precious Ointments: Last of all came the Chief Magistrate, for whom tho' it was unlawful at other times to touch any thing of Iron, or wear Garments of any Colour but White, yet he was then clad in a Purple Robe, and taking a Water-pot out of the City-Chamber, proceeded with a Sword in his Hand through the middle of the Town, to the Sepulchres: Then he drew Water out of a neighbouring Spring, and wash'd, and anointed the Monuments; then sacrific'd the Bull upon a pile of Wood, making Supplication to *Infernal Mercury*, and *Jupiter*, and invited the Souls of those Valiant Heroes, that lost their Lives in the Defence of their Country, to the Entertainment; then filling a Bowl with Wine, said, *I drink to those, that lost their Lives for the Liberty of Greece*. These Solemnities, *Plutarch* telleth us, were observ'd till his Days.

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Pausanias* *Exoticus*, *Plutarchus* *Aristotele*.



Another Festival of this Name was observ'd by the *Samians*, in honour of the God of Love (a).

It was also customary for Slaves to keep a Holy-day call'd by this Name, when they obtain'd Liberty. To which Custom there is an Allusion in *Plautus* (b), who introduces a Slave nam'd *Toxilus*, rejoycing that his Master was gone from Home, and promising himself as much Pleasure, as if he had obtain'd Freedom; whence he makes him to say,

*Basile agito Eleutheria*—

#### ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ,

This Solemnity was observ'd by the *Celeans*, and *Phliasians* every fourth Year; by the *Pheneate* also, the *Lacedaemonians*, *Parrhasians*, and *Crazans*; but more especially by the *Athenians* every fifth Year, at *Eleusis* a Burrough-Town of *Attica*, from whence it was translated to *Rome* by *Adrian* the Emperour, and never totally abolish'd till the Reign of the Elder *Theodosius*. It was the most celebrated, and Mysterious Solemnity of any in *Greece*, whence it is often call'd, by way of Eminence, *Mysteria*, i. e. the Mysteries, without any other Note of Distinction; and so superstitiously careful were they to conceal the Sacred Rites, that if any Person divulg'd any part of them, he was thought to have call'd down some Divine Judgment upon his Head, and it was accounted unsafe to abide in the same House with him; wherefore he was apprehended as a publick offender, and suffered Death. Every thing contain'd some hidden Mystery, *Ceres* her self (to whom with her Daughter *Proserpina* this Solemnity was sacred) was not call'd by her own Name, but by the unusual Title of *Αχθια*, which seems to be deriv'd from *αχθος*, i. e. Grief, or Heaviness, because of her Sorrow for the loss of her Daughter, when she was stoln by *Pluto*. This Secrecy was strictly enjoynd not only in *Attica*, but all other places of *Greece*, where this Festival was observ'd, except *Crete*; insomuch that if any Person, that was not lawfully Initiated, did but out of Ignorance, or Mistake chance to be present at the Mysterious Rites, he was put to Death. It is said by some to have been first instituted by *Ceres* her self, when she had supply'd the *Athenians* with Corn, in a Time of grievous Famine. Others attribute both those Facts to King *Erechtheus*: Some will have it to have been instituted by *Museus*, the Father of *Eleusis*; others by *Eumolpus* himself.

Persons of both Sexes, and all Ages were Initiated at this Solemnity; nor was it a thing indifferent whether they would be so, or no; for the Neglect of it was look'd upon as a Crime of a very

heinous Nature; insomuch that it was one part of the Accusation, for which *Socrates* was condemn'd to Death. All Persons Initiated were thought to live in a state of greater Happiness and Security than other Men, being under the more immediate Care, and Protection of the Goddesses: Nor did the Benefit of it extend only to this Life, but after Death too they enjoy'd (as was believ'd) far greater degrees of Felicity than others, and were honour'd with the first Places in the *Elysian* Shades; whereas others (poor Souls!) were forc'd to lye, and wallow in perpetual Dirt, Stink, and Nastiness.

But since the Benefits of Initiation were so vastly great, no wonder if they were very cautious what Persons they admitted to it: Therefore such, as were convicted of Witchcraft, or any other heinous Crime, or had committed Murder, tho' against their Wills, were debarr'd from these Mysteries; and tho' in later Ages all Persons, *Barbarians* excepted, were admitted to them, yet in the Primitive Times the *Athenians* excluded all Strangers, that is, all that were not Members of their own Common-wealth, some Eminent and Extraordinary Persons excepted; such were *Hercules*, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Aesculapius*, and some others. Nor were these admitted to the *Μυστηρια Μεγαρα*, or Greater Mysteries, but only to the *μικρα*, or Less, which were sacred to *Proserpina*, and first instituted on this Account: On a Time, when the *Athenians* were celebrating the accustom'd Solemnity, *Hercules* happening to go that way, desir'd he might be Initiated; but it being unlawful for any Stranger to enjoy that Privilege, and yet *Hercules* being a Person that by reason of his great Power, and the extraordinary Services he had done for them, could not be deny'd; *Eumolpus* thought of an Expedient, whereby to satisfy the Heroe's Request, without violating the Laws; which he did, by instituting another Solemnity, which was call'd *Μικρα μυστηρια*, or the Lesser Mysteries; which were afterwards solemnly observ'd in the Month *Anthesterion*, at *Agrae*, a Place near the River *Ilissus*; whereas the Greater were celebrated in the Month *Boedromion* at *Eleusis*, an *Attick* Burrough, from which *Ceres* was call'd *Eleusinia*. In later Times the Lesser Festival was us'd as a Preparative to the Greater; for no Persons were Initiated in the Greater, unless they had been purify'd at the Lesser; the manner of which Purification was thus: Having kept themselves chaste and unpolluted nine Days, they came and offer'd Sacrifices, and Prayers, wearing Crowns and Garlands of Flowers, which were call'd *Ισμερα*, or *Ισμερα*; they had also under their Feet *Διὸς καδισιν*, i. e. *Jupiter's* Skin, which was the Skin of a Victim offer'd to that God. The Person that assisted them herein, was call'd *Ἰσπυρς*, from *Ἰσπυ*, i. e. Water, which was us'd at most Purifications, but they were nam'd *Μυσται*, i. e. Persons Initiated.

About a Year after, having sacrific'd a Sow to *Ceres*, they were admitted to the Greater Mysteries, the Secret Rites of which (some few excepted, to which none but Priests were conscious) were frankly reveal'd

(a) *Αἰνιγμα* *Αἰνιγμα*. p. lib III. (b) *Ter. Act. I. Scen. I.*

reveal'd to them; whence they were call'd *ἑρμῆς*, and *ἐπέπαι*, i. e. Inspectors. The manner of Initiation was thus: The Candidates being crown'd with Myrtle, had admittance by Night into a place call'd *Μυστικός οὐκός*, i. e. the Mystical Temple, which was an Edifice so vast and capacious, that the most ample Theater did scarce exceed it. At their entrance, they purify'd themselves by washing their Hands in Holy-water, and at the same time were admonished, to present themselves with Minds pure and undefil'd, without which the external Cleanness of the Body would by no means be accepted. After this the Holy Mysteries were read to them out of a Book, call'd *Πέτρα*, which word is deriv'd from *πέτρα*, i. e. a Stone, because the Book was nothing else but two Stones fitly cemented together. Then the Priest that Initiated them, call'd *ἱεροδότης*, propos'd certain Questions, as, Whether they were fasting, &c. to which they return'd Answers in a set Form, as may be seen in *Maurus's* Treatise on this Festival, to which I refer the Reader. This done, strange and amazing Objects presented themselves, sometimes the place they were in, seem'd to shake round them, sometimes appear'd bright and resplendent with Light, and radiant Fire, and then again cover'd with black Darkness, and Horrour; sometimes Thunder, and Lightning, sometimes frightful Noises, and Bellowings, sometimes terrible Apparitions astonish'd the trembling Spectators: The being present at these Signs was call'd *ἁποψία*, i. e. Intuition. After this, they were dismiss'd in these Words, *Κῆρυξ, Οὐραξ*. The Garments in which they were Initiated, were accounted sacred, and of no less efficacy to avert Evil than Charms, and Incantations: wherefore they never cast them off, till they were torn and tatter'd Rags; nor was it then usual to throw them away, but they made Swaddling-cloths of them for their Children, or consecrated them to *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*.

The chief Person that attended at the Initiation, was call'd *ἱεροδότης*, i. e. a Revealer of holy Things: He was always a Citizen of *Athen*, and held his Office during Life (tho' amongst the *Celeans*, and *Phliastum* it was customary for him to resign his Place every fourth Year, which was the Time of this Festival) he was farther oblig'd to devote himself wholly to Divine Service, and to live a chaste and single Life; to which end, it was usual for him to anoint himself with the Juice of Hemlock, which by it's extreme Coldness is said to extinguish, in a great measure, the Natural Heat. The *Hierophantes* had three Assistants, the first of which was call'd from his Office *Δαδούχος*, i. e. Torch-bearer, and to him it was permitted to marry. The second was call'd *Κῆρυξ*, of whose Office I have already given an Account. The third ministr'd at the Altar, and was for that reason nam'd *ὁ δὲ βωμῷ*. *Hierophantes* is said to have been a Type of the Great Creatour of all Things; *Δαδούχος*, of the Sun; *Κῆρυξ*, of *Mercury*; and *ὁ δὲ τῷ βωμῷ*, of the Moon.

That

There were also certain publick Officers, whose business it was to take care that all things were perform'd according to Custom. First, *Βασιλεύς*, i. e. The King, who was one of the *Archons*, and was oblig'd at this Solemnity to offer Prayers, and Sacrifices, to see that no Indecency, or Irregularity was committed, and the Day following the Mysteries, to assemble the Senate, and take cognizance of all Offenders in that kind. Beside the King, there were four *ἑμμεληταί*, i. e. Curators, elected by the People; one of them was appointed out of the Sacred Family of the *Eumolpidae*, another out of the *Ceryes*, and the remaining two out of the other Citizens. There were also ten Persons, that assist'd at this, and some other Solemnities, and were call'd *ἱεροποιοί*, because it was their Business to offer Sacrifices.

This Festival was celebrated in *Boedromion*, and continu'd nine Days, beginning upon the fifteenth, and ending upon the twenty-third Day of that Month; during which Time, it was unlawful to arrest any Man, or present any Petition; and such as were found guilty of these Practices, were fin'd a thousand Drachms, or (as others report) put to Death. It was also unlawful for those that were Initiated, to sit upon the Covering of a Well, or to eat Beans, Mullets, or Weazles. And if any Woman rode in a Chariot to *Eleusis*, she was by an Edict of *Lycurgus* oblig'd to pay six thousand Drachms.

1. The first Day was call'd *Ἀγορμός*, i. e. an Assembly; because, it may be, then the Worshippers first met together.

2. The second was nam'd *Ἀλα δὲ Μύται*, i. e. to the Sea, you that are Initiated; because (I suppose) they were commanded to purify themselves by washing in the Sea.

3. Upon the third they offer'd Sacrifices, which consisted chiefly of an *Æonian* Mullet, in *Greek* *πείγλη*, and Barley out of *Rhæium*, a Field of *Eleusis*, in which that sort of Corn was first sown. These Oblations were call'd *Θύα*, and accounted so Sacred, that the Priests themselves were not (as was usual in other Offerings) allow'd to partake of them.

4. Upon the fourth they made a solemn Procession, wherein the *Καλάθιον*, or Holy Basket of *Ceres*, was carry'd in a consecrated Cart; Crowds of People shouting as they went along, *Χαίρει Δημήτερ*, i. e. All Happiness to *Ceres*. After these follow'd certain Women call'd *Κισσώριες*, who (as the Name implies) carry'd certain Baskets: In these were contain'd Sesamin, carded Wooll, some grains of Salt, a Serpent, Pomegranates, Reeds, Ivy-boughs, a sort of Cakes call'd *φθίς*, Poppys, &c.

5. The fifth was call'd *Ἡ τῶν λαμπάδων νύκτα*, i. e. the Torch-day; because the Night following it, the Men, and Women ran about with Torches in their Hands. It was also customary to dedicate Torches

to

to *Ceres*, and contend who should present the biggest; which was done in memory of *Ceres's* Journey, wherein she sought *Proserpina*, being conducted by the light of a Torch, kindled in the Flames of *Aëna*.

6. The sixth Day was call'd *Ιαχχός*, from *Jacchus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Ceres*, that accompany'd the Goddess in her Search after *Proserpina*, with a Torch in his Hand; whence it is, that his Statue held a Torch. This Statue was carry'd from the *Cerameus* to *Eleusis* in a solemn Procession, call'd, after the Hero's Name, *Ιαχχός*. The Persons that accompany'd it, had their Heads crown'd with Myrtle, as also had the Statue, and were nam'd *Ιαχχαγόοι*, and all the way danc'd, and sung, and beat brazen Kettles. The Way by which they issu'd out of the City, was call'd *Ιερά ὁδός*, i. e. the Sacred Way: The Resting-place *Ιερά συκῆ*, from a Fig-tree, which grew there, and was (like all other things concern'd in this Solemnity) accounted Sacred. It was also customary to rest upon a Bridge built over the River *Cephissus*, and make themselves merry by jesting upon those that pass'd by; whence *χευεῖζον*, being deriv'd from *χεύω*, i. e. a Bridge, is by *Snidas* expounded *χαδάζων*, i. e. mocking, or jeering; and *χευεῖσαι* are by *Hesychius* interpreted *σώπαι*, i. e. Scoffers. Having pass'd this Bridge, they went to *Eleusis*, the way into which was call'd *Μυστικὴ εἰσοδός*, i. e. the Mystical Entrance.

7. Upon the seventh Day were Sports, in which the Victors were rewarded with a Measure of Barley, that Grain being first sown in *Eleusis*.

8. The eighth was call'd *Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡμέρα*, because it once happen'd that *Æsculapius*, coming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens*, and desiring to be Initiated, had the Lesser Mysteries repeated: Whence it became customary to celebrate them a second time upon this Day, and admit to Initiation such Persons as had not before enjoy'd that Privilege.

9. The ninth, and last Day of the Festival was call'd *Πλημυρῆαι*, i. e. Earthen Vessels: because it was usual to fill two such Vessels with Wine, one of which being plac'd towards the East, and the other towards the West; after the Repetition of certain Mystical Words, they were both thrown down, and the Wine being spilt upon the Ground, was offer'd as a Libation.

#### ΕΛΕΝΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival (a), so call'd from *Ελέναι*, i. e. Vessels made of Bull-rushes, with Ears of Willow, in which certain Mystical things were carry'd upon this Day.

(a) *Pollux Onom. lib X cap. I. III. Hesychius.*

#### ΕΛΛΩΤΙΑ,

Two Festivals (a), one of which was celebrated in *Crete*, in honour of *Eiropa*, call'd *Ελλωτία*, which was either a Phœnician Name, or deriv'd *ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλῆδαι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πύρα*, i. e. from *Eiropa's* ravishment by *Jupiter* in the form of a Bull. At this time *Eiropa's* Bones were carry'd in Procession, with a Myrtle Garland call'd *Ελλωπτε*, or *Ελλώπτε*, which was no less than twenty Cubits in Circumference.

The other Festival was celebrated by the *Corinthians* with solemn Games, and Races, wherein young Men contended, running with lighted Torches in their hands. It was instituted in honour of *Minerva*, surnam'd *Ελλωπτε*, *ἐπὶ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔλκε*, i. e. from a certain Pond in *Marathon*, where one of her Statues was erected: Or *ἐπὶ τῇ ἔλκῃ τὸν ἱππὸν τοῦ Πάριον*, i. e. because by her assistance *Bellerophon* caught *Pegasus*, the winged Horse, and brought him under command, which some take to be the first reason of the Celebration of this Festival; others are of opinion, that this Name was given to the Goddess from one *Hellotis*, a Corinthian Woman; the Story runs thus: The Dorians, being assisted by the posterity of *Heraclæ*, made an Invasion upon *Peloponnesus*, where they took, and burn'd *Corinth*; most of the Women took care to secure themselves by an early Flight, only some few, amongst whom were *Hellotis*, and *Eurytionæ*, betook themselves to *Minerva's* Temple, hoping, that the sanctity of the Place would be sufficient protection for them: No sooner had this reach'd the Dorians Ears, but they set Fire to the Temple, and all the rest making a shift to escape, *Hellotis*, and *Eurytionæ* perish'd in the Flames: Upon this ensu'd a dreadful Plague, which prov'd very fatal to the Dorians; and the remedy prescrib'd by the Goddess, was, to appease the Ghosts of the two deceas'd Sisters; whereupon they instituted this Festival in memory of them, and erected a Temple to *Minerva*, surnam'd, from one of them, *Hellotis*.

#### ΕΛΩΡΙΑ,

Games in Sicily, near the River *Helorus* (b).

#### ΕΜΠΛΟΚΙΑ,

At Athens (c).

#### ΕΝΗΛΙΑΞΙΣ,

Or rather (according to *Mausæus's* conjecture) *Ενυαλίαξίς*, was a Fe-

(a) *Hesychius, Etymologicæ Λαβῆς, Athenæus Διονυσίου: lib. XV. Tindarus Scholiastes Olympion. Od. XIII.* (b) *Hesychius* (c) *Idem.*

stival in honour of *Enyalios* (a), whom some will have to be the same with *Mars*; Others, only one of his Ministers.

## ΕΠΑΧΘΗΣ,

To *Ceres* nam'd *Αχθεια* (b), from *ἄχθος*, i. e. grief, in memory of her sorrow, when she had lost her Daughter *Proserpina*.

## ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ,

Private Festivals, and Times of rejoycing, when a Friend, or Relation was return'd from a Journey (c).

## ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ,

A *Delphian* Festival, in memory of a Journey of *Apollo* (d).

## ΕΠΙΘΡΙΚΑΔΙΑ,

In honour of *Apollo* (e).

## ΕΠΙΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, in honour of *Ceres* (f).

## ΕΠΙΚΡΗΝΑΙ,

Another of *Ceres's* Festivals, observ'd by the *Laconians* (g).

## ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑ, ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Day of rejoycing after Victory.

## ΕΠΙΣΚΑΦΙΑ,

A *Rhodian* Festival (h).

## ΕΠΙΣΚΗΝΑ,

A *Spartan* Festival (i).

## ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΑ, ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΩΣΙΣ,

At *Sira* in *Attica*, in honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* (k).

## ΕΡΩΤΙΑ,

By the *Thespians*, in honour of *Eros*, i. e. *Cupid*, the God of Love (l).

(a) Idem. (b) *Plutarchus* de *Iside* & *Osiride*. (c) *Himerius* in *Prosemp.* *Flavian.* (d) *Procopius* in *Epistola* ad *Zachariam*. (e) *Hesychius*. (f) Idem. (g) Idem. (h) Idem. (i) Idem. (k) *Strabo* Geogr. lib. IX. *Stephanus* v. *Σκίρῳ*. (l) *Eusebii* sub fine l. i. c.

## ΕΡΩΤΙΑ,

This Festival seems to be the same with the former, for it was observ'd by the *Thespians* in honour of *Cupid* (a); being celebrated every fifth year with Sports, and Games, wherein Musicians, and others contended. If any Quarrels had happen'd amongst the People, it was usual at this time to offer Sacrifices, and Prayers to the God, that he would put an end to them.

## ΕΡΓΑΤΙΑ,

A *Laconian* Festival, in honour of *Hercules* (b); being (I suppose) instituted in memory of his Labours, for Labour is by the *Greeks* call'd *Εργον*.

## ΕΡΚΗΝΙΑ,

I would rather call it *Ερκύνια*, for this Festival belong'd to *Ceres* (c), whom we find nam'd *Hercynna* in *Lycophron* (d); which Title was given her from *Hercynna*, the Daughter of *Trophonius*, and Play-fellow of *Proserpina* (e).

## ΕΡΜΑΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd in honour of *Ερμης*, i. e. *Mercury*, by the *Phenaeae* in *Arcadia* (f), and the *Cyllenians* in *Elis* (g).

Another we find observ'd by the *Tangraeans* in *Boetia* (h), where *Mercury* was call'd *Κεορβίος*, i. e. the Ram-bearer, and represented with a Ram upon his Shoulder, because he is said in a time of Plague to have walk'd about the City in that Posture, and cur'd the Sick; in memory of which Action, it was customary for one of the most beautiful Youths in the City to walk round the City-walls with a Lamb, or Ram upon his Shoulders.

A Festival of the same Name was also observ'd in *Crete*, where it was usual for the servants to sit down at Table, whilst their Masters stood by, and waited (i); which custom was also practis'd at the *Roman Saturnalia*.

Another of *Mercury's* Festivals was observ'd by Boys in the Schools of Exercise at *Athens* (k); at which no adult Persons were allow'd to be present, beside the *Gymnasiarch*; who, if convicted of having admitted any, underwent the same punishment with those that corrupted free-born Youth: The occasion of which Law seems to have been the foul and not to be nam'd Lust, and Wantonness, that were practis'd in former Times at this Solemnity.

(a) *Plutarchus* *Erotic*. *Pausanias* *Boeoticis*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) Idem. (d) *Cassandra* v. 153. (e) *Pausanias* *Boeoticis*. (f) Idem *Arcadicis*. (g) Idem *Elisacu*. (h) Idem *Boeoticu*. (i) *Athenaus* *Δειπν.* XIV. (k) *Aeschines* in *Timarchum*.

## ΕΣΤΙΑΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices to *Vesta* (a), call'd in *Greek* *Εστία*, of which it was unlawful to carry away, or communicate any part to any beside the Worshippers: whence *Εστία δύνει*, i. e. to sacrifice to *Vesta*, is Proverbially apply'd to such as do any thing in private without Spectators (b); or rather to covetous Misers, that will not part with any thing they are once possess'd of (c).

## ΕΤΜΕΝΙΑΔΕΙΑ, or ΣΕΜΝΩΝΕΟΡΘΗ,

To the *Furies* (d), who were by the *Athenians* call'd *Σεμνὰί Δαί*, i. e. Venerable Goddesses; by the *Sicyonians*, and others, *Εὐδιδάιδες*, i. e. Favourable, or Propitious; out of an Opinion that their true Names were unlucky Omens. This Festival was observ'd once every Year with Sacrifices, wherein pregnant Ewes, Cakes made by the most Eminent of the Young Men, and a Libation of Honey and Wine were offer'd to the Goddesses, the Worshippers being deck'd with Flowers. At *Athens* none had Admission to these Solemnities but Free-born Denizens; and of them, those only that were of known Virtue and Integrity, for such alone could be acceptable to these Deities, whose peculiar Office it was to revenge and punish all sorts of Impiety.

## ΕΥΠΥΘΙΩΝΙΟΝ,

To *Ceres* (e).

## ΕΥΡΥΚΛΕΙΑ,

A *Spartan* Festival, mentioned in an old Inscription.

## ΕΥΡΥΝΟΜΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity observ'd by the *Phigaleans* in *Arcadia* (f), who offer'd Sacrifices, both in Publick, and Private, to *Eurynome*, who had in this place a Temple, that was never open, but upon this Day. This *Eurynome* was (as some are of Opinion) the same with *Diana*; or (according to others) one of *Oceanus's* Daughters, mention'd in *Homer*, where she is said to have assisted in entertaining *Vulcan*.

## ΕΦΙΠΠΟΣ,

Horse-races in *Laconia* (g).

(a) Hesychius. (b) Diogenianus. (c) Tarchanius. (d) Thilo, Pausanias Boeotich. (e) Hesychius. (f) Pausanias Arcadicus. (g) Hesychius, & Phavorinus.

## Η

## ΗΛΑΚΑΤΑΙΑ,

A *Laconian* Festival, in honour of *Helacatus* (a), who was a Boy belov'd by *Hercules*.

## ΗΡΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Argos*, in honour of *Juno*, who was the Protectress of that City, and call'd in *Greek* *Ηρα*. There were two Processions to the Goddess's Temple without the City; One by the Men in Armour: Another, in which *Juno's* Priestess, who was always a Matron of the first Quality, was drawn in a Chariot by white Oxen: From her Priesthood the *Argians* accounted their Years, as the *Athenians* did by the Government of their *Archons*: Being arriv'd at the Temple, they offer'd an *Hecatomb* of Oxen, whence this Festival is nam'd *Ἡγερύβοια*, that Sacrifice is also sometimes call'd *Λέχος* which Name may, perhaps, be deriv'd from *λέχος*, i. e. a Bed, because it was *Juno's* Care to preside over Marriages, Births, &c. There were also certain Games, wherein the Victory consisted in pulling down a Shield, that was strongly fix'd upon the Theater: The reward was a Crown of Myrtle, and a brazen Shield; whence the Game was sometimes call'd *Χάλκειον ἄγων*, i. e. the Brazen Contention. See *Ἡγερύβοια*.

Another Festival of this Name we find celebrated every fifth Year in *Elis*, where sixteen Matrons were appointed to weave a Garment for the Goddess. There were Games also, which are said to have been first instituted by *Hippodamia*, in honour of *Juno*, by whose Assistance she was marry'd to *Pelops*. The Presidents were sixteen Matrons, every one of which was attended by a Maid: The Contenders were Virgins, who being distinguish'd into several Classes, according to their Ages, ran Races in their Orders, beginning from the youngest. The habit of all was the same; their Hair was dishevell'd, their right Shoulders bare to their Breasts, and their Coats reach'd no lower than their Knees. They had a second Race in the *Olympick Stadium*, which was at that time shorten'd about a sixth part. Such as obtain'd Victory, were rewarded with Crowns of Olive, and a share of the Ox that was offer'd in Sacrifice, and were permitted to dedicate their own Pictures to the Goddess.

This Name was also given to a Solemn Day of Mourning at *Corinth* for *Medea's* Children, who were buried in the Temple of *Juno Acrea* in that place, and, as some say, slain by the *Corinthians*, who to remove the Scandal of so barbarous a Murder from themselves, are said to have given *Enripides* a large Sum to invent the Fable, wherein

(a) Hesychius.

it is attributed to *Atides*, which before that time no Man ever dream'd of (a).

Another Festival of this Name was celebrated by the *Pelleneans* with Games, wherein the Victor was rewarded with a rich Garment, call'd from the place's Name Παλλωνία χλαῖνα.

## ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, celebrated every fifth Year in honour of *Hercules* (b).

The *Thisbians* also, and *Thebans* in *Boeotia*, observ'd a Solemn Festival in honour of *Hercules*, surnam'd Μάκων, because τὰ μήλα, i. e. Apples, were offer'd to him (c): The Original of which Custom was thus: It being usual in former Times to offer a Sheep at this Solemnity, it happen'd once that the River *Asopus* had so far overflow'd it's Banks, that it could not be forded, whereby the coming of the Victim was hindred: The word μήλων is ambiguous in *Greek*, signifying sometimes a Sheep, sometimes an Apple; which some of the Boys being aware of, for want of other Employment, perform'd the holy Rites in Sport, offering, instead of the Ram, an Apple, which they supported with four Sticks, in imitation of Feet, placing two more upon the Top of it, to branch out like Horns: *Hercules* was mightily taken with the Jest, and the Custom was continu'd from that Time to my Author's Age, who flourish'd under *Commodus*, the Roman Emperour.

At *Sicyon* *Hercules* was honour'd with a Festival, which lasted two Days, the former of which was call'd Ονοματίας; the latter Ηρόδεια.

At *Lindus* there was a Solemnity in honour of *Hercules*, at which nothing was heard, but Execrations, and Ill-boding Words; inso-much that if any Person happen'd to let fall a Lucky Speech, he was thought to have profan'd the holy Rites; the Original of which Custom is accounted for by *Lactantius*.

## ΗΡΟΣΑΝΘΕΙΑ,

A *Peloponnesian* Festival, wherein the Women met together, and gather'd Flowers (d), as the Name imports, being deriv'd from ἡρ, i. e. the Spring, and ἄνθος, i. e. a Flower.

## ΗΡΟΧΙΑ,

A Festival mentioned by *Hesychius*.

(a) *Eusebii Chroni Scholiastes*. (b) *Valerius lib. VIII. cap. IX.* (c) *Idem lib. I. cap. I.* (d) *Hesychius*.

## ΗΡΩΙΣ,

A Festival celebrated every ninth Year, by the *Delphians*, in honour of some *Heroine*, as may be learn'd from the Name. We are told by *Plutarch* (a), that there were in it a great many Mysterious Rites, wherein was a Representation of something like *Semele's* Resurrection.

## ΗΦΑΙΣΤΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival in honour of *Hephaestus*, i. e. *Vulcan*. At this Time there was a Race with Torches, call'd Αγών λαμπάδουχος, in the *Academy*; the manner of which was thus (b): The Antagonists were three Young Men, one of which being appointed by Lots to take his turn first, took a lighted Torch in his Hand, and began his Course; if the Torch happen'd to be extinguish'd before he arriv'd to his Journey's end, he deliver'd it to the second, and he in like manner to the third: The Victory was his, that carry'd the Torch lighted to the Race's end, who was call'd Λαμπάδουχος; but if none could perform that, the Victory was left undetermin'd, and not adjudg'd to any of them. If any of the Contenders, for fear of extinguishing the Torch by too violent a Motion, slacken'd their Course, the Spectators us'd to strike them with the Palms of their Hands; for which reason those Blows were call'd Πλαγὰ πλατείαι, or broad Stripes; as also Κεραμεική, because they were inflicted in the *Ceramicus* (c), of which the *Academy* was a part. To the successive Delivering of the Torches from one to another, there are frequent Allusions in Authors, who usually compare to it the Turns and Vicissitudes of Human Affairs, and the various Changes and Successions, that happen in the World; of which I will only give you one Instance out of *Lucretius* (d);

*Inque brevi spatio mutantur secla animantum,  
Et quasi Cursores vitæ Lampada tradunt.*

So things, by turns increase, by turns decay,  
Like Racers, bear the Lamp of Life, and live,  
And their Race done, their Lamps to others give.

Mr. Creech.



## ΘΑΛΥΣΙΑ,

A Sacrifice offer'd by the Husbandmen after Harvest Τὰς τῆς Θάλιας τῶν καρπῶν, i. e. in Gratitude to the Gods, by whose Blessing

(a) *Quaest. Græc.* (b) *Pausanias, Persii vetus Scholiastes, Hesychius.* (c) *Aristophanes, ejusque Scholiastes in Ranæ* (d) *Lib. II.*

they enjoy'd the Fruits of the Ground. The whole Festival was call'd *Αλῶα*, of which in another place; as also *Συγκομιδήα*, *ὑπὸ τῆς συ- κομιδῆς τῶν καρπῶν*, i. e. from the Gathering of Fruits. Some will have it to be observ'd in honour of *Ceres*, and *Bacchus* (a); those being the two Deities, who had a peculiar Care of the Fruits of the Earth. But *Eustathius* (b) telleth us, that there was also a Solemn Procession at this Time in honour of *Nephele*; and addeth farther, that all the Gods had a share in the Offerings at this Festival; as appears also from *Homer's* own Words, who tells us, that *Diana's* Anger against *Oeneus* was caus'd by his neglect of Sacrificing to her at this Festival, wherein all the rest of the Gods had been feasted by him;

Καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθρονος Ἀρτεμις ἔρπε,  
Χωσαμένη ἔτ' αἰ ἐπὶ θαλύπῃ γυνὴ Ἀλῶν  
Οἰνῶς ἔξ', ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαίνωντο' ἐχτόμβας,  
Οἷον δ' ἐξέξεν Διὸς κόρη μεγάληιο.

*Diana*, much incens'd, that *Oeneus* had  
To all the other Gods Oblations made,  
And not to Her his grateful First-fruits pay'd,  
Sent down this Evil to revenge his Crime.

Mr. Hutchin.

Hence comes *Θαλύσιος ἄρτος*, sometimes call'd *Θάγγηλος* (c), which was the first Bread made of the New Corn. Some there are, that will have *θαλύπῃ* to be a general Name for all the Festivals, wherein they carry'd *πῆς θαλλῆς*, i. e. green Boughs.

#### Θ Α Ρ Γ Η Λ Ι Α,

An *Athenian* Festival, in honour of the *Sun*, and his Attendants the *Hours*; or, as others think, of *Delian Apollo*, and *Diana*. It was celebrated upon the sixth, and seventh Days of *Thargelion*; and receiv'd it's Name from *Θαργήλιον*, which is a General Word for all the Fruits of the Earth; because one of the chief Ceremonies was the carrying about their First-fruits in Pots call'd *Θάγγηλοι*, which Name was also apply'd to the *Εἰρησιῶναι*, which were carry'd about the City at this Time, and shall be describ'd in the Festival, call'd *Πανένθεια*. The chief Solemnity was upon the latter Day, the former being wholly taken up in making Preparations for it; at which time it was customary to lustrate the City, which was done by two Persons, call'd by the general Name of *Φαρμακοὶ*, which is apply'd to all that purify'd Cities; or the more peculiar one of *Συμβανχοὶ*.

(a), *Menander Rhetor* cap. σιελ κκ. β. (b) *Head. l.* (c) *Atheniens lib. III.*

They

They were both Men; or, according to others, a Man and Woman; one of which represented the Male, the other the Female Sex, and offer'd a Sacrifice for each of them: It was usual for the Man to bear about his Neck Figs, call'd *ἰχάδες*, of a blackish Colour; and the Woman, white. The ordinary Rites in purifying Cities are thus describ'd by *John Tzetzes* (a);

Ο φαρμακός, τὸ καθαύμα, τιθεὶν ὡς τὸ πάλαι  
Ἀν συμπερὰ κατέσχε πάλιν δευμυία,  
Εἶπεν λοιμῶς, αἶ τε λιμῶς, εἶτε καὶ βλάβος ἄλλῃ  
Τῶν πάντων ἀμορφότερον, ἦγον ὡς πρὸς θυσίαν,  
Εἰς καθαυὸν καὶ φαρμακὸν πύλαις τῆ νοσοῦσης,  
Εἰς τόπον δὲ τῆ πρὸς πορὸν σήσωτες τῆ θυσίαν,  
Τυχεῖν τε θύντες τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ μάζαν, καὶ ἰχάδας,  
Επιδάκεις καὶ ῥαπίσσαιτες ἐκείνον εἰς τὸ ἴτε  
Σκίλλαις, συχῆς ἀγέλαις τε, καὶ ἄλλοις ἥν' ἀγρίων,  
Τέλει πρὸς κατέκμων ἐν ξύλοις τοῖς ἀλείοις,  
Καὶ τὸν σποδὸν εἰς θάλαππαν ἐξέβαινον εἰς ἀνέμους,  
Εἰς καθαυὸν τῆς πύλαις, ὡς ἔρω, τῆς νοσοῦσης.

Thus was in Ancient Times Lustration made;  
When any City groan'd beneath the weight  
Of Famine, Plague, or worse Calamity,  
Forthwith a grateful Victim is prepar'd,  
Which at the holy Altar when they've plac'd,  
They cast upon the Pile Cheese, Cakes, and Figs;  
Then striking seven times it's Privities  
With Sea-leeks, and wild Figs, and other Fruits,  
Rude Nature's product without help of Art,  
Burn it with Wood cut from unplanted Trees,  
Then tow'rd's the Wind the sportive Ashes cast  
Upon the Sea: Thus they the dreadful Ills,  
With which the City labour'd, drive away.

Mr. Hutchin.

Poetical Fictions tell us, that the *Φαρμακός* was so call'd from one *Pharmacus*, that stole some of the consecrated Vessels of *Apollo*, and being apprehended in the Fact by some of *Achilles's* Souldiers, suffer'd Death; of which Crime, and Punishment the *Athenians* had always a Representation at this Festival. The *Φαρμακός* was call'd *Κραδισίτης*, from a sort of Figs, call'd *κράδα*, and us'd in Lustra-

(a) *Chiliad. Histor. V. cap. XXIII.*  
A a a

sons;



tions; whence also *κράδης νόμος* was a Tune upon the Flute; which was play'd as he went to perform his Office. It was farther customary for a Choir of Singing-Men to contend for Victory, and the Conquerour to dedicate a *Tripus* in the *Pytheum*, a Temple of *Apollo*, built by *Pisistratus*. At this Festival the *Athenians* enroll'd their Adopted Sons in the Publick Register, as also they did their Natural at the *Apauria*. During the Solemnity, it was unlawful to give, or receive Pledges, and the Offenders in this kind were arraign'd at an *Assembly*, held in *Bacchus's Theater*.

The *Milefians* had a Festival of the same Name, which they celebrated with a great many Expressions of Mirth and Jollity, feasting and entertaining one another.

## ΘΕΟΓΑΜΙΑ,

I. e. The Marriage of the Gods. It was a *Sicilian Festival*, in honour of *Proserpina* (a); and seems to have been instituted in memory of her Marriage with *Pluto*; the chief part of the Solemnity being nothing else, but an imitation of the Nuptial Rites:

## ΘΕΟΙΝΙΑ,

See *Διονύσια*.

## ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΑ,

A Festival common to all the Gods (b), and celebrated in a great many Cities of *Greece*, but especially at *Athens*.

The *Pelleneans* instituted Solemn Games, call'd by this Name, in honour of *Apollo Θεοξένιος*, i. e. the God of Hospitality, according to *Pausanias* (c), or, as the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* reports (d), of *Apollo* and *Mercury*: The Victors, according to *Pausanias*, were rewarded with a piece of Plate; according to the foremention'd *Scholiast*, with a Garment call'd *Χλόινον*.

The same *Scholiast* (e) reports, that the *Dioscuri* instituted a Festival of this Name, in memory of an honour the Gods did them, by coming to one of their Entertainments.

## ΘΕΟΦΑΝΕΙΑ, or ΘΕΟΦΑΝΙΑ,

I. e. The Appearance of God. It was a Festival observ'd by the *Dolphians* (f), upon the Day, whereon *Apollo* first manifested himself to them.

## ΘΕΡΑΠΝΑΤΙΑΙΑ,

A *Laconian Festival* (g).

## ΘΕΡΜΙΩΝΕΟΡΘΗ,

A Publick Festival, Mart, and Assembly of the *Ætolians*, held at a Town in that Countrey, call'd *Thermi* (h).

(a) *Vellux lib. I. cap. I.* (b) *Hesychius* (c) *Achucen.* (d) *Olympion. XI.* (e) *Olymp. III.* (f) *Lieroleum lib. I. Statu* (g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Polybius lib. V.*

## Θ Ε Ρ Τ Η Ρ Ι Α,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*.

## Θ Ε Σ Μ Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α,

A Festival in honour of *Ceres*, surnam'd *Θεσμοφώρας*, i. e. *Legifera* (a), or the Law-giver; because she was the first that taught Mankind the use of Laws. The first Institution of it is by some attributed to *Triptolemus*, by others to *Orpheus*, and by others to the Daughters of *Danaus*. It was celebrated in a great many of the *Grecian Cities*; By the *Spartans*, and *Milefians*, amongst whom the Solemnity lasted three Days: By the *Drymeans* in *Phocis*, the *Thebans* in *Boeotia*, the *Megarians*: By the *Syracusians*, where towards the end of the Solemnity, they carry'd in Procession the Secrets of a Woman, compos'd of *Sesamin* and *Honey*, and call'd in *Sicily* *μύλλαι*: By the *Eretrians* in *Eubœa*, where it was customary to roast their Meat by the Heat of the Sun: By the *Delians*, who us'd to bake Loaves of a large size, call'd *Αχαινας*, which they usher'd in with great Solemnity, the Bearers of them crying,

*Αχαινών, σάλαθ' ἐμπλήων πύργων,*

Hence the Festival is sometimes call'd *Μεγαλόρρα*.

But the *Athenians* observ'd this Festival with greatest Show of Devotion: The Worshippers were Free-born Women, (it being unlawful for any of Servile Condition to be present) whose Husbands were wont to defray the Charges of the Solemnity; and were oblig'd to do so, if their Wives Portion amounted to three Talents. These Women were assisted by a Priest, call'd *Σπερμεφύρας*, because his Head was adorn'd with a *Crown*, whilst he executed his Office: as also by certain Virgins, who were straitly confin'd, and kept under severe Discipline, being maintain'd at the Publick Charge, in a place call'd *Θεσμοφωρεῖον*. The Women were clad in white Apparel, to intimate their spotless Innocence; and were oblig'd to the strictest Chastity for five, or three Days before, and during the whole Time of the Solemnity, which lasted four Days: for which end, they us'd to strow upon their Beds such Herbs, as were thought to destroy all Appetite to *Veneræal Pleasures*: such were *Agnus castus*, *Flea-bane*, and (which were made use of by the *Milefian Women*) *Vine-branches*, &c. It was held unlawful to eat the Kernels of Pomegranates, or adorn themselves with Garlands; for every thing was carry'd on with the greatest appearance of Seriousness, and Gravity; and nothing tolerated, that bore the least shew of Wantonness, or Immodesty; or even of Mirth,

(a) *Virgilius Aeneid. IV.*

or Jollity, the custom of jesting upon one another excepted, which was constantly done, in memory of *Jambe*, that by a taunting Jest extorted a Smile from *Ceres*, when she was in a pensive and melancholy Humour. Three Days, at least, were spent in making Preparations for the Festival: Upon the eleventh of *Pyanepsion*, the Women carrying Books upon their Heads, wherein the Laws were contain'd, in memory of *Ceres's* Invention, went to *Eleusis*, where the Solemnity was kept; whence this Day was call'd *Αυσος*, i. e. the Ascent. Upon the fourteenth the Festival began, and lasted till the seventeenth: Upon the sixteenth they kept a Fast, sitting upon the Ground, in token of Humiliation; whence the Day was call'd *Νηστεία*, i. e. a Fast. It was usual at this Solemnity to pray to *Ceres*, *Proserpina*, *Pluto*, and *Calligenia*: this *Calligenia* some will have to have been *Ceres's* Nurse, others her Priestess, others her Waiting-maid; and some there are, who make her the same with *Ceres*; but these seem to be sufficiently refuted by the Testimony of *Aristophanes*, who mentions her as distinct from that Goddess (a);

Εὐχέσθε πῶν Θεμεφ' εἶναι,  
τῇ Δήμῳ τε, καὶ τῇ Κῆρ,  
τῷ Πλούτῳ, καὶ τῇ Καλλιγυνίᾳ.

To the two Legislators make your Prayers,  
To *Ceres*, and to Goddess *Proserpine*;  
To *Plutus* too, and *Calligenia*.

And this Custom was omitted by the *Eretrians* alone of all the *Grecians*. There was likewise a Mysterious Sacrifice, call'd *Διῶγμα*, or *Ἀποδιῶγμα*, ἀπὸ τῆ διώκεως ἐλθὲν τὰς ἀνδρας, i. e. because all Men were excluded, and banish'd from it; or, ἀπὸ τῆ διωχθῆναι τὰς γυναῖκας, i. e. because in a dangerous War, the Women's Prayers were so prevalent with the Gods, that their Enemies were defeated, and put to Flight as far as *Chalcis*; whence it is sometimes call'd *Χαλκιδικὸν διῶγμα*. There was another Sacrifice, call'd *Ζυμία*, i. e. a Mule, which was offer'd as an Expiation of any Irregularities that happen'd to be committed during the Solemnity. At this Festival, all Prisoners committed to Gaol for smaller Faults, were releas'd; and upon the third Day all Courts of Justice were shut up.

## Θ Η Σ Ε Ι Α,

An *Athenian* Festival, in memory of *Theseus*: It was celebrated upon the eighth Day of every Month, because he was the Reputed Son of *Ne-*

(a) *Theophrastus*.

*primo*, to whom those Days were held Sacred; or because in his first journey from *Træzen*, he arriv'd at *Athens* upon the eighth of *Πελοπονησιακῶν*; or in memory of his safe Return from *Crete* (a), which happen'd upon the eighth of *Pyanepsion*, for which reason the Festival was observ'd with greater Solemnity upon that Day, than at other Times. Some also there are, that will have it to have been first instituted in memory of *Theseus's* uniting the *Athenians* into one Body, that before lay dispers'd in little Hamlets up and down in *Attica*. It was celebrated with Sports and Games, with Mirth and Banquets, and such as were poor, and unable to contribute to them, were entertain'd upon free cost at the Publick Tables, as we learn from *Aristophanes* (b). The Sacrifices were call'd *Ὀσείδια*, from *Ὀσεῖος*, i. e. the Eighth, because they were offer'd upon the eighth Day of the Month (c).

## Θ Π Ι Ω,

A Festival in honour of *Apollo* (d). The Name seems to be deriv'd from *Apollo's* three Nurfes, who were call'd *Thria*.

## Θ Τ Ι Α,

A Festival in honour of *Bacchus* (e), observ'd by the *Eleans*, in a place distant about eight *Stadia* from *Elis*, where it was confidently reported, that the God himself was present in Person; the Ground of which Story was this: There was a certain Chappel, into which the Priests convey'd three empty Vessels, in presence of the whole Assembly, which consisted as well of Forreigners, as Natives; this done, they retir'd, and the Doors being shut, themselves, and as many others pleas'd, seal'd them with their own Signets: On the Morrow the Company return'd, and after every Man had look'd upon his own Seal, and seen that it was unbroken, the Doors being open'd, the Vessels were found full of Wine.

## Θ Τ Α Δ Α,

In honour of *Venus* (f).

## Θ Τ Ν Ν Α Ι Α,

A Sacrifice so call'd from *Θύννος*, i. e. a Tunny, which Fishermen offer'd to *Neptune*, after a plentiful Draught (g).

## Ι

## Ι Ε Ρ Ο Σ Γ Α Μ Ο Σ,

I. e. the Sacred Marriage. It was a Festival in honour of *Jupiter*

(a) *Pintarchus Theop.*, *Aristophanis Scholiastes Plut.* (b) *Plut.* (c) *Hesychius.* (d) *Idem.* (e) *Pausanias Eliac. C.* (f) *Hesychius.* (g) *Atheniens lib. VII.*

and *Juno* (a), being (I suppose) a Commemoration of the Marriage of those two Deities.

## ΙΘΩΜΑΙΑ,

A Festival, wherein Musicians contended: It was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* (b), surnam'd *Ιθωμῆτις*, from *Ithome*, a City in *Thessaly*, or *Messene*, where that God is said to have been nurs'd by the two Nymphs *Ithome*, and *Neda*; who gave Names, the former to a Town, the latter to a River.

## ΙΝΑΧΙΑ,

One of *Leucothea's* Festivals in *Crete*, being deriv'd from *Inachus*, according to *Hesychius*; or rather from *Ino*, who is the same with *Leucothea*, and ἄχος, i. e. Grief; being, perhaps, a Commemoration of *Ino's* Misfortunes.

## ΙΝΤΝΙΑ,

A Festival in *Lemnos* (g).

## ΙΝΩΑ,

Festivals in memory of *Ino*, one of which was celebrated every Year with Sports, and Sacrifices at *Corinth*, being instituted by King *Sisyphus* (c).

An Anniversary Sacrifice was offer'd to *Ino* by the *Megarians*, where she was first call'd *Leucothea*, being cast upon that Coast by the Waves, and interr'd by *Clefo*, and *Tauropolis* (d).

*Ino* had another Festival in *Laconia*, where there was a Pond consecrated to her: Into this it was usual, at this Solemnity, to cast Cakes of Flower, which, if they sunk, were Presages of Prosperity; but if they stay'd upon the surface of the Water, were Ill-boding Omens (e).

## ΙΟΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Bacchus* surnam'd *Iobacchus*, from the Exclamations us'd in some of his Festivals, where they cry'd *Ιὼ Βάκχε*, &c. See *Διονύσια*.

## ΙΟΛΑΙΑ,

A *Theban* Festival, the very same with *Ηεράκλεια*, (f); whence it appears, that it was instituted in honour of *Hercules*, and his Companion *Iolais*, who assisted him against *Hydra*.

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Stephanus Byzantinus*, *Pausanias Messeniensis*. (c) *Tzetzes in Lycophronem*. (d) *Pausanias Atticus*. (e) *Pausanias Laconicus*. (f) *Indarum Scytharum Olymp. VII.* (g) *Hesychius*.

## ΙΣΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity observ'd by several Cities, in honour of *Isis* (a), who is said by some to have been the first, that taught Men the use of Corn; in memory of which Benefit, it was customary, at some places, for the Worshippers at this Festival, to carry Vessels full of Wheat, and Barley.

## ΙΣΧΕΝΙΑ,

Anniversary Sports, celebrated at *Olympia*, in memory of *Ischenus*, the Grand-son of *Mercury*, and *Hiera*; who, in a Time of Famine, devoted himself to be a Sacrifice for his Countrey, and was honour'd with a Monument near the *Olympian Stadium* (b).

## Κ

## ΚΑΒΕΙΡΙΑ,

Mysterious Observances at *Thebes*, and *Lemnos*; but more especially at *Imbrus*, and *Samos*, which Islands were consecrated to the *Cabiri*, whom some will have to be *Phœnician* Deities; others, the Sons of *Vulcan*; Others are of a different Opinion from both; for nothing can be certainly determin'd concerning the Original, Names, or Number of them: Such as desire farther Satisfaction, may consult *Calius Rhodiginus*, *Lilius Gyraldus*, and other *Mythologists*. All that were Initiated into these Mysteries, were thought effectually secur'd from all Storms at Sea, and other Dangers (c): The chief Ceremony was thus: The Person that offer'd himself, being crown'd with Olive-branches, and girded about his Loyns with a Purple Ribband, was plac'd upon a Throne, around which the Priests, and Persons before Initiated danc'd, and sported: This was call'd *ἑρμηνεία*, or *ἑρμηνεύειν*, i. e. enthronization (d).

## ΚΑΛΑΟΙΔΙΑ,

Solemn Sports, celebrated by the *Laconians*, in honour of *Diana* (e).

## ΚΑΛΑΙΣΤΕΙΑ,

I. e. Beauty's Rewards. It was a *Lesbian* Festival, wherein the Women presented themselves in *Juno's* Temple, and the Prize was assign'd to the Fairest (f).

Another of these Contentions there was at the Festival of *Ceres*

(a) *Diodorus Siculus lib. I.* (b) *Ulcianus Tzetzes in Lycophronis Caland. v. 21.* (c) *Diodorus Siculus Bibl. lib. V.* (d) *Plato Euthydemus, Hesychius.* (e) *Herodotus.* (f) *Homeri Scholaster Etad. i.*

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Eleusinia amongst the Parrhasians, first instituted by Cypselus, whose Wife  
Herodice was honour'd with the first Prize (a).  
fountain of Nature we find amongst the Eleans (b), where

Another of the same Nature we find amongst the *Eleans* (b), where the most Beautiful Man was presented with a complete Suit of Armour, which he consecrated to *Minerva*, to whose Temple he walk'd in Procession, being accompany'd with his Friends, who adorn'd him with Ribbands, and crown'd him with a Garland of Myrtle.

ΚΑΛΑΤΝΤΗΡΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival (c).

K A P N E I A,

A Festival observ'd in almost all the Cities of Greece; but especially at *Sparta*, where it was first instituted about the Time of the XXVith *Olympiad*, in honour, not of *Jupiter*, as some are of Opinion, but of *Apollo*, surnam'd *Carnus*, either from one *Carnus*, a *Trojan* (d); or from a Beautiful Youth, call'd *Carnus*, who was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa* (e), and belov'd by *Apollo* (f): Or from *Carnus* an *Acarnanian*, who was instructed by this God in the Art of Divination, but afterwards murder'd by the *Dorians*; This Fact *Apollo* reveng'd upon them by a dreadful Plague; to avert which, they instituted this Festival, as *Pausanias* reports: Or  $\Sigma\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$  *κραινίους*, i. e. from the *Cornel-tree*, transposing the Letter  $\rho$ , as the same Author intimates; For 'tis reported by some, that this Festival was first instituted by the *Grecians*, who had incur'd *Apollo's* Displeasure, by cutting down a number of *Cornel-trees* in a Grove consecrated to him upon Mount *Ida*, which they us'd in building the *Wooden-horse*: Or  $\Sigma\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$  *κραινίους*, i. e. from accomplishing the Request of *Menelaus* (g), who, when he undertook his Expedition against *Troy*, made a Vow to *Apollo*, wherein he promis'd to pay him some signal Honour, if his Undertaking met with Success. This Festival lasted nine Days, beginning upon the thirteenth of the Month *Carnus*, which answer'd to the *Athenian Metagirmion* (h): It was an Imitation of the Method of living, and Discipline us'd in Camps; for nine *Σκιδες*, i. e. Tents, were erected, in every one of which nine Men of three different Tribes, three being chosen out of a Tribe, liv'd for the space of nine Days, during which Time they were obedient to a publick *Cryer*, and did nothing without express Order from him (i). *Hesychius* tells us, that the Priest, whose Office it was to attend at this Solemnity, was nam'd *Αγνους*, and adds in another place, that out of every Tribe five

other Ministers were elected, and call'd *Καπρέται*, and oblig'd to continue in their Function four Years, during which Time they remain'd Batchelours. At this Festival the Musical Numbers, call'd *Καπρέιοι νόμοι*, were sung by Musicians, who contended for Victory; the first Prize was won by *Terpander*.

ΚΑΡΥΑ, or ΚΑΡΥΑΤΙΣ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (a), firnam'd *Caryatis*, from *Caryæ* in *Laconia*, where this Solemnity was kept. It was usual for Virgins to meet at the Celebration, and joyn in a certain Dance, said to be invented by *Castor* and *Pollux*, which they call'd *καρυατίζειν* (b). In the Time of *Xerxes's* Invasion, when the *Laconians* durst not shew their Heads for Fear of the Enemy, lest the Goddess's Anger should be incur'd by the Intermision of this Solemnity, the neighbouring Swains assembl'd in the accusom'd place, and sung Pastorals, which were call'd *Βεκολισμοί*, from *βέκολος*, i. e. a Neat-herd. Thus, as some are of Opinion, *Bucolicks* came first to be in use.

ΚΙΣΣΟΤΟΜΟΙ,

**A Festival in honour of *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth (c).**

ΚΛΑΔΕΥΤΗΡΙΑ, or ΒΙΣΒΑΙΑ,

This Festival is mention'd by *Hesychius*, and seems to have been solemniz'd at the time, when Vines were prun'd; for *κλαστικήον*, and *βίτην*, signify Pruning-hooks.

ΚΝΑΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity celebrated upon Mount *Cnacalos*, by the *Caphyate*, in honour of *Diana*, who had from that place the Sirname of *Cnacalesia* (d).

K O N N I Δ E I A,

A Solemnity upon the Day before *Thefeus's* Festival, in which a  
 Ram was sacrific'd to *Connidas*, *Thefeus's* Tutour (c).

K O P E I A,

In honour of *Proserpina*, nam'd K'ogen (f), which in the *Moleſſian* Dialect, ſignifies a Beautiful Woman.

ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΑ, or ΚΟΤΥΤΤΙΣ,

A Nocturnal Festival in honour of *Cotys*, or *Corytto*, the Goddess of

(A) Athenaei *Deipnosoph.* lib. XIII. (b) Idem *ibid.* (c) *Etymolog. Auctor.*  
(d) *Ademian.* (e) *Hesychius.* (f) *Theophrasti Scholasticus.* (g) *Demetrius.* (h) *Plu-*  
*taeius Nicias.* (i) *Athenaei lib. IV. Callimachi Hymn. in Apoll. Tindarus Pj-*  
*et. 27.*

(a) Pausanias Laconicus. (b) Lucianus Περὶ ὁρχήσεως. (c) Pausanias Corinthiacus  
(d) Idem Arcadicus. (e) Plutarchus Thebes. (f) Hegesichius.

Wantonness (a): It was observ'd by the Athenians, Corinthians, Chians, Thracians, with others; and celebrated with such Rites as were most acceptable to the Goddess, who was thought to be delighted with nothing so much, as Lewdness, and Debauchery. Her Priests were call'd Βάτται, which Name we find in Juvenal; It seems to have been deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς βάπτεως, i. e. from Dying, or Painting themselves; for they were wont to practise all sorts of effeminate, and Meretricious Arts; whence Κεκοσμημένος, i. e. a Votary of Coys, is Proverbially apply'd to Beauties, and all Men that spend their Time in Dressing, and Perfuming themselves.

Another Festival of this Name (b) was celebrated in Sicily, where the Worshippers carry'd Boughs hung about with Cakes, and Fruit, which it was lawful for any Person to pluck off; in memory (as Gyrardus was of Opinion) of Proserpina's Ravishment, who is by some thought to have been the same with Cotyus.

## ΚΡΟΝΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival in honour of Saturn, who is call'd in Greek Κρόνος (c). It was celebrated in the Month Hecatombeon, which was formerly call'd Cronius.

Another of Saturn's Festivals was celebrated (d) upon the sixteenth of Metaginion at Rhodes; where they offer'd in Sacrifice a condemn'd Criminal.

## ΚΤΒΕΡΝΗΣΙΑ,

A Festival instituted by Theseus, in memory of Naufibetus, and Phaeax, who were his κυβερνήται, i. e. Pilots, in his Voyage to Crete (e).

## ΚΤΝΟΦΟΝΤΙΣ,

A Festival observ'd in Dog-days at Argos (f), and so call'd ἀπὸ τῶν κύνας φονεῖν, i. e. from killing Dogs, because it was usual upon this Day to kill all the Dogs they met with.

## Α

## ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ,

Some Festivals there were at Lacedaemon, the Names whereof are forgotten: One of these is mention'd by Plutarch in his Love-Stories, at which the Marry'd Women, Maidens, Children, and Servants, feasted all together promiscuously; only the Ladies, whose Husbands were Magistrates, watch'd all Night in a large Room by themselves.

(a) Synesius in Encomio calvitii. Suidas, Juvenali Satir. II. (b) Plutarchus Proverb. (c) Aristophani Scholiastes Nubibus, Hesiarchus. (d) Porphyrius apud Theodoretum lib. VII Graec. affect. (e) Plutarchus Theseo. (f) Athenaeus lib. III.

Another

Another we find in Athenaeus (a), at which the Women took all the Old Batchelours, and dragg'd them round an Altar, beating them all the time with their Fists; to the end that if no other Motives would induce them to Marry, the Shame and Ignominy they were expos'd to at these Times, might compel them to it.

## ΛΑΜΠΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival at Pellene (b) in Achaia, in honour of Bacchus surnam'd Λαμπήρ, from λαμπρύν, i. e. to shine; for this Solemnity being in the Night, the Worshippers went to Bacchus's Temple with lighted Torches in their Hands. It was customary at this time to place Vessels full of Wine here and there in every Street of the City.

## ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

Games at Larissa (c), wherein the Combatants perform'd their Exercises singly, before the Πένταθλον, or Combat consisting of five Exercises, was invented.

## ΛΑΡΥΣΙΑ,

A Festival of Bacchus, celebrated at Larysium, a Mountain in Laconia, about the beginning of Spring (d).

## ΛΑΦΡΙΑ,

An anniversary Festival at Patrae in Achaia, in honour of Diana (e) surnam'd Λαφρία, either ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων, i. e. from Spoils, which she took from wild Beasts, because she was the Goddess of Hunting, and her Statue, which was compos'd of Gold and Ivory, represented her in a Hunting posture: Or, because she desisted from her Anger, and became every year ἐλαφροτέρα, i. e. more favourable and propitious, to Oeneus, King of the Calydonians: Or, from one Λαφρίης a Phocensian, by whom her Statue was erected in Calydonia; for this Title was first given to Diana in Calydonia, and thence, together with her Statue, translated to Patrae. The customs at this Festival are thus describ'd by Pausanias: At the approach of the Festival, they made an ascent to the Altar, heaping up soft Earth in the manner of Stairs; round the Altar they plac'd in order pieces of green Wood, every one of which was in length sixteen Cubits; upon it was laid the dryest Wood they could get. The Solemnity lasted two Days, on the former of which there was a solemn Procession, follow'd by Diana's Priests, who was a Virgin, and rode in a Chariot drawn by Bucks. On the Day

(a) Δημοκρίτης lib. XIII. (b) Pausanias Fabricii. (c) Apollonii Scholiastes lib. IV. (d) Pausanias Laconicis. (e) Pausanias Achaicus.

Bbb 2

following,

following, they assembled to offer Sacrifices, which consisted of Birds, Bears, Bucks, Lyons, Wolves, with all sorts of Animals, and Garden-Fruits, which were cast upon the Altar, in part by private Persons, and partly at the publick Charge; then the fire being kindled, it sometimes happen'd, that the wild Beasts having their Fetters loos'd by the Flames, leap'd off the Altar, which happen'd when my Author was present; yet neither then, nor at any time before did any Person receive the least harm thereby.

## ΑΕΟΝΙΔΕΙΑ,

An anniversary Day at *Sparta* (a), in memory of *Leonidas* King of that City, who with a small Number of Men put a stop to the whole Army of *Xerxes* at *Thermopylae*, and maintain'd the passage of those Straights two whole Days together. Upon this Day there was an Oration pronounc'd on the Heroes, and Sports, in which none were allow'd to contend, but Free-born *Spartans*.

## ΑΕΟΝΤΙΚΑ,

Who was the Author, what the Occasion of this Festival, is not known; thus much however we find of it in *Porphyrus* (b); That all that were admitted to it, wash'd their Hands with Honey, which was pour'd upon them instead of Water; in token that they were pure from all things hurtful, malicious, and detestable.

## ΑΕΡΝΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Lerna*, instituted by *Philammon* (c) in honour of *Bacchus*, *Proserpine*, and *Ceres*. In the primitive Times the *Argives* us'd to carry Fire to this Solemnity from a Temple upon Mount *Craithis*, dedicated to *Diana*, surnam'd (perhaps from *πῦρ*, i. e. fire) *Πυρῳία*.

## ΑΗΝΑΙΑ,

A Festival of *Bacchus* (d) surnam'd *Lenæus* from *λινὸς*, i. e. a Wine-press. It was celebrated in the Month *Lenæon* with several Ceremonies usual at other Festivals of this God; but what more especially recommended it, were the Poetical contention, wherein Poets strove for Victory, and the Tragedies acted at this Time.

## ΑΙΘΟΒΟΛΙΑ,

I. e. Lapidation. This Festival was celebrated by the *Træzenians* in

(a) Idem *Lacœnis*. (b) De Antro Nympharum. (c) Pausanias Corinthiacis. Arc. d. Inscrip. Vetus. (d) *Antiphon* Scholiastes *Equitibus*, *Diogenes Laertius* *Historia*.

memory of *Lamia* and *Auxesia*, who were two Virgins, that coming from *Crete* to *Træzen* in a Time of Tumult and Sedition, became a Sacrifice to the Fury of the People, by whom they were ston'd to Death (a).

## ΛΙΜΝΑΤΙΑΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (b), surnam'd *Limnatis* from *Λίμνη*, a School of Exercise at *Træzen*, in which she was worship'd; or, according to *Artemidorus*, from *λίμνη*, i. e. Ponds, because she had the care of Fisher-men.

## ΑΤΚΑΙΑ,

An *Arcadian* (c) Festival something resembling the Roman *Lupercalia*: It was celebrated with Games, in which the Conquerour was rewarded with a Suit of brazen Armour; and an Human Sacrifice was offer'd in it. The first Institutor of it was *Lycaon*, who observ'd it in honour of *Jupiter*, surnam'd *Lycæus*, either from *Lycaon*'s own Name, or the *Arcadian* Mountain *Lycæus*, which the *Arcadians* pretend is the true *Olympus*, whence they call it *ἱερὸν κορυφῶν*, i. e. the sacred Hill, because *Jupiter* was feign'd to have had his Education there; in memory of which there was an Altar, where certain Mysteries Worship was paid to that God, and a Plot of Ground consecrated to him, upon which it was unlawful for any Person so much as to set his Foot.

## ΑΤΚΟΤΡΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Spartans* in memory of *Lycæus* their Law-giver (d), whom they honour'd with a Temple, and an anniversary Sacrifice.

## ΑΤΣΑΝΔΡΙΑ,

A *Samian* Festival celebrated (e) with Sacrifices and Games in honour of *Lyfander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral. It was anciently call'd *Hφαία*, which name was abolish'd by a Decree of the *Samians*.

## Μ

## ΜΑΙΜΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices offer'd by the *Athenians* in *Memæsterion*, which was a Winter-month, to *Jupiter* *Μαιμάκτης*, to induce him to send mild and temperate Weather, because He was usually taken for the

(a) Pausanias Corinthiacis. (b) Idem *Achaicis*. (c) *Plutarchus* *Castore*, *Pausanias* *Arcadicis*, *Porphyrus* *Περὶ ἀποχρῆς ἱερῶν*. *Hygini* Fab. CLXXIII. (d) *Plutarch* *Lycægo*, *Strabo* lib. VIII. (e) *Plutarchus* *Lyfandro*, *Hesychius*.

Air, or Heavens, and therefore thought to preside over the Seasons. There are various reasons assign'd for this Surname, for *μαυμάκτης* is by *Harpocration* expounded ἐνθυσιάδης, ἢ τυραννίδος, i. e. outrageous, and furious; being deriv'd from *μαυμάσσειν*, that is, according to *Suidas*, κλονεῖν, κυματῶναι, i. e. to trouble, or raise commotions. But *Hesychius* affixeth a quite different signification to it, for according to him, *μαυμάκτης* is the same with *μελίχμος*, i. e. favourable and propitious; and herein *Plutarch* agree's with him, who tells us (a), "That 'twas his Opinion, that by the Name of *Μαυμάκτης*, "which was given by the *Athenians* to the King of the Gods, was "meant *μελίχμος*." Neither of these significations are at all disagreeable to the design of this Festival; for since it was to procure good Weather, it might either be instituted as a means to appease the Deity, that was the cause of Storms, and intemperate Seasons; or to entreat the same Person, as being of a mild and gentle Disposition, and willing to grant the requests of his Votaries.

## ΜΕΓΑΛΑΡΤΙΑ,

See Θεοποιεῖα.

## ΜΕΝΕΛΑΕΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Menelaus* (b), at *Therapne* in *Laconia*, where a Temple was consecrated to him, in which he was worship'd, together with *Helena*, not as an Heroe, or petty Deity, but as one of the supreme Gods.

## ΜΕΣΟΣΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ,

Certain Days upon which the *Lesbians* offer'd publick Sacrifices (c).

## ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΑ,

A Festival in the Month *Metagimion* (d), in honour of *Apollo Metageitnιος*, being celebrated by the Inhabitants of *Melite*, that left their habitations, and settled among the *Diomeans* in *Attica*; whence these Names seem to have been deriv'd, for they import a removal from one Neighbourhood to another.

## ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΕΙΑ,

Sacrifices, with Horse-races, and other Games celebrated by the *Chersonesians* in memory of *Miltiades*, the *Athenian* General (e).

(a) *Libro II. de Jurejur.* (b) *Isocrates* in *Helena* Encomio, *Pausanias* *Laconic.* (c) *Hesychius.* (d) *Plutarchus* de *Exilio*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas.* (e) *Herodotus* lib. VI.

## ΜΙΝΤΕΙΑ,

## ΜΙΝΤΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Orchomenians* (a), who were call'd *Minye*, and the River, upon which the City was founded, *Minya*, from *Minyas*, King of that Place, in memory of whom, it may be, this solemnity was instituted.

## ΜΙΤΤΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Festival celebrated by all the Inhabitants of *Mitylen*, in a place without the City, in honour of *Apollo Μιτταῖος* (b), which surname we find mention'd also in *Hesychius*.

## ΜΟΤΝΤΧΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity at *Athens* (c) upon the sixteenth of *Amunydion*, in honour of *Diana* surnam'd *Amunychia* from King *Amunychus*, the Son of *Pemacleus*; or from a part of the *Piræus*, call'd *Amunychia*, where this Goddess had a Temple, to which the *Athenians* allow'd the Privilege of being a Sanctuary to such as fled to it for refuge. At this Solemnity they offer'd certain Cakes call'd *ἀμυνχάρτες*, which name is deriv'd ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμυνχάειν, i. e. from shining on every side, either because lighted Torches hung round them, when they were carry'd into the Temple; or because they were offer'd at Full Moon; that being the Time of this Festival, for it was instituted in honour of *Diana*, who was reputed to be the same with the Moon, because it was Full Moon, when *Themistocles* overthrew the *Persian* Fleet at *Salamis*.

## ΜΟΤΣΕΙΑ,

Festivals (d) in honour of the *Muses* at several places of Greece, especially amongst the *Thessians*, where Solemn Games were celebrated every Fifth year.

The *Macedonians* had also a Festival in honour of *Jupiter* and the *Muses*, which was first instituted by King *Archelaus*, was celebrated with Stage-Plays, and Games, and lasted nine Days, according to the Number of the *Muses*.

## ΜΥΣΙΑ,

A Festival (e) in honour of *Ceres*, surnam'd *Mysia*, from *Mysius* an *Argian*, who dedicated a Temple to her in a place about X. *Stadia* distant from *Pellene* in *Achaia*; or, according to *Phurmus*, from *μυῖα*,

(a) *Pindari Scholaster* *Isthm.* Od. I. (b) *Thucydides* initio lib. III. (c) *Tytarch.* de *Gloria Atheniens.* *Harpocration*, *Etymologicus* *Anector*, *Suidas*, *Eustathius* II. 7. (d) *Pollux* lib. I. cap. I. *Aschiner* in *Timarchum*, *Pausanias* *Eastien*, *Diadorus* *Sic.* lib. XVII. *Plutarchus* *Erotico.* (e) *Pausanias* sine *Achaicorum.*



i. e. to cloy, to satisfy, or to be well fed, because *Ceres* was the first that taught Men how to use Corn. This Festival continu'd seven Days, upon the third of which all the Men and Dogs being shut out of the Temple, the Women, together with the Bitches, remain'd within, and having that Night perform'd the accusom'd Rites, on the Day following return'd to the Men, with whom they past away the Time in jesting and laughing at one another.

## ΜΩΛΕΙΑ,

An *Arcadian* (a) Festival, so nam'd from μῶλος, i. e. a fight; for it was instituted in memory of a Battle, wherein *Lycurgus* slew *Ermethalion*.

## Ν

## ΝΕΚΤΕΙΑ,

In memory of deceas'd Persons. Of this, and the following Solemnities I shall give a more full account, when I come to treat of the Honours paid to the Dead.

## ΝΕΜΕΣΕΙΑ, OR ΝΕΜΕΣΙΑ,

A Solemnity in memory of deceas'd Persons (b).

## ΝΕΟΙΝΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated to *Bacchus* (c), when the new Wine was first tasted, as the Name signifies.

## ΝΕΟΠΙΤΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Delphians* (d) with a great deal of Pomp and Splendour, in memory of *Neoptolemus*, the Son of *Achilles*, who was slain in an Attempt to sack *Apollo's* Temple, which he undertook in revenge of his Father's Death, to which that God was accessary.

## ΝΗΛΗΙΔΙΑ,

A *Milesian* Festival (e) in honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Neleis*, from *Neleus*, an inhabitant of *Miletus* (f).

## ΝΙΚΗΗΝ ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙ,

An anniversary Solemnity observ'd by the *Athenians* upon the sixth

(a) *Apollonii Rhodii Scholia* lib. I. v. 164. (b) *Suidas*. (c) *Hesychius*. (d) *Heliodorus Aethiopie*. initio lib. III. (e) *Plutarchus de Virtut. Mulierum*. (f) *Lycophron Cassandra*.

of *Boedromion*, in memory of that famous Victory, which *Miltiades* obtain'd against the *Persians* at *Marathon* (a).

## ΝΙΚΗΤΗΡΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity in memory of *Minerva's* Victory over *Nepune*, when they contended which of them should have the honour of giving a Name to the City afterwards call'd *Athens* (b).

## ΝΟΤΜΗΝΙΑ, OR ΝΕΟΜΗΝΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd at the beginning of every *Lunar* Month (c), which was (as the Name imports) upon the New Moon, in honour of all the Gods, but especially *Apollo*, who was call'd *Neubolion*, because the Sun is the first Author of all Light, and whatever distinction of Times and Seasons may be taken from other Planets, yet they are all owing to him, as the Original and Fountain of all those borrow'd Rays, which the rest have only by participation from him. To observe this Festival was call'd νεμωιάζειν, certain Cakes offer'd therein νεμῶνιοι, and the Worshippers νεμωιάται. It was observ'd with Games, and Publick Entertainments, which were made by the richer Sort, to whose Tables the Poor flock'd in great Numbers. The *Athenians* at these times offer'd solemn Prayers, and Sacrifices for the prosperity of their Common-wealth the ensuing Month, in *Erechthus's* Temple in the Cittadel, which was kept by a Dragon, to which they gave (as was usual in *Trophonius's* Cave) a Honey-cake call'd μελιπύτυ. These Sacrifices, because they were offer'd every Month, were call'd ἡμηνια ἱερά, or δημήνια, and those that perform'd them δημιῶνιοι, and ἀργεῖνιοι.

## Ξ

## ΞΑΝΘΙΚΑ,

A *Macedonian* Festival (d), so call'd because it was observ'd in the Month *Xanthus*, which, as *Suidas* tells us, was the same with *April*. At this Time the Army was purify'd by solemn Lustration, the manner of which was thus: They divided a Bitch into two halves, one of which, together with the Entrails, was plac'd upon the Right hand, the other upon the Left; between these the Army march'd in this Order: After the Arms of all the *Macedonian* Kings, came the first part of the Army, consisting (I suppose) of Horse; these were follow'd by the

(a) *Plutarchus de Gloria Atheniensium*. (b) *Proclus in Timaeum Comment. I.* (c) *Homeri Scholia* lib. Od. v. *Eustathius* Od. v. & φ. *Demosthenes in Aristogit. Tirophrastus Ethic. Charact. Etymologici Auctor, Hesychius, Herodotus* lib. VIII. & *Vit. Homerii*. (d) *Hesychius, Lysius* lib. XI. *Curtius* lib. X.

King, and his Children, after whom went the Life-Guards; then follow'd the rest of the Army: This done, the Army was divided into two parts, one of which being set in array against the other, there follow'd a short Encounter in imitation of a Fight.

### Ξ Τ Ν Ο Ι Κ Ι Α, OR Μ Ε Τ Ο Ι Κ Ι Α,

An anniversary Day observ'd by the *Athenians* (a) to *Minerva*, upon the sixteenth of *Hecatombaon*, in memory that by the perswasion of *Theseus* they left their Country-seats, in which they lay dispers'd here and there in *Attica*, and united together in one Body.

### Ο Γ Χ Η Σ Τ Ι Α,

A *Baotian* Festival (b) in honour of *Neptune*, firnam'd *Onchestus* from *Onchestus*, a Town in *Baotia*.

### Ο Λ Τ Μ Π Ι Α,

A Festival celebrated in honour of *Olympian Jupiter*, by the *Athenians*, *Smyrneans*, *Macedonians*, but especially by the *Eleans*, of whose Solemnity I shall give an account afterwards.

### Ο Μ Ο Λ Ω Ι Α,

A *Theban* Festival in honour of *Jupiter Homolœus*, or *Ceres Homolœia* (c), who were so call'd from *Homœ* in *Baotia*, or the Prophetess *Homolœia*, or from *ὁμοῶς*, which in the *Æolian* dialect signifies peaceable.

### Ο Σ Χ Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α, OR Ω Σ Χ Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α,

An *Athenian* Festival so call'd *Στὸ τῷ φέγειν τὰς ὄχας*, i. e. from carrying Boughs hung with Grapes, &c. which were call'd *ὄχαι* (d). The Institution, and Manner of it are describ'd at large by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*; his words run thus: "*Theseus* at his return from *Crete* forgot to hang out the white Sail, which should have been the token of their Safety to *Ægeus*, who knowing nothing of their Success, for grief threw himself headlong from a Rock, and perish'd in the Sea. But *Theseus* being arriv'd at the Port *Phalerus*, paid there the Sacrifices, which he had vow'd to the Gods at his setting out to Sea, and sent a Herald to the City to carry the news of his safe return. At his entrance into the City the Herald found the People for the most

(a) *Thucydides* lib. II. *Plutarchus* *Theseo*. (b) *Pausanias* *Baoticis*. (c) *Theocriti* *Scholiaster* *Idyll*. VII. (d) *Harpocration*, *Hesychius*.

"part full of grief for the loss of their King; others, as may be well believ'd, as full of joy for the Message that he brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him with Garlands for so acceptable News; these he indeed accepted of, but hung them upon his Herald's Staff, and thus returning to the Sea-side before *Theseus* had finish'd his Libation to the Gods, stay'd without for fear of disturbing the Holy Rites; but as soon as the Sacrifice was ended, he entred and related the whole Story of the King's Death; upon the hearing of which, with great lamentations, and a confus'd tumult of grief, they ran with all haste to the City: Whence, they say, it comes that at this Day in the Feast *Oschophoria*, not the Herald, but his Staff is crown'd; and that the People then present still break out at the Sacrifice into this Shout, *ἔλκεθ, ἔλ, ἔλ*, of which confus'd sounds the first was wont to be us'd by Men in haste, or at a Triumph; the other is proper to those that are in great trouble, or consternation.

A little after my Author proceeds thus: "The Festival call'd *Oschophoria*, which to this Day the *Athenians* celebrate, was then first instituted by *Theseus*; for he took not with him the full number of Virgins, which were chosen by Lots to be carry'd away, but selected two Youths, with whom he had an intimate familiarity, of fair and Womanish Faces, but of Manly and Courageous Spirits, and having by frequent Bathings, and avoiding the heat and scorching of the Sun, with a constant use of all the Ointments, Washes, and Dresses, that serve to adorn the Head, smooth the Skin, or improve the Complexion, chang'd them, in a manner, from what they were before; and having taught them further to counterfeit the very Voice, Gesture, and Gate of Virgins, so that there could not be the least difference perceiv'd; he, undiscover'd by any, put them into the number of the *Athenian* Maids design'd for *Crete*. At his return He and these two Youths led up a solemn Procession with Boughs and Vine-branches in their hands, in the same habit that is now worn at the celebration of the *Oschophoria*: These Branches they carry'd in honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, in memory of the Fable related of them; or rather, because they happen'd to return in Autumn, the time of gathering Grapes. The Women call'd *Δεσποῖναι*, i. e. Super-carriers, were taken into these Ceremonies, and assist at the Sacrifice, in remembrance and imitation of the Mothers of the young Men and Virgins, upon whom the Lot fell; for thus busily did they run about, bringing Banquets and Refreshments to their Children; and because the good Women then told their Sons and Daughters a great many fine Tales and Stories, to comfort and encourage them under the Danger they were going upon, it has therefore still continu'd a Custom, that at this Festival old Tales and Fables should be the chief Discourse. For all these particularities we are beholding to the history of *Demon*". Besides the Rites already describ'd out of *Plutarch*, there was always a Race at this Festival (e); the contenders were

(e) *Pausanias* *Atticis*, *Athenis* lib. XI. *Hesychius*, *Nicanor* *Schol.*, *Callix.* *harmacus*.

certain Young Men elected out of every Tribe, whose Parents were both living; they ran from *Bacchus's* Temple, to that of *Minerva Sciras* in the *Phalerian* Haven; the place where the Race ended, was call'd *Ἀγορῆιον*, from the *ἄγρῳ*, or Boughs, which the Runners carry'd in their Hands, and deposited there. The Conqueror's Reward was a Cup call'd *Πενταπλόα*, or *Πενταπλόη*, i. e. Five-fold, because it contain'd a mixture of five things, viz. Wine, Honey, Cheese, Meal, and a little Oyl.

## II

## ΠΑΓΚΛΑΔΙΑ,

A Festival so call'd *ὑπὸ πᾶσι τοῖς γράσιν*, i. e. from all sorts of Boughs. It was celebrated by the *Rhodians*, when they prun'd their Vines (α).

## ΠΑΜΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated (as the Name imports) by all the *Bæotians* (b), who assembl'd near *Coronea*, at the Temple of *Minerva*, firnam'd *Itonia*, from *Itonius*, the Son of *Amphictyon*.

## ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival in honour of *Minerva*, the Protectress of *Athens*. It was first instituted by *Eriethonius*, or *Orpheus*, and call'd *Ἀθήναια*, but afterwards renew'd and amplify'd by *Theseus*, when he had united into one City the whole *Athenian* Nation, and call'd *Παναθήναια*. Some are of Opinion, that it was much what the same with the *Roman Quinquatria*, whence it is usual to call it by that Name in *Latin*. At the first it continu'd only one Day, but afterwards was prolong'd several Days, and celebrated with greater Preparations, and Magnificence than was usual in the Primitive Times.

There were two Solemnities of this Name, one of which was call'd *Μεγάλα Παναθήναια*, i. e. the Great *Panathenæa*, which was celebrated once in five Years, beginning upon the XXII<sup>d</sup> of *Hecatombeon*. The other was call'd *Μικρά Παναθήναια*, i. e. the Lesser *Panathenæa*, and was kept every third Year; or rather, as some think, every Year, beginning upon the XXI<sup>st</sup>, or XX<sup>th</sup> of *Thargelion*. In the latter of these, there were three Games, manag'd by ten Presidents, elected out of all the ten Tribes of *Athens*, who continu'd in Office four Years. On the first Day at Even, there was a Race with Torches, wherein first Footmen, and afterwards Horse-men contended: The same Custom was likewise observ'd in the Greater Festival. The second Contention was *Ἐκδελος ἀγών*, i. e. a Gymnical exercise, so call'd because the Combatants therein gave a proof of their Strength, or *Manhood*: the place of these Games

(α) Hesychius. (b) Strabo lib. IX. Pausanias *Bæoticæ*.

was near the River, and call'd from this Festival *Παναθηναϊκόν*, the *Stadium* being decay'd by Time, was rebuilt of white *Pentelick Marble* by *Herodes*, a Native of *Athens*, with such Splendour, and Magnificence, that the most stately Theaters could not compare with it. The last was a Musical Contention, first instituted by *Pericles*; in the Songs us'd at this Time, they rehears'd the generous Undertakings of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*, who oppos'd the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons; as of *Thrasibulus* also, who deliver'd the *Athenians* from the *Thirty Tyrants*, impos'd on them by the *Lacedæmonians*. The first that obtain'd the Victory by playing upon the Harp, was *Phrynis* a *Mitylenæan*: Other Musical Instruments were also made use of, especially Flutes, on which they play'd in Consort: There was also a Dance perform'd by a *Circular Chorus*, of which hereafter: And the Poets contended in four Plays, the last whereof was *Satyr*, and all together were nam'd from their number *πενταλογία*: Beside these, there was a Contention at *Sumion*, in imitation of a Sea-fight: The Conquerour in any of these Games was rewarded with a Vessel of Oyl, which he was permitted to dispose of, how, and whither he pleas'd, whereas it was unlawful for any other to transport that Commodity: Farther he receiv'd a Crown of those Olives, which grew in the *Academy*, and were sacred to *Minerva*, and call'd *μύεαι*, from *μύεος*, i. e. Death, in remembrance of the Misfortune of *Halirrothius*, the Son of *Neptune*, who, in a rage at his Father's Defeat by *Minerva*, in their Contention about the Name of *Athens*, offering to cut down the Olive-tree, by the Production of which *Minerva* obtain'd the Victory, missing his Aim, gave himself a fatal Blow: Others derive the Name from *μύεος*, i. e. a part, because, according to some, these Olives were given by Contribution, all Persons that possess'd Olive-trees being oblig'd to contribute their proportions towards the Celebration of this Festival. Beside these, there was a certain Dance call'd *Pyrichidia*, perform'd by young Boys in Armour, in imitation of *Minerva*, who, in Triumph over the Vanquish'd Sons of *Titan*, danc'd in that manner. It was usual also after that *Athens* was brought under the Dominion of the *Romans*, for Gladiators to contend after the *Roman* fashion. No Man was permitted to be present at any of these Games in dy'd Garments, and the Punishment of such Offenders was left to the Discretion of the *Ἀγωνοθέτης*, or President of the Games. Lastly, they offer'd a Sumptuous Sacrifice, towards which every one of the *Athenian* Burroughs contributed an Ox; and of the Flesh that remain'd, a publick Entertainment was made for the whole Assembly.

In the Greater Festival most of the same Rites, and Ceremonies were practis'd, but were (I suppose) perform'd with greater Splendour, and Magnificence, and the Addition of some others, not observ'd in the Lesser, as particularly the Procession, in which *Minerva's* Sacred *πέπλος*, or Garment, was carry'd: This *πέπλος* was woven by a select number of Virgins, call'd *Ἐργαστæ*, from *ἔργον*, i. e. Work; these

these were superintended by two of the Ἀρχαῖοι, (of whom I have spoken before) and enter'd upon their Employ at the Festival call'd Χαλκία, which was upon the thirtieth Day of *Pyaneſſion*: It was of a white colour, without Sleeves, and embroider'd with Gold: Upon it were describ'd the Achievements of *Minerva*, eſpecially thoſe againſt the Giants; *Jupiter* alſo, and the Heroes, with all ſuch as were famous for Valiant and Noble Exploits, had their Effigies in it; whence Men of true Courage and Bravery are ſaid to be ἀξιοί πέπλου, i. e. worthy to be pourtray'd in *Minerva's* Sacred Garment, as in *Ariſtophanes* (a),

Εὐλογοῦσαι βολόμεθα τὰς πατέρας ἡμεῖς, ὅτι  
Ἀνδρὲς ἦσαι τῆς δε γῆς ἀξιοί, καὶ τῷ πέπλῳ.

We will our Fathers treat with high Esteem,  
Whole brave Exploits are worthy *Africa*,  
Fit to be pourtray'd in *Minerva's* Veſt.

With this πέπλος they made a ſolemn Proceſſion, the Ceremonies of which were thus: In the *Ceramicus* without the City there was an Engine built in the form of a Ship, on purpoſe for this Solemnity; upon this the πέπλος was hung in the manner of a Sail, and the whole was convey'd, not by Beaſts, as ſome have imagin'd, but by Subterraneous Machines, to the Temple of *Ceres Eleuſſinia*, and from thence to the Cittadel, where the πέπλος was put upon *Minerva's* Statue, which ſeems to have been laid upon a Bed ſtraw'd with, or rather compos'd of Flowers, and call'd πελαγίς. This Proceſſion was made by Perſons of all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities; It was led up by Old Men, together (as ſome ſay) with Old Women, carrying Olive-branches in their Hands; whence they are call'd Θαλλοφόροι, i. e. Bearers of Green Boughs: After theſe came the Men of full Age with Shields and Spears, being attended by the Μέταικοι, or Sojourners, who carry'd Spades, and were upon that account call'd Σκαρφόροι, i. e. Spade-bearers: Then follow'd the Women, attended by the Sojourners Wives, who were nam'd Ὑδριαφόροι, from bearing Water-pots: Theſe were follow'd by young Men ſinging Hymns to the Goddeſs; they were crown'd with Millet, and habited in Mourning-cloaks, in memory of one of the Κήρυκες, who was ſlain as he attempted to force the Poſterity of *Hercules* from the Altar: Next to theſe came ſelect Virgins of the firſt Quality, call'd Κωνοφόροι, i. e. Basket-bearers, becauſe they carry'd certain Baskets, which contain'd ſome neceſſaries for the Celebration of the holy Rites, which (as alſo other Utenſils requir'd at the Solemnity) were in the cuſtody of one, who, becauſe he was Chief manager of the publick Pomps, Proceſſions, or Embaſſies

(a) Equitibus.

to the Gods, was call'd Αρχαῖος, and were diſtributed by him as occaſion requir'd; theſe Virgins were attended by the Sojourners Daughters, who carry'd Umbrella's, and little Seats, whence they were call'd Διερρηφοί, i. e. Seat-carriers: Laſtly, it is probable that the Boys bore up the Rear, walking in a peculiar ſort of Coats worn at Proceſſions, and call'd Πανδυμικοί. The Neceſſaries for this, as for all other Proceſſions, were prepar'd in a publick Hall erected for that uſe between the *Piræean Gate*, and *Ceres's Temple*; and the management and care of the whole Buſineſs belong'd to the Νομοφύλακες, which name denotes Officers appointed to ſee that the *Laws*, ancient *Rites*, and *Cuſtoms* be obſerv'd. It was farther uſual at this Solemnity to make a Gaol-delivery, to preſent golden Crowns to ſuch as had done any remarkable Service for the Common-wealth, and appoint Men to ſing ſome of *Homer's* Poems, which Cuſtom was firſt introduc'd by *Hipparchus*, the Son of *Piſiſtratus*. Laſtly, in the Sacrifices at this, and other Quinquennial Solemnities, it was cuſtomy to pray for the proſperity of the *Plateans*, on the account of the ſignal Service they had done the *Athenians* at the Battle of *Marathon*, wherein they behav'd themſelves with extraordinary Courage and Reſolution.

#### ΠΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ,

In Honour of *Panace* (a).

#### ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΝ,

The ſame with *Αθλῳαία*, and *Χαλκία* (b), and ſo call'd from the great concourſe of People, that us'd to meet at the Solemnity.

#### ΠΑΝΔΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival (c), ſo call'd from *Pandion*, by whom it was firſt inſtituted; or becauſe it was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter*, who does τὰ πάντα διγυρεύειν, i. e. move and turn all things which way he pleaſeth. Others are of Opinion, that it belong'd to the *Moon*, and receiv'd it's Name, becauſe ſhe does πάντοτε ἵέναι, i. e. move inceſſantly, for that the *Moon* appears both in the Night, and Day; whereas the *Sun* ſhows himſelf by Day only, and was ſuppos'd to reſt all Night. It was celebrated after the Διονύσια, or Festival of *Bacchus*, becauſe that God is ſometimes put for the *Sun*, or *Apollo*, and was by ſome reputed to be the Brother, by others the Son of the *Moon*.

#### ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ,

An *Athenian* (d) Festival in memory of *Pandrosus*, the Daughter of King *Cecrops*.

(a) Theodoretus VII. Therap. (b) Suidas. (c) Etymologici Auθορ, Suidas. (d) *Athenagoras* in *Apologia*, Heſychius.

## ΠΑΝΔΤΣΙΑ,

Publick rejoycings (a) when the Season through it's coldness, & intemperance forc'd the Mariners to stay at Home.

## ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ,

A publick Festival celebrated (as the Name imports) by an Assembly of People from all the parts of Greece (b).

## ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated (as the Name signifies) by a concourse of People from all the Cities of *Ionia* (c). The Place, or Temple, in which it was kept, was call'd *Πανιδώνιον*. It was instituted in honour of *Neptune*, surnam'd *Heliconius* from *Helice*, a City of *Achaia*, which afterwards perish'd by an Earth-quake. One thing there was remarkable in this Festival, viz: That, if the Bull offer'd in Sacrifice happen'd to below, it was accounted an Omen of Divine Favour, because that sound was thought to be acceptable to *Neptune*: To this *Homer* is thought to allude in these Verses (d),

Αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν αἰῶθε, καὶ ἤρπεν, ὥς ὅτε τῶν  
ἤρπεν ἐλκιδὸν Ἑλικάνιον ἀμφὶ ἀνακτα.

Dying he roar'd, as when a Bull is drawn  
About the King of sacred *Helice*.

## ΠΑΝΟΣ ΒΟΡΤΗ,

An anniversary Solemnity (e) in honour of *Pan* at *Athens*, where he had a Temple near the *Acropolis*, the Dedication of which, and the Institution of this Festival were upon this account: When *Darius* the Persian invaded *Attica*, *Phidippides* was forthwith dispatch'd on an Embassy to the *Spartans*, to desire their Assistance; and as he was in his Journey, about Mount *Panthenius* near *Tegea*, *Pan* met him, and calling him by his Name, bid him to ask the *Athenians*, What was the reason, why they had no regard of him, who was their Friend, and had often been serviceable to them, and should go on so to be? *Phidippides* at his return to *Athens*, related this Vision, which obtain'd so great credit with the *Athenians*, that they made a Decree that Divine Honours should be paid to that God also.

(a) *Aeneas Tacticus* Poliorcet. cap. XVII. *Tractatus* in *Hesiod. Epy* B'. (b) *Eustathius* *Iliad* B'. (c) *Herodotus* lib. I. *Strabo* lib. V. *Eustathius* *Iliad* C'. (d) *Il.* XX. (e) *Herodotus* lib. VI. cap. CVI.

*Pan* had likewise a Festival in *Arcadia* (a), the Countrey he was believ'd most to frequent, and delight in, at which they us'd to beat his Statue with *Σπιθαλαί*, i. e. Sea-onyons; as was usual also, when they mis'd of their Prey in Hunting, in anger (as should seem) against the God, whom they reputed to be President of that Sport; to which custom *Theocritus* seems to allude in these Verses,

Κ' ὡς μὲν ταύτ' ἔρδοις, ὦ Πᾶν φίλε, μὴ σὺ τι πῶδες  
Ἀρχαδικοὶ σπίνθλαισιν ἑὸν πλοῦδάς τε, καὶ ὧμας  
Τανίη μασίτθιδιεν ὅτε κρέα τυττᾶ παρίη.

Kind *Pan*, if you propitious to my Prayer  
Grant these my wishes, you no more shall fear  
The rigorous usage of *Arcadian* Boys,  
When disappointed of their lovely prize.

Mr. *Hutchin*.

Farther, it was customary to offer a scanty Sacrifice, the Reliques of which were not sufficient to entertain those that were present; because, perhaps, they thought the God had frustrated their hopes of Prey in Hunting; on the contrary, when they had good Success, they were more liberal in paying Honours to him.

## ΠΑΝΟΨΙΑ,

See *Πανέψια*.

## ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ,

A Commemoration-day in honour of an ancient Heroe, whose Name was *Paralus* (b).

## ΠΑΤΣΑΝΕΙΑ,

A Festival, in which were solemn Games, wherein free-born *Spartans* only contended, with an Oration in praise of *Pausanias*, the *Spartan* General, under whose Conduct the *Grecians* overcame *Mardonius* in the famous Battle at *Plataeae* (c).

## ΠΕΛΩΡΙΑ,

A *Thessalian* Festival, not unlike the Roman *Saurnalia*: It is thus describ'd by *Athenaeus* (d): "*Baton*, the *Sinopenian* Rhetorician, in his description of *Thessaly* and *Haemonia*, declares that the *Saurnalia* are a *Grecian* Festival, and call'd by the *Thessalians* *Peloria*; his words are these: "On a time when the *Pelasgians* were offering publick Sacrifices, one *Pelorus* came in, and told one of them, That the Mountains of

(a) *Theocriti Scholiastes* *Idyll.* VII. (b) *Eustathius* *Olyss.* δ'. (c) *Pausanias* *L. 2. unicu.* (d) *Lib.* XIV.

"Temple in *Hemonia* were torn asunder by an Earth-quake, and the Lake, which had before cover'd the adjacent Valley, making it's way thro' the Breach, and falling into the Stream of *Peneus*, had left behind a vast, but most pleasant and delightful Plain: The *Pelasgian* hugg'd *Pelorus* for his News, and invited him to an Entertainment, where he was treated with all sorts of Dainties; The rest of the *Pelasgians* also brought the best Provisions they had, and presented them to him; and his Landlord, with others of the best Quality, waited on him by turns: In memory of this, when the *Pelasgians* had seated themselves in the new discover'd Country, they instituted a Festival, wherein they offer'd Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, firnam'd *Pelor*, and made sumptuous Entertainments, whereto they invited not only all the Forreigners amongst them, but Prisoners also, whom they releas'd from Bonds and Confinement, and Slaves, all whom they permitted to sit down, & waited upon them: This Festival is to this Day observ'd with great Solemnity by the *Thessalians*, and call'd *Πελωεα*.

## ΠΕΡΙΠΙΕΤΕΙΑ,

A Macedonian Solemnity (a).

## ΠΕΡΙΦΑΛΛΙΑ,

The same with *Φαλλογάρια*, being deriv'd from *φαλλος*, of which see more in *Διονύσια*.

## ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

Gymnical Exercises at *Pitana* (b).

## ΠΑΤΝΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Aglauros*, King *Cecrops's* Daughter; or rather of *Minerva*, who had, from that Lady, the name of *Aglauros* (c); At this Time they undress'd *Minerva's* Statue, and wash'd it, whence the Solemnity was call'd *Πλουτήρια*, from *πλύνειν*, which signifies to wash. It was accounted an unfortunate, or inauspicious Day, and therefore the Temples (as upon all such Days) were surrounded with Ropes, so that no Man could have admission; The reason of which custom, with a farther account of this Solemnity we have in *Plutarch's Alcibiades*: "The Festival (saith he) of the Goddess *Minerva*, call'd *Πλουτήρια*, was celebrated on the 26th of *Thargelion*, with certain Mysteries observances unlawfull to be reveal'd, which were perform'd

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Hesychius*, *Plutarchus Alcibiades*. *Athenaus* lib. III. *Ellius* lib. VIII. cap. XII.

"by

"by Persons call'd *Πεζεργίδαι*, who divested the Goddess's Image of all it's Ornaments, and kept it close cover'd: Whence it is, that the *Athenians* esteem this Day most inauspicious, and never go about any thing of importance upon it: And therefore it falling out that *Alcibiades's* return from Exile happen'd upon this Day, many were much concern'd at it, looking upon the time of his arrival to be a dangerous Omen, and imagining that the Goddess did not graciously receive him, but, in token of displeasure, hid her Face from him; But for all this, Things went on prosperously and succeeded according to his wish". Farther, it was customary at this Festival, to bear in Procession a Cluster of Figs, which was call'd *Ηγυρτεα*, or *Ηγυρτεα*, from *ηγυρμι*, which signifies to lead the Way, because Figs were *ηγυρτες* τῷ *χρῆματι* *βίαι*, i. e. leaders to Humanity, and a civiliz'd course of Life, for when Men left off their ancient and barbarous Diet of Acorns, the next thing they us'd for Food, was Figs.

## ΠΟΛΙΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity at *Thebes* (a) in honour of *Apollo*, firnam'd *Πολίης*, i. e. Grey, because he was represented in this City (contrary to the constant custom of all other places) with grey Hairs. The Victim was a Bull, but it once happening that no Bulls could be procur'd, an Ox was taken from the Cart and Sacrific'd; whence the custom of killing labouring Oxen, which till that time was look'd on as a Capital Crime, first commenc'd.

## ΠΟΜΠΕΩΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*. There was an Image at this Solemnity, call'd by a peculiar Name *Στιμυπαῖον*.

## ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΑ, or ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΑ,

In honour of *Ποσειδών*, i. e. *Neptune*, to whom also they offer'd a solemn Sacrifice call'd *Ονείλιον* (b).

## ΠΡΙΑΠΕΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Priapus*.

## ΠΡΟΗΡΟΣΙΑ, or ΠΡΗΡΟΣΙΑ,

Sacrifices (c) offer'd *πρὶν τὸ ἀρῆσθαι*, i. e. before Seed-time, to *Ceres*,

(a) *Pausanias Bæoticis*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Hesychius*, *Suidas*, *Antiphrastus Schol. Equitibus*.

Ddd z

who

who was hence surnam'd Περσεύς. They were call'd by the Common People Περαλκεία, from ἀλκή, which sometimes signifies the same with ἄνθος, i. e. Bread-corn; whence comes Δημωτέρες ἀλκή, i. e. Ceres's Corn, in *Homer* (a). The first Institution of these Sacrifices was by the Command of one *Amphias* a Prophet, who gave out that this was the only Method to appease the incens'd Goddess, who had at that Time afflicted not *Athens* only, where this Solemnity was observ'd, but all the other parts of *Greece*, with a grievous Famine.

### ΠΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the Inhabitants of *Laconia*, before they gather'd their Fruits (b).

### ΠΡΟΜΑΧΙΑ,

A Festival, in which the *Lacedæmonians* crown'd themselves with Reeds (c).

### ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity celebrated in honour of *Prometheus* (d) with Torch-races, in remembrance that he was the first that taught Men the use of Fire.

### ΠΡΟΣΧΑΙΡΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Day of Rejoycing, when a New-marry'd Wife went to cohabit with her Husband (e).

### ΠΡΟΤΕΛΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity before Marriage, of which afterwards.

### ΠΡΟΤΡΥΤΕΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Neptune*, and of *Bacchus* (f) surnam'd Περτρύγης, or Πετραγαῖος, ἀπὸ τῆς πετρῆς, i. e. from new Wine.

### ΠΡΟΦΘΑΣΙΑ,

A Festival so call'd ἀπὸ τῆς προφθάνειν, from preventing, or coming before. It was observ'd by the *Clazomenians*, in remembrance that they made themselves Masters of *Leuca*, by coming to the Celebration of a Sacrifice before the *Cumeans* (g).

(a) Vide Annotationes nostras in *Plutarchum* De Audiendis Poetis. (b) *Heſychius*. (c) *Athenæus* lib. XV. (d) *Aristophani Scholiastes Rana*. (e) *Harporation*, Συγκατα. (f) *Heſychius*. (g) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XV.

### ΠΡΩΤΕΣΙΑΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Chersonesians*, and *Theſſalians* (a), in memory of *Protesilaus*, who was the first *Grecian* slain by *Hæctor*.

### ΠΑΝΨΙΑ,

An *Athenian* (b) Festival, sometimes call'd Πανψία, or Πανψία, ὅτι πάντας εἶδον καρπὸς τῇ ὁψί, i. e. because *Theseus* and his Companions were entertain'd with all manner of Fruits; the former, and more usual Name is deriv'd ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐψείν πύονα, i. e. from boyling Pulse, as was usual upon that Day; the reason of which Custom, with a farther Account of this Solemnity, I will give you in the Words of *Plutarch*: "*Theseus*, after the Funeral of his Father, pay'd his Vows to *Apollo* upon the seventh of *Pyanepsion*; for on that Day the Youths that return'd with him safe from *Crete*, made their Entry into the City. They say also, that the Custom of boyling Pulse was deriv'd from hence, because the Young Men that escap'd, put all that was left of their Provision together, and boyling it in one common Pot, feasted themselves with it, and with great Rejoycing did eat all together. Hence also they carry about an Olive-branch bound about with Wooll (such as they then made use of in their Supplications) which was call'd Εἰσιπώνη, (from εἰσέρω, i. e. *Wooll*) and crown'd with all sorts of First-fruits, to signify that Scarcity and Barrenness were ceas'd, singing in their Procession this Song,

Εἰσιπώνη, σῖκα φέρειν, καὶ πόνους ἄρτους,  
Καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ, καὶ ἔλαιον ἀναψήσασθαι,  
Καὶ κύλικ' ὀζωρον, ὥς ἂν μεθύσῃ καὶ δούδῃς.

*Eiresone*, Figs produce,  
And whollom Bread, and chearful Oyl,  
And Honey, labouring Bees sweet Toil,  
But above all Wine's noble Juice;  
Then Cares thou in the Cup shalt sleep,  
And full of Joy receive soft Sleep.

Mr. Duke.

"Tho' some are of Opinion, that this Custom is retain'd in memory of the *Heraclide*, who were thus entertain'd, and brought up by the *Athenians*; but the former Account is more generally receiv'd". It may be added farther, that the Εἰσιπώνη, when it was carry'd about in honour of *Apollo*, was of Lawrel; when of *Minerva*, of Olive; because those Trees were believ'd to be most acceptable to these Deities.

(a) *Pindari Scholiæ Res Isthm.* Od. I. *Lucianus* Deor. Concil. (b) *Harporation*, *Plutarchus Theseo, Hesiarchus*.



ties: When the Solemnity was ended, it was customary for them to erect it before their House-doors, thinking it an Amulet, whereby Scarcity and Want were prevented.

## ΠΥΛΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Pyle* (a), otherwise call'd *Thermopylae*, in honour of *Ceres*, firnam'd from that place *Pylæa*.

## ΠΥΡΣΕΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

I. e. The Festival of Torches: It was observ'd at *Argos*, and instituted in memory of the Torches lighted by *Lyncæus*, and *Hippomnestra*, to signify to each other, that they had both escap'd out of Danger (b).

## Ρ

## ΡΑΒΔΟΥ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ,

I. e. The Reception, or Elevation of the Rod. It was an Anniversary Day at the Island of *Cor*, at which the Priests carry'd a Cypress-tree (c).

## ΡΑΨΩΔΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A part of the *Διονυσία*, or Festival of *Bacchus*, at which they repeated *Scraps* of *Songs*, or *Poems*, as they walk'd by the God's Statue (d).

## Σ

## ΣΑΒΑΖΙΑ,

Nocturnal Mysteries in honour of *Jupiter Sabazius* (e), into which all that were Initiated, had a golden Serpent put in at their Breasts, and taken out at the lower part of their Garments; in memory of *Jupiter's* ravishing *Proserpina*, in the form of a Serpent. Others (f) are of Opinion that this Solemnity was in honour of *Bacchus* firnam'd *Sabazius*, from the *Sabæ*, who were a People of *Thrace*; and 'tis probable this Festival was not first instituted by the *Grecians*, but deriv'd to them from the *Barbarians* (such were the *Thracians* reputed) amongst whom *Suidas* tells us *σαβάζειν* was the same with *διδάζειν*, i. e. to shout *Doi*, as was usual in the Festival of *Bacchus*: Add to this, that *Bacchus's* Priests were by the *Thracians* call'd *Σαβοί*.

(a) *Strabo* lib. IX. (b) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacis*. (c) *Hippocrati* *Epistola* ad S. P. Q. *Athenian*. (d) *Athenæus* *init.* lib. VII. (e) *Clement* *Protrept.* *Arnobius* lib. V. (f) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. IV. *Aristophanus* *Scholiastes* *Vespæ*, *Harperation*.

## ΣΑΡΩΝΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (a) firnam'd *Saronia*, from *Saro* the third King of *Thæzen*, by whom a Temple was erected, and this Festival instituted to Her.

## ΣΕΙΣΑΧΘΕΙΑ,

I. e. A shaking off the Burden. It was a Publick Sacrifice at *Athens*, in memory of *Solon's* Ordinance, whereby the Debts of poor People were either entirely remitted; or, at least, the Interest due upon them lessen'd, and the Creditors hinder'd from seizing upon the Persons of their Debtors, as had been customary before that Time (b).

## ΣΕΜΕΛΗ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*; and observ'd, it may be, in memory of *Semele*, *Bacchus's* Mother.

## ΣΕΠΤΗΡΙΟΝ,

A *Delphian* Festival, celebrated every ninth Year, in memory of *Apollo's* Victory over *Python*. The chief part of the Solemnity was a Representation of *Python* pursu'd by *Apollo* (c).

## ΣΘΕΝΙΑ,

At *Argos* (d). It might perhaps be celebrated in honour of *Minerva*, firnam'd *Σθενία*, from *σθένος*, i. e. Strength.

## ΣΚΕΙΡΑ, or ΣΚΙΡΑ, or ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity at *Athens* (e), upon the twelfth Day of *Simphorion*, in honour of *Minerva*, or, as some say, of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The Name is deriv'd from *Sciras*, a Burrough between *Athens* and *Eleusis*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Minerva*, firnam'd *Sciras*, from that place: Or from one *Scirus*, an Inhabitant of *Eleusis*; or from *Sciron* of *Salamis*; or from *σκεῖρος*, i. e. Chalk, or white Plaister, of which the Statue dedicated to *Minerva* by *Theseus* when he return'd from *Crete*, was compos'd; Or from *σκεῖρος*, i. e. an Umbrella, which was at this Time carry'd in Procession by *Erechtheus's* Priest, or some of the Sacred Family of *Butas*, who, to distinguish them from others that made false Pretensions to that Kindred, were call'd *Ετεροκόρδοι*, i. e. the genuine Offspring of *Butas*: Those that order'd this Procession, were wont to make use of *δέρμα κατὰ γάινον*, i. e. the Skins of Beasts sacrific'd to *Jupiter*, firnam'd *Μενίξινος*, and

(a) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacum*. (b) *Plutarchus* *Solone*. (c) *Plutarchus* *Græc.* *Quæst.* (d) *Hesychius*. (e) *Aristophanus* *Scholiastes* *Concionat.* *Harperation*, *Suidas*.

Κτήσιος, of which Titles I have spoken before. Farther, there was at this Festival a Race call'd Οζοφρεία, because the young Men that contended therein, did φέρειν τὰς ὄφας, i. e. carry in their Hands Vine-branches full of Grapes.

## ΣΚΙΕΡΙΑ, or ΣΚΙΕΡΑ,

At *Alea* in *Arcadia* (a), in honour of *Bacchus*, whose Image was expos'd ὑπὸ τῇ σκιάῃ, i. e. under an Umbrella, whence it is probable the Name of this Festival was deriv'd. At this Time the Women were beaten with Scourges, in the same manner with the *Spartan* Boys at the Altar of *Diana Orthia*, which they underwent in obedience to a Command of the *Delphian* Oracle.

## ΣΚΙΑΛΩΝ ΒΟΡΤΗ,

I. e. The Festival of Sea-onyons. It was observ'd in *Sicily*; the chief part of it was a Combat, wherein Youths beat one another with Sea-onyons: He that obtain'd the Victory was rewarded by the *Gymnasiarch* with a Bull (b).

## ΣΠΟΡΤΙΑ,

Mention'd by *Hesychius*.

## ΣΤΗΝΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity (c), wherein the Women made jests, and Lampoons upon one another; whence στυγνάζειν signifies to abuse, ridicule, or speak evil of another.

## ΣΤΟΦΕΙΑ,

At *Eretria*, in honour of *Diana Stophia* (d).

## ΣΥΤΤΜΦΑΛΙΑ,

At *Symphalus* in *Arcadia*, in honour of *Diana*, nam'd from that place *Symphalia* (e).

## ΣΥΓΚΟΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

See Θαλύσια.

## ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΑ,

See Ξυνοίκια.

(a) *Pausanias Arcadicu*, *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. XXXIII. (b) *Thucydides Scholiastu* Idyl. VII. (c) *Hesychius*, *Suidas*. (d) *Athenaeus* lib. VI. (e) *Pausanias Arcadicu*.

## ΣΤΡΑΚΟΤΣΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ,

*Syracusan* Festivals, one of which *Plato* (a) mentions; it continu'd ten Days, during which Time the Women were employ'd in offering Sacrifices.

Another we read of in *Tully* (b), which was celebrated every Year by vast numbers of Men and Women, at a Lake near *Syracuse*, thro' which *Pluto* was said to have descended with *Proserpina*.

## ΣΤΡΜΑΙΑ,

Games at *Spuria* (c), the Prize in which was στυμμία, i. e. a mixture of Fat and Honey.

## ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ,

Sacrifices, and Thanksgivings for Deliverances out of Dangers.

## Τ

## ΤΑΙΝΑΡΙΑ,

In honour of *Neptune* sitam'd *Tenarius* from *Tenarus*, a Promontory in *Laconia*, where was a Temple dedicated to him. The Worshippers were call'd Ταυναίται (d).

## ΤΑΛΑΙΔΙΤΗΣ,

*Gymnical* Exercises, in honour of *Jupiter Talaidēs*, as *Athenaeus* conjectures from the Words of *Hesychius*.

## ΤΑΤΡΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Neptune*, as *Hesychius* reports: Perhaps it was the same with that mention'd by *Athenaeus* (e), and celebrated at *Ephesus*, wherein the Cup-bearers were young Men, and call'd Ταδεσι.

## ΤΑΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Diana Ταυροπόλιν*, (f), of which Surname there are various accounts; the most probable is that, which derives it from *Sythia Taurica*, where this Goddess was worshipp'd.

## ΤΑΤΡΟΧΟΛΙΑ,

At *Cyzicum* (g).

(a) *Epistola ad Dionis* propinquos. (b) *Orat. in Verrem* IV. (c) *Hesychius*. (d) *Idem*. (e) *Lib. X*. (f) *Hesychius*. (g) *Idem*.

## ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΚΟΣΤΟΝ.

The fortieth Day after Child-birth, upon which the Women went to the Temples, and pay'd some grateful Acknowledgments for their safe Delivery; of which Custom I shall give a farther account in one of the following Books.

## ΤΙΘΗΝΙΑΙΑ,

A Spartan Festival (a), in which the *παιῖδες*, or Nurseries, convey'd the Male Infants committed to their Charge to the Temple of *Diana Corythallia*, which was at some distance from the City, being seated not far from that part of the River *Tiaffa*, which was near *Clus*; here they offer'd young Pigs in Sacrifice, during the Time of which some of them danc'd, and were call'd *Κεφθαλλισαίαι*, others expos'd themselves in antick and ridiculous Postures, and were nam'd *Κυρσίοι*. They had likewise a Publick Entertainment at this, and some other Times, which was call'd *χορίς*, and to partake of it *κοπιζειν*: The manner of it was thus: Tents being erected near the Temple, and Beds furnish'd therein, and cover'd with Tapestry, all the Guests, as well Foreigners, as Natives of *Laconia*, were invited to Supper, where every Man had his portion allow'd, which was distributed to him together with a small Loaf of Bread call'd *σπίκουλον*; farther also each of them receiv'd a piece of new Cheese, part of the Belly and Tripes; and (instead of Sweet-meats) Figs, Beans, and green Vetches.

## ΤΙΤΑΝΙΑ,

In memory of the *Titans* (b).

## ΤΑΗΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ,

Games celebrated (c) at *Rhodes*, in memory of *Tlepolemus*, upon the twenty-fourth Day of the Month *Gorpiaius*, wherein not Men only, but Boys were permitted to contend, and the Victors were crown'd with Poplar.

## ΤΟΝΕΑ.

The Institution, and Manner of this Solemnity are describ'd in *Athenaeus* (d); who tells us it was kept at *Samos*: The chief Ceremony consisted in carrying *Juno's* Image to the Sea-shore, and offering Cakes to it, and then restoring it to it's former place; which was done in memory of it's being stolen by the *Tyrrhenians*, and (when their Ships were stay'd in the Haven by an invisible Force, which hinder'd

(a) *Athenaeus* lib. IV. *Hesychius*. (b) *Metaphor.* Collect. Di&. *Atric*. (c) *Findari Scholia* Olymp. Od. VII. (d) *Lib. XV.*

them from making away) expos'd upon the Shore. The name of this Festival is deriv'd *ἐκ τοῦ σωτηρίας ἀποκαταστήσαι τὸ βρέφος*, i. e. from the Image's being safe bound by those that first found it, because they imagin'd it was going to leave them.

## ΤΟΞΑΡΙΑΙΑ,

At *Athens* (a), in memory of *Toxaris*, a *Scythian* Heroe, who died there, and went under the name of *ξένος ἰατρός*, i. e. the foreign Physician.

## ΤΡΙΚΛΑΡΙΑ,

An anniversary Festival (b) celebrated by the *Ionians* that inhabited *Aroe*, *Archea*, and *Musaeis*, in honour of *Diana Triclaris*, to appease whose anger for the Adultery committed in her Temple by *Menalippus* and *Cometes* the Priestess, they were commanded by the *Delphian Oracle* to Sacrifice a Boy and a Virgin, which inhuman Custom continu'd till after the *Trojan War*.

## ΤΡΙΠΑΤΟΡΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity, in which (c) it was usual to pray for Children to the *Θεοὶ γενεῶν*, or Gods of Generation, who were sometimes call'd *Τετραπάτορες*: But of these I shall have occasion to speak afterwards.

## ΤΡΙΠΟΝΗΤΑΙ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*.

## ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑ,

Solemn Games celebrated every year at *Lebadea*, in honour of *Trophonius* (d).

## ΤΤΠΑΙ,

Mention'd in *Hesychius*.

## ΤΤΡΒΗ,

Celebrated by the *Atheans*, in honour of *Bacchus* (e).

## Τ

## ΤΑΚΙΝΘΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity (f) at *Amyclae* in *Laconia*, in the Month

(a) *Lucianus Scyth.* (b) *Pausanias Achaic.* (c) *Etymologici Auctor.* (d) *Pindarus Scholia* Olymp. Od. VII. (e) *Pausanias Corinthiac.* (f) *Idem Laconic.* *Hesychius.*

*Hecatombeon*, in memory of the beautiful Youth *Hyacinthus*, with Games in honour of *Apollo*. It is thus describ'd by *Athenæus* (a): "Polycratus reports in his *Laconicks*, That the *Laconians* celebrate a Festival call'd *Hyacinthia*, three Days together; during which time their Grief for the death of *Hyacinthus* is so excessive, that they neither adorn themselves with Crowns at their Entertainments, nor eat Bread, but Sweet-meats only, and such like Things; nor sing *Pæans* in honour of the God, nor practise any of the Customs, that are usual at other Sacrifices; but having supp'd with Gravity, and an orderly Composedness, depart. Upon the second Day there is variety of Spectacles, frequented by a vast concourse of People; The Boys, having their Coats girt about them, play sometimes upon the Harp, sometimes upon the Flute, sometimes strike at once upon all their Strings, and sing Hymns in honour of the God (*Apollo*) in *Anapestick* Numbers, and shrill, acute sounds. Others pass over the Theater upon Horses richly accoutred; at the same time enter Choirs of young Men, singing some of their own Country-songs, and, amongst them, Persons appointed to dance according to the ancient Form, to the Flute, and Vocal Musick. Of the Virgins, some are usher'd in riding in Chariots made of Wood, cover'd at the Top, and magnificently adorn'd; Others in Race-Chariots. The whole City is fill'd with Joy at this Time, they offer multitudes of Victims, and entertain all their Acquaintance, and Slaves; and so eager are they to be present at the Games, that no Man stays at Home, but the City is left empty and desolate".

## ΥΒΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ,

At *Argos* (b) upon the sixteenth, or rather upon the New Moon of the Month call'd by the *Argives* *Hermæas*. The chief Ceremony was, that, the Men and Women exchange'd habits, in memory of the generous achievement of *Telephus*, who, when *Argos* was besieg'd by *Cleomenes*, having list'd a sufficient number of Women, made a brave and vigorous defence against the whole *Spartan* Army.

## ΤΑΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

A Solemnity so call'd τὰ τὰ φέρειν ὕδωρ, i. e. from bearing Water; and kept at *Athens* in memory of those that perish'd in the Deluge (c).

Another Festival was celebrated at *Ægina*, to *Apollo*, in the Month *Delphinus* (d).

## ΤΜΝΙΑ,

At *Orchomenos*, and *Mantineæ*, in honour of *Diana Hyminia*.

(a) Lib. IV. (b) *Plutarchus* de Virt. Mulier. *Polyanus* lib. VIII. (c) *Etymologicus* Auctor, *Suidas*. (d) *Pindari Scholiastes* *Nempeon*. Od. V.

## ΤΣΗΡΙΑ,

## ΤΣΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival at *Argos*, in honour of *Venus* (a). The Name is deriv'd from *ἴς*, i. e. a Sow, because Sows were sacrific'd to this Goddess.

Φ

## ΦΑΓΗΣΙΑ,

Φαγησία, or Φαγῆσια, or Φαγιστιπώσια, or Φαγιστιπόσια, was a Festival so call'd from φαγεῖν, and πίνειν, i. e. to eat, and drink, because it was a Time of good Living (b).

## ΦΑΓΩΝ,

A Festival mention'd by *Eustathius* (c), and (as the Name imports) of the same Nature with the former.

## ΦΑΜΜΑΣΤΡΙΑ,

Mention'd by *Hesychius*.

## ΦΕΛΛΟΣ,

A Festival of *Bacchus* (d), being a preparative to the *Διόνυσια* (e).

## ΦΕΡΕΦΑΤΤΙΑ,

A Festival at *Cyzicum*, wherein a black Heifer was sacrific'd to *Phosphorus*, or *Proserpina* (f).

## ΦΩΣΦΟΡΙΑ,

In honour of *Phosphorus*, or *Lucifer* (g).

Χ

## ΧΑΛΚΕΙΑ,

So call'd from χαλκός, i. e. Brass, because it was celebrated in memory of the first Invention of working that Metal, which is owing to *Athens* (h). It was call'd *Ἰάνδημον*, because ὁ πᾶς δῆμος, i. e. the whole *Athenian* Nation, assembled to celebrate it. Sometimes also this Festival was call'd *Ἀθλιώσια*, because it was kept in honour of

(a) *Athenæus* lib. III. (b) *Idem* lib. VII. (c) *Odys.* φ. (d) *Suidas*. (e) *Aphorisms* *Scholiastes* *Nubibus*. (f) *Plutarchus* *Lucullo*. (g) *Plutarchus* in *solentem*, *Hesychius*. (h) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. G. *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, *Etymologicus* Auctor.

Ἀθλῶν,

*Athena*, or *Minerva*, who was the Goddess of all sorts of Arts, and Inventions, and upon that account nam'd *Ἐργάνη*, from *ἔργον*, i. e. work. Afterwards it was only kept by Mechanicks, and Handy-craftsmen, especially those concern'd in Brass-work, and that in honour of *Vulcan*, who was the God of Smiths, and the first that taught the *Athenians* the use of Brass.

## ΧΑΟΝΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Chaonians* in *Epirus* (a).

## ΧΑΡΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd once in nine years by the *Delphians*, whereof we have this account in *Plutarch* (b): "A great Drought having brought a Famine upon the *Delphians*, they went with their Wives and Children as supplicants to the King's Gate, who distributed Meal and Pulse to the more noted of them, not having enough to supply the necessities of all: But a little Orphan Girl coming and importuning him, he beat her with his Shoe, and threw it in her Face; she indeed was a poor, vagrant Beggar, but of a Disposition no ways mean, or ignoble, wherefore unable to bear the Affront, she withdrew, and untying her Girdle, hang'd her self therewith. The Famine hereupon encreasing, and many Diseases accompanying it, the *Pythia* was consulted by the King, and answer'd, that the Death of the Virgin *Charila*, who slew her self, must be expiated: The *Delphians* after a long search discover'd at length, that the Maid, who had been beaten with the Shoe, was call'd by that Name, and instituted certain Sacrifices mix'd with expiatory Rites, which are religiously observ'd every ninth year to this Day: The King presides at them, and distributes Meal and Pulse to all persons, as well Strangers, as Citizens; and *Charila's* Effigies being brought in, when all have receiv'd their Dole, the King smites it with his Shoe; then the Governess of the *Thyades* conveys it to some lonesom and desolate place, where a Halter being put about it's Neck, they bury it in the same spot of Ground, where *Charila* was interr'd.

## ΧΑΡΙΣΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated (c) in honour of the *Charites*, or Graces, with Dances, which continu'd all Night; he that was awake the longest, was rewarded with a Cake call'd *Πυγάρις*.

## ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ,

A Thanksgiving-Day at *Athens* (d) upon the twelfth of *Boedromion*, which was the Day, whereon *Thrasylbulus* expell'd the *Thirty Tyrants*, and restor'd to the *Athenians* their Liberty.

(a) *Parthenus Erot. XXXII.* (b) *Græc. Quæst.* (c) *Eustathius Odys. σ.* (d) *Plutarchus de Gloria Atheniens.*

ΧΑΡ.

## ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤΝΑ,

At *Athens* (a).

## ΧΕΙΡΟΠΟΝΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Χειροπόνοι*, or Handy-craftsmen (b).

## ΧΕΛΙΔΟΝΙΑ,

A Festival at *Rhodos* (c) in the month *Boedromion*, wherein the Boys went from door to door begging, and singing a certain Song, the doing which they call'd *Χελιδνίζειν*, and the Song it self was nam'd *Χελιδνισμα*, because it was begun with an invocation of the *Χελιδν*, or Swallow; it is set down at large in *Athenæus*, and begins thus,

ΗΛΘ', ἦλθε, Χελιδν, χαλὰς  
Νεας ἄγρου &c. ———

It's said to have been compos'd by *Cleobulus* the *Lindian*, as an artifice to get Money in a Time of publick Calamity. In like manner, to sing the Song, wherein a Raven, in *Greek* *Κορῶν*, was invoc'd; they call'd *κορῶνίζω*. And it seems to have been customary for poor Beggars, to go about, and sing for Wages; so *Homer* is said to have done, earning his Living by singing a Song, call'd *Εἰρησιῶν*.

## ΧΘΟΝΙΑ,

An anniversary Day kept by the *Hermionians* in honour of *Ceres*, nam'd *Chthonia*, either because she was Goddess of the Earth, which is call'd in *Greek* *Χθών*, or from a Damsel of that Name, whom *Ceres* carry'd from *Argolis* to *Hermione*, where she dedicated a Temple to the Goddess. The manner of this Festival is thus describ'd by *Pausanias* (d): "*Ceres* her self is nam'd *Chthonia*, and under that Title is honour'd with a Festival, celebrated every Summer in this Method; A Procession is led up by the Priests of the Gods, and the Magistrates that year in Office, who are follow'd by a crowd of Men and Women: The Boys also make a solemn Procession in honour of the Goddess, being in white Apparel, and having upon their Heads Crowns compos'd of a Flower, which is by them call'd *Κομποπίνδαλος*, but seems to be the same with *Hyacinth*, as appears as well by the bigness and colour, as from the Letters inscrib'd upon it in memory of the untimely Death of *Hyacinthus*. This Procession is follow'd by Persons that drag an Heifer untam'd, and newly taken from the Herd, fast bound to the Temple, where they let her loose; which being done, the Door-

(a) *Hesychius.* (b) *Idem.* (c) *Athenæus lib. VIII.* (d) *Corinthiacu.*

"keepers,

"keepers, who till then had kept the Temple-gates open, make all fast, and four old Women being left within, and arm'd with Sithes, they pursue the Heifer, and dispatch her, as soon as they are able, by cutting her Throat. Then the Doors being open'd, certain appointed Persons put a second Heifer into the Temple, afterwards a third, and then a fourth, all which the old Women kill in the fore-mention'd manner; and 'tis observable, that all fall on the same side.

## ΧΙΤΩΝΙΑ,

In honour of *Diana* surnam'd *Chitonia* from *Chitone*, a Burrough in *Asia*, where this Festival was celebrated (a).

Another Festival of this Name was celebrated at *Syracuse* with Songs and Dances proper to the Day (b).

## ΧΑΘΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated at *Athens* upon the sixth of *Thargelion* (c) with Sports, and Mirth, and Sacrificing a Ram to *Ceres*, worship'd in a Temple, in, or near the *Acropolis* of *Athens*, under the Title of *Χαθ* which Name tho' *Pausanias* thought to bear a hidden, and mystical Sense, understood by none but the Priests themselves, yet perhaps may be deriv'd from *χαθ*, i. e. Grass, because *Ceres* was Goddess of the Earth, and all the Fruits thereof; and is the same with the Epithet of *εὐχλο*, or fertile, which is apply'd to her by *Sophocles* (d),

Τὸ δ' Εὐχλόε Δήμιτρεῖς ἐς ἐπέφιν  
Πάγον μολύσα.

Where this Conjecture seems to be approv'd by the Scholiast, who tells us, that *Ceres*, surnam'd *Εὐχλο*, was worship'd in a Temple near the *Acropolis*, which can be no other than that already mention'd. Add to this, that *Gyradius* is of Opinion that *Ceres* is call'd *Χαθ* amongst the *Greeks*, for the same reason that amongst the *Latins* she is nam'd *Flora*, the cause of which Title is too well known, to be so counted for in this place.

## ΧΟΕΣ,

See *Ανθιστήρια*.

## ΧΟΛΑΣ,

In honour of *Bacchus* (e).

(a) *Callimachi Scholiastes* Hymn. in *Dion.* *Athenaus* lib. XIV. (b) *Stephanus Byzantinus* v. *Χιτών*. (c) *Hesychius*, *Eustathius* II. i. *Pausanias* *Atticis*. (d) *Oedip. Colon.* (e) *Hesychius*.

## ΧΥΤΡΟΙ,

See *Ανθιστήρια*.

## Ω

## ΩΜΟΦΑΓΙΑ,

A Festival (a) in honour of *Bacchus* *Ωμοφαγ*, i. e. Eater of raw Flesh, of which Name I have spoken in the former part of this Chapter. This Solemnity was celebrated in the same manner with the other Festivals of *Bacchus*, wherein they counterfeited phrenzy, and madness; what was peculiar to it, was that the Worshippers us'd to eat the Entrails of Goats raw, and bloody, which was done in imitation of the God, to whom the Surname by which he was ador'd in this Solemnity, was given for the like Actions.

## ΩΠΑΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices (b), consisting of Fruits, and offer'd in Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, that Heaven might grant mild and temperate Weather. These, according to *Meursius*, were offer'd to the Goddesses, call'd *Ωραι*, i. e. Hours, who were three in number, attended upon the Sun, presid'd over the four Seasons of the Year, and were honour'd with Divine Worship at *Athens* (c).

## CHAPTER XXI.

## Of the Publick Games in Greece, and the Principal Exercises us'd in them.

COME in the next place to the four Publick, and Solemn Games, which were peculiarly term'd *ιεγ*, i. e. Sacred; partly from the Esteem they had all over *Greece*, from every part of which vast multitudes of Spectators flock'd to them; and partly because they were instituted in honour of the Gods, or Deify'd Heroes, and always begun with Sacrificing to them, and concluded in the same religious manner.

Their Names, together with the Persons to whom they were dedicated, and the Prizes in each of them, are elegantly compriz'd by *Archias* in the two following Distichs,

(a) *Clement* *Protrept.* *Arnobius* lib. V. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Athenaus* lib. XIV.

Τέταρτοι εἰσὶν ἀγῶνις ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, πένταρτι ἱερῇ,  
 Οἱ δὲ μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δὲ δ' ἀθανάτων.  
 Πρῶτος Διὸς ἱεροῦ, Παλαίμονος, Ἀρχιμήδους,  
 Ἀθλα δὲ κόπινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίπυς.

Such as obtain'd Victories in any of these Games, especially the Olympicks (a), were universally honour'd, nay almost ador'd: At their Return home, they rode in a Triumphal Chariot into the City, the Walls being broken down to give them Entrance; which was done (as *Plutarch* is of opinion) to signify, that walls are of small use to a City, that is inhabited by Men of Courage, and Ability to defend it. At *Sparta* they had an honourable Post in the Army, being plac'd near the King's Person. At some places, they had Presents made to them by their Native City, were honour'd with first places at all Shows and Games, and ever after maintain'd at the Publick Charge (b). *Cicero* (c) reports, that a Victory in the Olympick Games was not much less honourable than a Triumph at *Rome*. Happy was that Man thought, that could but obtain a single Victory: If any Person merited repeated Rewards, he was thought to have attain'd to the utmost Felicity that Human Nature is capable of: But if He came off Conqueror in all the Exercises, He was elevated above the Condition of Men, and His Actions stil'd *Wonderful Victories* (d). Nor did their Honours terminate in themselves, but were extended to all about them; the City that gave them Birth and Education, was esteem'd more Honourable and August; Happy were their Relations, and thrice happy their Parents. It is a remarkable Story, which *Plutarch* (e) relates of a *Spartan*, who meeting *Diagoras*, that had himself been crown'd in the Olympian Games, and seen his Sons, and Grand-children Victors, embrac'd him, and said, *Die, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a God*.

There were certain Persons appointed to take care that all things were perform'd according to Custom, to decide Controversies that happen'd amongst the Antagonists, and adjudge the Prizes to those that merited them: These were call'd *ῥοδῶνται*, *βραβύται*, *ἀγωνάρχαι*, *ἀγνοδίχαι*, *ἀγωνοδῆται*, *ἀθλοδῆται*, tho' betwixt these two *Phaenomena* makes a Distinction, for *ἀθλοδῆται*, he tells us, was peculiar to *Gymnical Exercises*; whereas the former was sometimes apply'd to *Musical Contentions*: They were likewise call'd *ῥαβδόχοι*, and *ῥαβδονόμοι* from *ῥαβδος*, i. e. a Rod, or Scepter, which these Judges, and, in general, all Kings, and great Magistrates carry'd in their Hands.

After the Judges had pass'd Sentence, a publick Herald proclaim'd

(a) *Plutarchus Sympol. lib. II. Quest. VI. Vitruvium Præfat. in Archite&. lib. IX.*  
 (b) *Xenophanes Colophonius in Epigram.* (c) *Orat. pro Flacco.* (d) *Plutarchus Lucull.* (e) *Telepida.*

the Name of the Victor, whence *κηρύσσειν* in *Greek*, and *predicare* in *Latin*, signifie to commend, or proclaim any man's praises. The token of Victory was, in most places, a Palm-branch, which was presented to the Conquerours, and carry'd by them in their Hands; which custom was first introduc'd by *Theseus*, at the Institution of the *Delian Games* (a), tho' others will have it to be much ancienter: Hence *palmæ dare*, to yield the Victory; and *pluvium palmarum homo* in *Tully*, a Man that has won a great many Prizes.

Before I proceed to give a particular Description of the *Grecian Games*, it will be necessary to present you with a brief account of the principal Exercises us'd in them, which were as follow;

Πένταθλον, or *Quinqueterium*, which consisted of the five Exercises contain'd in this Verse,

Ἀλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἀκοντα, πάλην.

i. e. Leaping, Running, Throwing, Darting, and Wrestling; but instead of Darting, others mention Boxing. In all of them there were some customs that deserve our observation.

*Δεσμῶς*, or the Exercise of Running, was in great Esteem amongst the ancient *Grecians*, inasmuch that such as prepar'd themselves for it, thought it worth their while to use means to burn, or parch their Spleen, because it was believ'd to be an hindrance to them, and retard them in their course. *Homer* tells us, that swiftness is one of the most excellent Endowments a Man can be bless'd withall (b),

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μείζον κλέος ἀνέρος ὄρεα κεν ῥῆσιν,  
 Ἡ ὅ, τι ποσσὶν τε ῥέξει, καὶ χερσὶν ἔρῃσιν.

No greater honour has e're been attain'd,  
 Than what strong Hands, or nimble Feet have gain'd.

Indeed all those Exercises, that conduc'd to fit Men for War, were more especially valued; now swiftness was look'd upon as an excellent qualification in a Warriour, both because it serves for a sudden Assault and Onset, and likewise for a nimble Retreat; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd that the constant Character, which *Homer* gives of *Achilles*, is, that he was *πόδας ὠκὺς*, or swift of Foot: And in the holy Scriptures, *David*, in his Poetical Lamentation over those two great Captains, *Saul* and *Jonathan*, takes particular notice of this warlike quality of theirs; They were (says he) *swifter than Eagles*, *stronger than Lyons*. To return; The Course was call'd *στάδιον*, being of the same extent with the measure of that name, which contains CXXV. paces,

(a) *Plutarchus Theseo.* (b) *Odys. 6. v. 147.*



whence the Runners were term'd *ταδιδρόμοι*. Sometimes the length of it was enlarg'd more or less, and then it was nam'd *δολιχόν*, and the Contenders *δολιχοδρόμοι*, whence comes the Proverb *Μη ζητεῖς ἐν ταδίῳ δολιχόν*, i. e. Search not for a greater thing in a less. Sometimes they ran back again to the place whence they had first set out, and then the Course was call'd *δίαυλόν*, and the Runners *δίαυλοδρόμοι*. Sometimes they ran in Armour, and were term'd *ὀπλιτοδρόμοι*.

*Ἀλμα*, or the Exercise of Leaping, they sometimes perform'd with weights upon their Heads, or Shoulders, sometimes carrying them in their Hands; these were call'd *ἀλτήρεις*, which, tho' now and then of different Figures, yet, as *Pausanias* reports, were usually of an Oval Form, and made with holes, or else cover'd with Thongs, thro' which the Contenders put their Fingers. *Ἀλτήρεις* were also sometimes us'd in throwing. The place from which they leap'd, was call'd *βατής* (a); that to which they leap'd, *τὰ ἱσκαμμένα*, because it was mark'd by digging up the Earth; whence *πιδᾶν ὑπερ τὰ ἱσκαμμένα* is apply'd to Persons that overleap, or exceed their Bounds.

*Πίψις*, or the Exercise of Throwing, or Darting, was perform'd several ways; sometimes with a Javelin, Rod, or other Instrument of a large size, which they threw out of their naked Hands, or by the help of a Thong ty'd about the middle of it; the doing this was term'd *ἀκοντισμα*: sometimes with an Arrow, or little Javelin, which was either shot out of a Bow, or cast out of a Sling, and the Art of doing this was call'd *τοξικη*.

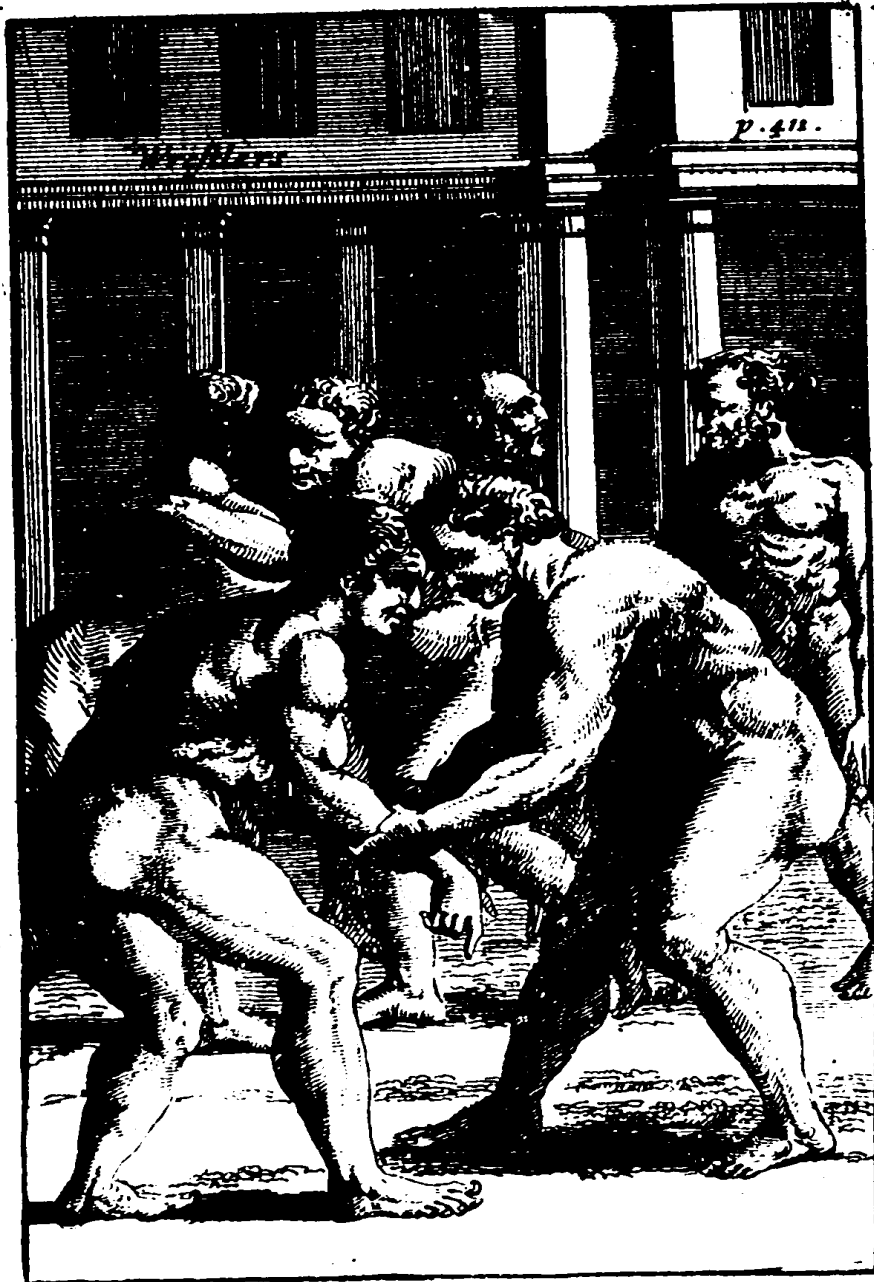
*Δίσκος*, was a Quoit of Stone, Brass, or Iron, which they threw by the help of a Thong put thro' a hole in the middle of it (b), but in a manner quite different from that of throwing Darts; for there the Hands were lifted up, and extended, whereas the *Discus* was hurl'd in the manner of a Bowl. It was of different Figures, and Sizes, being sometimes four-square, but usually broad and like a Lentil, whence that Herb is by *Dioscorides* call'd *δίσκος*. The same Exercise was sometimes perform'd with an Instrument call'd *Σόλος*, which some will have to be distinguish'd from *δίσκος*, because that was of Iron, this of Stone: But others with more reason report that the difference consisted in this, *viz.* That *σόλος* was of a Spherical Figure, whereas *δίσκος* was broad.

*Πυγμαχία*, or the Exercise of Boxing, was sometimes perform'd by Combatants having in their Hands Balls of Stone, or Lead, call'd *σφαίραι*,

(a) *Πολυκ.* (b) *Eustathius Odysf. 6.*

and





and then it was term'd *σπαιεμαχία*. At first, their Hands and Arms were naked and unguarded, but afterwards surrounded with Thongs of Leather call'd *Cestus*, which at the first were short, reaching no higher than the Wrists, but were afterwards enlarg'd, and carry'd up to the Elbow, and sometimes as high as the Shoulder; and in time they came to be us'd not only as defensive Arms, but to annoy the Enemy, being fill'd with plummetts of Lead, and Iron, to add Force to the Blows. Those that prepar'd themselves for this Exercise, us'd all the means they could contrive to render themselves Fat and Flethy, that so they might be better able to endure Blows, whence corpulent Men, or Women were usually call'd *pugiles*, according to *Terence* (a);

*Signa est habitior paullo, pugilem esse aiunt.* —————

*Πάλη*, or the Exercise of Wrestling, was sometimes call'd *καταβλητική*, because the Combatants endeavour'd to throw each other down, to do which they call'd *ῥίξαι*. They never encountred till all their Joynts, and Members had been soundly rubb'd, fomented, and suppled with Oyl, whereby all Streins were prevented. The Victory was adjudg'd to him that gave his Antagonist three Falls; whence *τειάξαι*, and *ἀντετιάξαι* signify to conquer; and *τειαχθῆναι*, or *ἀντετιαχθῆναι*, to be conquer'd; and by *ἀπείρακτος ἄτα* in *Æschylus* is meant an insuperable Evil; others make the proper signification of these words to belong only to Victors in all the Exercises of the *Πένταθλον* (b); however, the fore-mention'd Custom is sufficiently attested by the Epigram upon *Milo*, who having challeng'd the whole Assembly, and finding none that durst encounter him, claim'd the Crown, but as he was going to receive it, unfortunately fell down, whereat the People cry'd out, that he had forfeited the Prize, then *Milo*

Ἀντὶς δ' ἐν μίωσιςιν ἀνέκραγεν, Οὐχὶ τρεῖς ἔστιν,  
Εν κῆμαι, λοιπὸν τάλλα με τίς βαλέτω.

Arose, and standing in the midst, thus cry'd,  
One single Fall cannot the Prize decide,  
And who is here can throw me th'other two?

But of Wrestling there were two sorts, viz. one call'd *Ορθία πάλη*, and *Ορθοπάλη*, which is that already describ'd; And another call'd *Ανακλινοπάλη*, because the Combatants us'd voluntarily to throw themselves down, and continue the Fight upon the Ground, by pinch-

(a) *Eunuch. Act. II. Sc. III.* (b) *Tollux Onomast. lib. III. cap. XXX.*

ing, biting, scratching, and all manner of ways annoying their Adversary; whereby it often came to pass, that the weaker Combatant, and who would never have been able to throw his Antagonist, obtain'd the Victory, and forc'd him to yield; for in this Exercise, as in Boxing also, the Victory was never adjudg'd, till one party had fairly yielded; this was sometimes done by words, and often by lifting up a Finger, whence *δακτύλον ἀνατείναναι* signifies to yield the Victory; for which reason, we are told by *Plutarch*, that the *Lacedaemonians* would not permit any of those Exercises to be practis'd in their City, wherein those that were conquer'd did *δακτύλον ἀνατείναναι*, i. e. confess themselves overcome by holding up their Finger, because they thought it would derogate from the Temper and Spirit of the *Spartans*, to have any of them tamely yield to any Adversary; tho' that place has been hitherto mistaken by most Interpreters. *Marial* hath taken notice of this Exercise;

*Hunc amo, qui vincit, sed qui succumbere novit,  
Et melius didicit tūc ανακλινοπάλλει.*

It is the very same with what is more commonly call'd *Παγκράτιον*, which consists of the two Exercises of Wrestling, and Boxing; from the former it borrows the custom of throwing down; from the latter, that of beating Adversaries; for Wrestlers never struck, nor did Boxers ever attempt to throw down one another; but the *Παγκρατισται* were permitted to do both, and it was customary for the weaker Party, when he found himself sore press'd by his Adversary, to fall down, and fight rolling on the Ground, whence these Combatants were call'd *κλιτικοί*, which gave occasion to the mistake of *Hieronymus Mercatorialis*, who phansy'd there were two *Παγκρατια*, one in which the Combatants stood erect; the other, in which they roll'd in the Gravel. This Exercise is sometimes call'd *Παιμάχον*, and the Combatants *Παιμάχοι*.

Horse-races were either perform'd by single Horses, which were call'd *κίλητες*, or *μονόμπυκες*: Or, by two Horses, on one of which they perform'd the Race, and leap'd upon the other at the Goal; these Men were call'd *ἀναβάς*, and if it was a Mare they leap'd upon, she was nam'd *χάλπη*: Or, by Horses coupled together in Chariots, which were sometimes drawn by two, three, four, &c. Horses, whence we read of *δύωροι*, *τρίωροι*, *τετράωροι* &c. How great soever the number of Horses might be, they were all plac'd not as now, but in one Front, being coupled together by pairs; afterwards *Clisthenes* the *Sicyonian* brought up a Custom of coupling the two middle Horses only, which are for that reason call'd *ζύγοι*, and governing the rest by Reins, whence they are usually term'd *συνεφέροι*, *συνεαίοι*, *συνεζύγοι*.

## Pancratiūm

p. 412.



μαχηστῆς, ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἀορτῆς, &c. Sometimes we find Mules us'd instead of Horses, and the Chariots drawn by them call'd ἀρνύου. The principal part of the Charioteer's Art and Skill consisted in avoiding the νύσται, or Goals, in which if he fail'd, the over-turning of his Chariot, which was a necessary consequence of it, brought him into great Danger, as well as Disgrace.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## Of the Olympian Games.

THE *Olympian Games* were so call'd from *Olympia*, a City in the Territory of the *Pisceans*; or, according to *Stephanus*, the same with *Pisa*. The first Institution of them is by some referr'd to *Jupiter*, after his Victory over the Sons of *Titan* (a); at which time *Mars* is said to have been crown'd for Boxing, and *Apollo* to have been superiour to *Mercury* at Running.

Others will have the first Author of them to be one of the *Daſſyli*, nam'd *Hercules*, not the Son of *Alcmena*, but another of far greater Antiquity, that with his four Brethren, *Pæonius*, *Ida*, *Jasius*, and *Epi-medes*, left their ancient Seat in *Ida*, a Mountain of *Crete*, and settl'd in *Elio*, where he instituted this Solemnity; the Original of which was only a Race, wherein the four younger Brothers contending for Diversion, the Victor was crown'd by *Hercules* with an Olive-garland, which was not compos'd of the common Olive-branches, nor the natural Production of that Countrey (b), but brought by *Hercules* (so Fables will have it) from the *Hyperborean Scythians*, and planted in the *Panthum* near *Olympia*, where it flourish'd, tho' not after the manner of other Olive-trees, but spreading out it's Boughs more like a *Myrtle*; it was call'd *καλλιερειδανόν*, i. e. fit for Crowns, the Garlands given to Victors in these Games, were always compos'd of it, and it was forbidden under a great Penalty to cut it for any other use: These *Daſſyli* were five in number, whence it is that the *Olympian Games* were celebrated once in five Years, tho' others make them to be solemniz'd once in four; wherefore according to the former, an *Olympiad* must consist of five; according to the latter, of four: But neither of these Accounts are exact, for this Solemnity was held indeed every fifth Year, yet not after the term of five Years was quite past, but every fiftieth Month, which is the

(a) *Aristophanes*, ejusque *Scholiaſtes* in *Plato*. (b) *Aristoteles*, &c. ex eo *Aristophanis Scholiaſtes*.

second Month after the completion of four Years (a): And as these Games were celebrated every fifth Year, so they lasted five Days, for they began upon the eleventh, and ended upon the fifteenth Day of the Lunar Month, when the Moon was at the full.

Others (if we may believe *Julius Scaliger*) report, that these Games were instituted by *Pelops* to the honour of *Neptune*, by whose Assistance he had vanquish'd *Oenomaüs*, and marry'd his Daughter *Hippodamia*.

Others say, they were first celebrated by *Hercules*, the Son of *Alcmena*, to the honour of *Pelops*, from whom he was descended by the Mother's side (b); but being after that discontinu'd for some Time, they were reviv'd by *Iphitus*, or *Iphiclus*, one of *Hercules*'s Sons.

The most common Opinion is, that the *Olympian Games* were first instituted by this *Hercules*, to the honour of *Olympian Jupiter*, out of the Spoils taken from *Augeas* King of *Elis*, whom he had dethron'd, and plunder'd, being defrauded of the reward he had promis'd him for cleansing his Stables, as *Pindar* reports (c): *Diodorus* the Sicilian (d) gives the same Relation, and adds that *Hercules* propos'd no other Reward to the Victors, but a Crown, in memory of his own Labours, all which he accomplish'd for the Benefit of Mankind, without designing any Reward to himself, beside the Praise of doing well: At this Institution, it is reported that *Hercules* himself came off Conquerour in all the Exercises, except Wrestling, to which when he had challeng'd all the Field, and could find no Man that durst grapple with him, at length *Jupiter*, having assum'd an Human shape, enter'd the Lists; and when the Contention had remain'd doubtful for a considerable Time, neither party having the Advantage, or being willing to submit, the God discover'd himself to his Son, and from this Action got the Sirname of *Παλαστής*, or Wrestler, by which He is known in *Lycophron* (e).

All these Stories are rejected by *Srabo*, in his Description of *Elis*, where he reports, that an *Ætolian* Colony, together with some of *Hercules*'s Posterity, subdu'd a great many of the *Pisæan* Towns, and amongst them *Olympia*, where they first instituted, or, at least, reviv'd, enlarg'd, and augmented these Games, which (as my Author thinks) could not have been omitted by *Homer*, who takes every opportunity to adorn his Poems with Descriptions of such Solemnities, had they been of any Note before the *Trojan War*.

The Care and Management of these Games, belong'd sometimes to the *Pisæans*, but for the most part to the *Eleans*, by whom the *Pisæans* were destroy'd, and their very Name extinguisht. Sometimes it happen'd that the *Eleans* could not take Care of them, for the CIVth *Olympiad* was celebrated by order of the *Arcadians*, by whom the *Eleans* were at that Time reduc'd to a very low Condition;

(a) *Isaacus Tzetzes* in *Lycophronem*, & *Joanne Tzetzes Chiliad. I. Histor. XXI.*  
(b) *Solinus Polyhist. & Statius Theb. VI.* (c) *Olympion. initio Od. II.* (d) *Bibliothec. Histor. lib. IV.* (e) *Cassandra v. 41.*

but

but this, and all those manag'd by the Inhabitants of *Pisa*, the *Eleans* call'd *Ανολυμπιάδας*, i. e. unlawful *Olympiads*, and left them out of their Annals, wherein the Names of the Victors, and all Occurrences at these Games were recorded. Till the fiftieth *Olympiad*, a single Person superintended, but then two were appointed to perform that Office. In the CIIIth *Olympiad* that number was increas'd to twelve, according to the number of the *Elean Tribes*, out of every one of which one President was elected: But in the following *Olympiad*, the *Eleans* having suffer'd great Losses by a War with the *Arcadians*, and being reduc'd to eight Tribes, the Presidents were also lessen'd to that number: In the CVth *Olympiad* they were increas'd by the addition of one more; and in the CVIth another was join'd to them, whereby they were made Ten, which number continu'd till the Reign of *Adrian*, the Roman Emperour. These Persons were call'd *Ελλωδιῖται*, and assembl'd together in a place nam'd *Ελλωδιῖον*, in the *Elean Forum*, where they were oblig'd to reside ten Months before the Celebration of the Games, to take care that such as offer'd themselves to contend, perform'd their *προγυμνασία*, or Preparatory Exercises, and to be instructed in all the Laws of the Games by certain Men call'd *Νομοφύλακες*, i. e. Keepers of the Laws: Farther, to prevent all unjust Practices, they were oblig'd to take an Oath, that they would act impartially, would take no Bribes, nor discover the Reason, for which they dislike'd, or approv'd of any of the Contenders: At the Solemnity they sat naked, having before them the Victorial Crown till the Exercises were finish'd, and then it was presented to whomsoever they adjudg'd it.

Women were not allow'd to be present at these Games; nay, so severe were the *Elean Laws*, that if any Woman was found so much as to have pass'd the River *Alpheus* during the time of the Solemnity, she was to be tumbl'd headlong from a Rock (a): But it is reported, that none was ever taken thus offending, except *Callipatera*, whom others call *Pherenice*, who ventur'd to usher her Son *Pisidorus*, call'd by some *Eucleus*, into the Exercises, and being discover'd, was apprehended, and brought before the Presidents, who, notwithstanding the severity of the Laws, acquitted her, out of respect to her Father, Brethren, and Son, who had all won Prizes in the *Olympian Games*. But my Author reports in another place (b), that *Cynisca*, the Daughter of *Archidamus*, with manly Courage, and Bravery, contend'd in the *Olympian Games*, and was the first of her Sex, that kept Horses, and won a Prize there; but that afterwards several others, especially some of the *Macedonian Women* imitated her Example, and were crown'd at *Olympia*. Perhaps neither of these Reports may be altogether groundless, since innumerable alterations were made in these Games, according to the Exigencies of Times, and change of Circumstances, all which

(a) *Pausanias.* (b) *Laetitia.*

are set down at large in *Pausanias*, *Natalis Comes*, and other *Mythologists*.

All such as design'd to contend, were oblig'd to repair to the publick *Gymnasium* at *Elis* ten Months before the Solemnity, where they prepar'd themselves by continual Exercises; we are told indeed by *Phavorinus*, that the Preparatory Exercises were only perform'd thirty Days before the Games; but this must be understood of the Performance of the whole and entire Exercises in the same manner they were practis'd at the Games, which seems to have been only enjoyn'd in the last Month, whereas the nine antecedent Months were spent in more light and easy Preparations. No Man that had omitted to present himself in this manner, was allow'd to put in for any of the Prizes; nor were the accustomed Rewards of Victory given to such Persons, if by any means they intimated themselves, and overcame their Antagonists: Nor would any Apology, tho' never so seemingly reasonable, serve to excuse their Absence; For in the CCXVIIIth Olympiad *Apollonius* was rejected, and not suffer'd to contend, because he had not presented himself in due time, tho' he was detain'd by contrary Winds in the Islands call'd *Cyclades*, but the Crown was given to *Heraclides* without performing any Exercise, because no just and duly qualify'd Adversary appear'd to oppose him. No Person that was himself a notorious Criminal, or nearly related to any such, was permitted to contend. Farther, to prevent underhand Dealings, if any Person was convicted of bribing his Adversary, a severe Fine was laid upon him: Nor was this alone thought a sufficient Guard against evil and dishonourable Contracts, and unjust Practises, but the Contenders were oblig'd to swear, they had spent ten whole Months in Preparatory Exercises: and farther yet, both they, their Fathers, and Brethren took a solemn Oath, that they would not by any sinister, or unlawful means endeavour to stop the fair and just Proceedings of the Games.

The Order of Wrestlers was appointed by Lots, in this manner: A Silver Urn, call'd *κλίστρον*, being plac'd, into it were put little Pellets, in size about the bigness of Beans, upon every one of which was inscrib'd a Letter, and the same Letter belong'd to every pair; now those, whose Fortune it was to have the same Letters, wrestled together; if the number of the Wrestlers was not even, he that happen'd to light upon the odd Pellet, wrestled last of all with him that had the Mastery; wherefore he was call'd *ἐπίδοτος*, as coming after the rest: This was accounted the most fortunate Chance that could be, because the Person that obtain'd it, was to encounter one already weary'd, and spent with conquering his former Antagonist, himself being fresh, and in full Strength (a).

(a) *Cassius Rhodiginus* Antiq. Lect. lib. XXII. cap. XVII. *Alexander ab Alexandro* Genial. Dier. lib. V. cap. VIII.

The most successful in his Undertakings, and magnificent in his Expences of all that ever contended in these Games, was *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, as *Plutarch* reports in his Life; "His Expences (saith he) in Horses kept for the publick Games, and in the number of his Chariots were very magnificent; for never any one beside, either private Person, or King, sent seven Chariots to the *Olympian* Games." He obtain'd at one Solemnity the first, second, and fourth Prizes, "as *Thucydides*, or third, as *Euripides* reports; wherein he surpass'd all that ever pretended in that kind."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### Of the Pythian Games.

THE *Pythian* Games were celebrated near *Delphi*, and are by some thought to have been first instituted by *Amphictyon*, the Son of *Deucalion*, or by the Council of *Amphictyones*. Others refer the first Institution of them to *Agamemnon* (a); *Pausanias* (b) to *Diomedes*, the Son of *Tydeus*, who having escap'd a dangerous Tempest as he return'd from *Troy*, dedicated a Temple at *Træzen* to *Apollo* surnam'd *Embathetor*, and instituted the *Pythian* Games to his honour: But the most common Opinion is, that *Apollo* himself was the first Author of them, when he had overcome *Python*, a Serpent, or cruel Tyrant: Thus *Ovid* (c),

*Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,  
Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos,  
Pythia perdomitæ Serpentis nomine dictos.*

Then to preserve the Fame of such a Deed,  
For *Python* slain He *Pythian* Games decreed.

Mr. Dryden.

At their first Institution, they were only celebrated once in nine Years, but afterwards every fifth Year, according to the number of the *Parnassian Nymphs*, that came to congratulate *Apollo*, and brought him Presents after his Victory.

The Rewards were certain Apples consecrated to *Apollo*, according to *Ister* (d), and the fore-cited Epigram of *Archias*, in which he has enumerated the Prizes in this, and the other three Sacred Games,

(a) *Etymologici* Auðor, *Phavorinus*. (b) *Corinthiacum*. (c) *Metam. l.* (d) *Libro de Coronis*.



Ἄλλα δὲ τῶν κ' ἴππων, μῦλα, σέλινα, πίτυς.

Where *Brodus* will have μῦλα to signify the *Delphian* Lawrel, which, he tells us, brought forth Berries streak'd with red and green, and almost as large as Apples; but this Interpretation is by no means genuine, or natural, since the word μῦλα is never us'd in that sense: However that be, 'tis certain the Victors were rewarded with Garlands of Lawrel, as appears from the express words of *Pindar*, who tells us, that *Asiomenes* was crown'd with πῶλον Παρνασσίου, or Lawrel that flourish'd upon Mount *Parnassius* (a): Whence some imagine that the Reward was double, consisting both of the sacred Apples, and Garlands of Lawrel. But at the first Institution of these Games, the Victors were crown'd with Garlands of Palm, or (according to some) of Beech-leaves, as *Ovid* reports, who immediately after the Verses before-cited, adds,

*His juvenum quicumque manus, pedibusve, rotave  
Vicerat, cunctas capiebat frondis honorem,  
Nondum Laurus erat.*

Here Noble Youths for Mastership did strive  
To Box, to Run, and Steeds, and Chariots drive,  
The Prize was Fame; in witness of Renown,  
A Beechen Garland did the Victor crown,  
The Lawrel was not yet for Triumph born.

Others there are (b) who report, that in the first *Pythiad* the Gods contended, *Castor* obtain'd the Victory by Race-horses, *Pollux* at Boxing, *Calais* at Running, *Zetes* at Fighting in Armour, *Peleus* at throwing the *Discus*, *Telamon* at Wrestling, *Hercules* at the *Pancratium*, and that all of them were honour'd by *Apollo* with Crowns of Lawrel. But others again are of a different Opinion (c), and tell us, that at the first there was nothing but a Musical Contention, wherein he that Sung best the Praises of *Apollo*, obtain'd the Prize, which at first was either Silver, or Gold, or something of value, but afterwards chang'd into a Crown: Here you may observe the different Names given to Games from the diversity of the Prizes; for where the Prize was *Astoney*, the Games were call'd ἀγῶνις ἀρξυεῖται; where only a Crown, ἀγῶνις στεφανίται, φιλίνου, &c. The first that obtain'd Victory by Singing, was *Chrysothemis* a *Cretan*, by whom *Apollo* was purify'd, after he had kill'd *Python*: The next Prize was won by *Philammon*; the next after that by his Son *Thamyris*. *Orpheus* having rais'd himself

to a pitch of honour almost equal to the Gods by instructing the prophane and ignorant World in all the Mysteries of Religion, and Ceremonies of Divine Worship, and *Museus*, who took *Orpheus* for his example, thought it too great a Condescension, and inconsistent with the high Characters they bore, to enter into the Contention. *Eleutherus* is reported to have gain'd a Victory purely upon the account of his Voice, his Song being the composition of another person: *Hesiod* was repuls'd, because he could not play upon the Harp, which all the Candidates were oblig'd to do.

There was likewise another Song, call'd Πυθικός νῆμος, consisting of these five parts, wherein the Fight of *Apollo* and *Python* was delineated; 1. Ἀνάρκτισ, which contain'd the preparation to the Fight. 2. Ἀμπειρεν, or the first Essay towards it. 3. Κατακλεισμός, which was the Action it self, and the God's exhortation to himself to stand out with Courage. 4. Ἰαμβοὶ καὶ δάκτυλοι, or the insulting Sarcasms of *Apollo* over vanquish'd *Python*. 5. Στεγυγες, which was an imitation of the Serpents hissing, when he ended his Life. Others make this Song to consist of the six following parts: 1. Ἠέτης, or the preparation. 2. Ἰαμβός, wherein *Apollo* dar'd *Python* to engage him by reproaches, for ἱαμβίζειν signifies to reproach, and *Jambick* Verses were the common Form of Investives. 3. Δάκτυλος, which was to the honour of *Bacchus*, to whom those Numbers were thought most acceptable; this part belong'd to him, because he had (as some say) a share in the *Delphian* Oracle, or possess'd it before *Apollo*. 4. Κρατίζεις, to the honour of *Jupiter*, because he was *Apollo's* Father, and thought to delight most in such Feet, as being educated in *Cyete*, where they were us'd. 5. Μπαρῶν, to the honour of *Mother Earth*, because the *Delphian* Oracle belong'd to her, before it came into *Apollo's* hands. 6. Στεγυγες, or the Serpent's hissing.

There was likewise a solemn Dance consisting of five parts, which are by some thus describ'd (a); 1. Πείρα, an imitation of *Apollo*, preparing himself for the Fight with all the circumspection of a prudent and cautious Warriour. 2. Κατακλεισμός, a Challenge given to the Enemy. 3. Ἰαμβικός, a representation of the Fight, during which the Trumpets sounded a point of War; it was to call'd from *Jambick* Verses, which are the most proper to express Passion, and Rage. 4. Σπονδείοι, so call'd from the Feet of that name, or from σπινδεῖν, i. e. to offer a Libation, because it was the celebration of Victory; now after a Victory, it was always customary to return Thanks to the Gods, and offer Sacrifices. 5. Καταχέρευσις, a representation of *Apollo's* Dancing after his Victory.

(a) *Pythian*. Od. VIII. v. 28. (b) *Natalis Comes* Mythol. lib. V. Cap. II.  
(c) *Strabo* lib. IX. *Pausanias* l. c. *scu.*

(a) *Julius Scaliger* Poetices lib. I. cap. XXIII.

Afterwards in the third year of the XLVIIIth Olympiad, the *Amphi-Byones*, who were Presidents of these Games, introduc'd Flutes, which till that time had not been us'd at this Solemnity; the first that won the Prize, was *Sacadas* of *Argos*; but because they were more proper for Funeral Songs, and Lamentations, than the merry and jocund Airs at Festivals, they were in a short Time laid aside. They added likewise all the Gymnical Exercises us'd in the *Olympian* Games, and made a Law, that none should contend in running, but Boys. At, or near, the same time they chang'd the Prizes, which had before been of value, into Crowns, or Garlands; and gave these Games the name of *Pythia*, from *Pythian Apollo*, whereas till that time (as some say) they had either another Name, or no peculiar Name at all. Horse-races also, or Chariot-races were introduc'd about the Time of *Clisthenes*, King of *Argos*, who obtain'd the first Victory in them, riding in a Chariot drawn by four Horses; and several other changes were by degrees made in these Games, which I shall not trouble you with.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### Of the Nemean Games.

THE Nemean Games (a) were so call'd from *Nemea*, a Village, and Grove between the Cities *Clona* and *Phlius*, where they were celebrated every third year upon the twelfth of the *Corinthian* Month *Helycty*, call'd sometimes *Iegpulosia*, which is the same with the *Athenian Boedromion*. The Exercises were Chariot-races, and all the parts of the *Pentathlon*. The Presidents were elected out of *Corinth*, *Argos*, and *Clona*, and apparell'd in black Cloaths, the habit of Mourners, because these Games were a Funeral-solemnity instituted in memory of *Opheltes*, otherwise call'd *Archemorus* from ἀρχή, i. e. a beginning, and τέλος, i. e. Fate, or Death, because *Amphiaraus* fore-told his Death soon after he began to live: Or, according to *Statius* (b), because that Misfortune was a Prelude to all the bad Success, that befell the *Theban* Champions; for *Archemorus* was the Son of *Euphrates* and *Creüsa*, or *Lycurgus*, a King of *Nemea*, or *Thrace*, and *Eurydice*, and nurs'd by *Hyppisyle*, who leaving the Child in a Meadow whilst she went to shew the besiegers of *Thebes* a Fountain, at her return found him dead, and a Serpent folded about his Neck; whence the

(a) Strabo lib. VIII. Pausanias (Græc. Elæc. 2). Pindar. Schol. Nemean. (b) Thebaid lib. V.

Fountain

Fountain before call'd *Langia*, was nam'd *Archemorus*; and the Captains to comfort *Hyppisyle* for her Loss, instituted these Games (c),

*Una tamen tacitas, sed jussu Numinis, undas  
Hæc quoque secreta nutrit Langia sub umbra,  
Nondum illi raptus dederat lacrymabile nomen  
Archemorus, nec fama Deæ; tamen avia servas  
Et nemus, & silvium; manet ingens gloria Nympham,  
Cum tristem Hyppisylem ducibus sudatus Achæis  
Ludus, & ara sacrum recolis Trieteris Opheltem.*

*Langia* alone, and she securely hid  
Luck'd in a dark, and unfrequented shade,  
Her silent streams by some Divine command  
To feed the circumjacent pools retain'd.  
Before *Hyppisyle* was known to Fame  
Before the Serpent had *Archem'rus* slain,  
And to the Spring bequeath'd his dreadful name;  
Yet in the lone some Desert tho' it lyes,  
A Grove, and Riv'let it alone supplies;  
Whilst endless Glory on the Nymph shall wait,  
And *Grecian* Chiefs shall eternize her Fate,  
When they shall sad Triennial Games ordain  
To after-ages to transmit her Name,  
And dismal story of *Opheltes* slain.

Mr. Hutchin.

Others are of opinion, that these Games were instituted by *Hercules* after his Victory over the *Nemean* Lyon (b), in honour of *Jupiter*, who, as *Pausanias* tells us, had a magnificent Temple at *Nemea*, where he was honour'd with solemn Games, in which Men ran Races in Armour; but perhaps these might be distinct from the solemnity, I am now speaking of. Lastly, others grant indeed, they were first instituted in memory of *Archemorus*, but will have them to have been intermitted, and re-iv'd again by *Hercules*, and consecrated to *Jupiter*.

The Victors were crown'd with Parsley, which was an Herb us'd \* Funerals, and feign'd to have sprung out of *Archemorus's* Blood; Concerning it, *Plutarch* relates a remarkable Story (c), with which it will not be improper to conclude this Chapter; "As *Timolcon* (saith he) was marching up an Ascent, from the Top of which they might take a view of the Army and Strength of the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance a company of Mules loaden with Parsley, which his Soldiers conceiv'd to be an ill-boding Omen, because this is the very Herb wherewith we adorn the Sepulchres of the dead, which custom gave birth to that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one

(a) Statius Thebaid. lib. IV. (b) Pindar. 2d. (c) Timolcon

that

"that is dangerously sick, that he does δειδωκεν σελίνα, i. e. need no-  
 "thing but Parsley, which is in effect to say, he is a dead Man, just  
 "dropping into the Grave : Now, that *Timoleon* might ease their minds,  
 "and free them from those superstitious thoughts, and such a fearful Ex-  
 "pectation, he put a stop to his March, and, having alledged many  
 "other things in a discourse suitable to the occasion, he concluded  
 "it by saying, that a Garland of Triumph had luckily fallen into  
 "their hands of it's own accord, as an anticipation of Victory ; in-  
 "asmuch as the *Corinthians* do crown those that get the better in their  
 "Isthmian Games with Chaplets of Parsley, accounting it a sacred  
 "Wreath, and proper to their Countrey ; for Parsley was ever the  
 "conquering Ornament of the Isthmian Sports, as it is now also of  
 "the *Nemean* ; it is not very long since Branches of the Pine-tree  
 "came to succeed, and to be made use of for that purpose : *Timoleon*  
 "therefore, having thus bespoken his Souldiers, took part of the Parsley,  
 "wherewith he first made himself a Chaplet, and then his Captains  
 "with their Companies did all crown themselves with it in imitation  
 "of their General.

## CHAPTER. XXV.

### Of the Isthmian Games.

THE Isthmian Games were so call'd from the place where they  
 were celebrated viz. the *Corinthian Isthmus*, a neck of Land  
 by which *Peloponnesus* is joyn'd to the Continent ; they were in-  
 stituted in honour of *Palamon*, or *Melicerta*, the Son of *Athamas*  
 King of *Thebes*, and *Ino*, who, for fear of her Husband (who had  
 kill'd her other Son *Learchus* in a Fit of madness) cast her self, with  
*Melicerta* in her Arms, into the Sea, where they were receiv'd by *Ne-  
 ptune* into the number of the Divinities of his Train, out of com-  
 pliment to *Bacchus* nurs'd by *Ino*. At the change of their condi-  
 tion, they alter'd their Names, *Ino* was call'd *Leucothea*, and her Son,  
*Palamon* ; however *Palamon's* Divinity could not preserve his Bo-  
 dy from being toss'd about the Sea, till at length it was taken up by a  
 Dolphin, and carried to the *Corinthian* Shore, where it was found by  
*Sisyphus* at that time King of *Corinth*, who gave it an honorable in-  
 terment, and instituted these Funeral Games to his honour ; thus  
*Pausanias* (a). Others report that *Melicerta's* Body was cast upon the  
*Isthmus*, and lay there some time unburied, whereupon a grievous  
 Pestilence began to rage in thote parts, and the Oracles gave out, that

(a) In the text.

the only remedy for it, was to inter the Body with the usual solemnities,  
 and celebrate Games in memory of the Boy ; upon the per-  
 formance of these Commands the Distemper ceas'd, but afterwards  
 when the Games were neglected, broke out again, and the Oracles  
 being consulted, gave Answer, that they must pay perpetual Honours  
 to *Melicerta's* memory, which they did accordingly, erecting an Altar  
 to him, and enacting a Law for the perpetual celebration of these  
 Games.

Others report that they were instituted by *Theseus* in honour of  
*Neptune* ; others are of opinion that there were two distinct Solemnities  
 observ'd in the *Isthmus*, one to *Melicerta*, and another to *Neptune* ;  
 which report is grounded upon the authority of *Musæus*, who wrote a  
 Treatise about the Isthmian Games. *Phavorinus* reports that these Games  
 were first instituted in honour of *Neptune*, and afterwards celebrated in  
 memory of *Palamon*. *Pluarch* on the contrary tells us, that the first  
 institution of them was in honour of *Melicerta*, but afterwards they  
 were alter'd, enlarg'd, and re-instituted to *Neptune* by *Theseus* ; he gives  
 also several other Opinions concerning the Original of them ; his  
 words are these in the Life of *Theseus* ; "*Theseus* instituted Games in  
 "emulation of *Hercules*, being ambitious that as the *Greeks* by that He-  
 "ro's appointment celebrated the *Olympian* Games to the honour of  
 "*Jupiter*, so by his institution they should celebrate the *Isthmian* Games  
 "to the honour of *Neptune* ; for those that were before dedicated to  
 "*Melicerta*, were celebrated privately in the Night, and consisted  
 "rather of religious Ceremonies, than of any open spectacle, or pu-  
 "blick Festival. But some there are, who say that the *Isthmian* Games  
 "were first instituted in memory of *Sciron*, at the Expiation which  
 "*Theseus* made for his Murder, upon the account of the nearness of  
 "Kindred between them, *Sciron* being the Son of *Caneus* and *He-  
 "niocha*, the Daughter of *Pitheus* : tho' others write that *Sinias*,  
 "and not *Sciron*, was their Son, and that to his honour, and not to  
 "*Sciron's*, these Games were ordain'd by *Theseus*. *Hellaniæ* and  
 "*Andro of Halicarnassus* write, that at the same time he made an agree-  
 "ment with the *Corinthians*, that they should allow them that came  
 "from *Athens* to the celebration of the *Isthmian* Games, as much space  
 "to behold the Spectacle in, as the Sail of the Ship that brought  
 "them thither, stretched to it's full extent could cover, and that in the  
 "first and most honourable place : thus *Pluarch*.

The *Eleans* were the only people of *Greece* that absented themselves  
 from this solemnity, which they did for this reason, as *Pausanias* (a)  
 relates ; The *Corinthians* having appointed the *Isthmian* Games, the  
 Sons of *Aëtor* came to the celebration of them, but were surpriz'd and  
 slain by *Hercules*, near the City *Chone* : The Author of the Murder  
 was at the first unknown, but being at length discover'd by the in-  
 dustry of *Molione* the Wife of *Aëtor*, the *Eleans* went to *Argos* and

(a) *Etiaæ. a'.*

demand'd satisfaction, because *Hercules* at that time dwell'd at *Tiryn*, a Village in the *Argian* Territories : Being repuls'd at *Argos* they apply'd themselves to the *Corinthians*, desiring of them, that all the Inhabitants and Subjects of *Argos* might be forbidden the *Isthmian* Games, as disturbers of the publick Peace ; but meeting with no better success in this place, than they had done at *Argos*, *Molione* forbade them to go to the *Isthmian* Games, and denounc'd a dreadful execration against any of the *Eleans* that should ever be present at the celebration of them ; which command was so religiously observ'd, that none of the *Eleans* dare venture to go to the *Isthmian* Games to this Day, (saith my Author) for fear *Molione's* Curses should fall heavy upon them.

These Games (a) were observ'd every fifth year, and held so sacred and inviolable, that when they had been intermitted for some time through the Oppression and Tyranny of *Cypselus*, King of *Corinth*, after the Tyrant's Death the *Corinthians*, to renew the memory of them which was almost decay'd, employ'd the utmost Power and Industry they were able in reviving them, and celebrated them with such splendor and magnificence as was never practis'd in former Ages. When *Corinth* was sack'd and totally demolish'd by *Mummius*, the Roman General, these Games were not discontinu'd, but the care of them committed to the *Sicyonians* till the rebuilding of *Corinth*, and then restor'd to the Inhabitants of that City, as *Pausanias* reports (b).

The Victors were rewarded with Garlands of Pine-leaves ; afterwards Parsley was given them, which was also the Reward of the *Ne-mean* Conquerours, but with this difference, that there it was fresh and green, whereas in the *Isthmian* Games it was dry and wither'd. Afterwards the use of Parsley was left off, and the Pine-tree came again into request, which alterations *Pluarch* hath accounted for in the Fifth of his *Symposiacks*.

(a) *Alex. ab Alexandro* Gen. Dier. lib. V. cap. VIII. (b) *Initio Corinthiac.*  
(c) *Quæst. III.*

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**P**Ag. 13. Lin. 17. read *sixteen years*. p. 29. l. 12. r. *Antony*. p. 86. l. 24. r. *Σύγκλητοι*. p. 130. l. 1. r. XXVI. p. 186. l. 33. r. *bus herein*. p. 220. l. 22. r. *Or so lay*. p. 238. l. 29. r. *Chaoniam*. p. 243. l. 21. r. *τ' ἡδε*. p. 247. l. 33. r. *was not*. p. 274. l. 29. r. *Beau*. p. 280. l. 10. r. *be long*. p. 285. l. 21. r. *not*. p. 300. l. 13. r. *Mr. Dechair*. p. 328. l. 20. read *or ΑΛΕΑΙΑ*.

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